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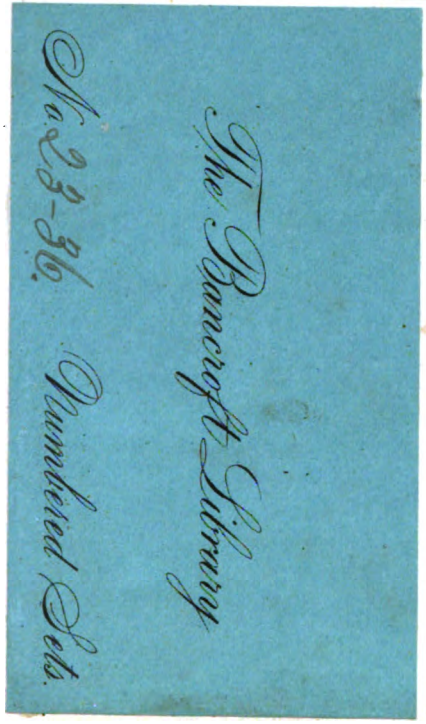

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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOLUME XXXVI.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

1] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1820. [2

TO THE

INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES,

On the Causes of the present Poverty and Misery.

London, 9th Feb. 1820.

BELOVED COUNTRYMEN AND COUNTRYWOMEN.

The picture, which our country exhibits, at this moment, while it sinks our own hearts within us, fills the whole civilized world with wonder and amazement. This country has been famed, in all ages, not only for its freedom and for the security its laws gave to person and property; but for the happiness of its people; for the comfort they enjoyed; for the neatness and goodness of their dress; the good quality and the abundance of their household furniture, bedding and utensils; and for the excellence and plenty of their food. So that a LORD CHANCELLOR, who, four hundred years ago, wrote a book on our laws, observes in that book, that, owing to these good laws and the security and freedom they gave, the English people possessed, in abundance, "*all things that conduce to make life easy and happy.*"

This was the state of our great grandfathers and great grandmothers, who little thought of what was to befall their descendants! The very *name* of England was pronounced throughout the world with respect. That very *name* was thought to mean high-spirit, impartial justice, freedom and happiness. What does it mean *now*? It means that which I have not the power to describe, nor the heart to describe, if I had the power. England now contains the most miserable people, that ever trod the earth. It is the seat of greater human suffering; of more pain of body and of mind; than was ever before heard of in the world. In countries, which have been deemed the most wretched, there never has existed wretchedness equal to that, which is now exhibited in this once flourishing, free and happy country.

In this country the *law* provides, that no human being shall suffer from want of food, lodging, or raiment. Our forefathers, when they gave security to property; when they made laws to give to the *rich* the safe enjoyment of their wealth, did not forget, that

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there must always be some *poor*, and that God wished, that the poor should not perish for want, they being entitled to an existence as well as the rich. Therefore, the *law* said, and it still says, that to make *a sure and certain provision for the poor*, is required by the first principles of civil society. He who is rich to-day may be poor to-morrow; and he is not to starve because he is become unfortunate.

Upon this principle of common humanity and of natural justice the *Poor Laws* were founded; and those laws give to every one *a right*, a *legal* as well as an equitable right, to be maintained out of the real property of the country, if, from whatever cause, *unable* to obtain a maintenance through his or her own exertions. To receive parish-relief is no *favour!* it is no gift that the relieved person receives; it is what the *law* insures him; and what he cannot be refused without a breach of the law, and without an outrageous act of injustice and oppression.

Such being the law; that is, the law having taken care, that relief shall always be at hand for the destitute, the law has forbidden *begging*. It has pointed out to every destitute person the place where he can obtain legal and effectual relief, and, therefore, it has said: "you shall not *beg*. "If you *beg* you shall be punished." And, as we well know, punishment is frequently inflicted for begging.

But, what do we see before our eyes at this moment? We see, all over the kingdom, misery existing to such an extent, that the poor-laws are found insufficient, and that a system of *general beggary* is introduced, under the name of subscriptions, voluntary contributions, soup shops, and the like, and, in the Metropolis, where our eyes are dazzled with the splendour of those who live on the taxes, we see that a society has been formed for raising money to provide a receptacle for the *houseless poor* during the night; that is to say, to give a few hours shelter to wretched beings, who must otherwise lie down and die in the very streets! To-day we read of a poor man expiring on his removal from one country-parish to another. To-morrow we read of a poor woman, driven back from the door of one poor-house in London, carried back to expire in another poor-house before the morning. The next day we read of a man found dead in the street, and nearly a skeleton. While we daily see men harnessed and drawing carts loaded with gravel to repair the high-ways!

Is this *England!* Can this be *England!* and can these wretched

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and miserable and degraded objects be *Englishmen!* Yes: this is England; with grief, shame, and indignation we must confess it; but, still we must confess that such is now once free and happy England! That same country that was, until of late years, famed throughout the world for all that was great, good, and amiable and enviable.

This change never can have taken place without *a cause*. There must have been something, and something done *by man* too, to produce this change, this disgraceful, this distressing, this horrible change. God has not afflicted the country with pestilence or with famine; nor has the land been invaded and ravaged by an enemy. Providence has of late, been more than ordinarily benevolent to us. Three successive *harvests* of uncommon abundance have blessed, or would have blessed, these Islands. *Peace* has been undisturbed. War appears not to have been even thought possible. The sounds of warlike glory have, even yet, hardly ceased to vibrate on our ears. And yet, in the midst of profound peace and abundant harvests the nation seems to be convulsed with the last struggles of gnawing hunger.

It is *man*, therefore, and not a *benevolent Creator*, who has been the cause of our sufferings, present and past, and of the more horrid sufferings, which we now but reasonably anticipate. To *man*, therefore, must we look for *an account* for these evils, into the cause of which let us, without any want of charity, but, at the same time, without fear and without self-deception, freely inquire.

My good, honest, kind and industrious country-people, you have long been deceived by artful and intriguing and interested men, who have a *press* at their command, and who, out of taxes raised from your labour, have persuaded you, that your sufferings arise from nothing that *man* can cause or can *cure*. But, have only a little patience with me, and, I think, that I am able to convince you, that your sufferings and your degradation have arisen from the *weight of taxes imposed on you*, and from *no other cause whatever*.

When you consider, that your salt, pepper, soap, candles, sugar, tea, beer, shoes, and all other things are taxed, you must see, that you *pay taxes* yourselves; and, when you consider, that the taxes paid by your richer neighbours disable them from paying you so much in wages as they would otherwise pay you, you must perceive, that taxes are *dir-*

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advantageous to you. In short, it is a fact, that no man can deny, that the poverty and misery of the people have gone on increasing precisely in the same degree that the taxes have gone on increasing.

The tax on *salt* is *fifteen shillings* a bushel. Its cost at the *sea-side*, where a kind Providence throws it abundantly on our shores, is *one shilling*. Owing to the delays and embarassments arising from the tax, the price comes, at last, to *twenty shillings!* Thus, a bushel of salt, which is about as much as a middling family uses in a year (in all sorts of ways), costs to that family *eighteen shillings*, at least, *in tax*!— Now, if an industrious man's family had the 18s. in pocket, instead of paying them in tax, would not that family be the *better* for the change? If, instead of paying 6d. for a pot of beer, (if beer a man must have) he had to pay 2d. would not he be 4d. the richer? And, if the taxes were light instead of heavy, would not your wages and profits enable you to live better and dress better than you now do?

They, who have good health, good luck and small families, make a shift to go along with this load of taxes. Others bend under it. Others come down to poverty. And a great part of these are pressed to the very earth, some ending their days in poor-houses, and others perishing from actual want. The farmers are daily falling into ruin; the little farmers fall first; the big ones become little, and the little ones become paupers, unless they escape from the country, while they have money enough to carry them away. Thousands of men of some property are, at this moment, preparing to quit the country. The *poor* cannot go; so that things, without a great change, will be worse and worse for all that remain, except for those who live upon the taxes.

And how are these taxes *disposed of?* We are told by impudent men, who live on these taxes, that *we*, the payers of the taxes, are become *too learned*; that we have been brought *too near* to the government; that is to say, that we have got *a peep behind the curtain*. It is well known, that a great deal has been said about *educating* the poor. At one time, even the *poverty* was ascribed to a *want of education* amongst the labouring classes.— They were *so ignorant!* and that was the cause of their misery.—

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And poor Mr. WHITBREAD said, that the *Scotch* were better than the English, only because they were *better educated*. But *now*, behold, we are *too well educated*: we are too *knowing*; we have approached *too near* to the government; and, therefore, *new laws* have been passed to keep us at a greater distance; a *more respectful* distance.

This precaution comes, however, too late. We have had our look behind the curtain. We cannot be again deluded. We cannot be made to *unknow* that which we know. We know, that the fruit of our labour is *mortgaged* to those, who have lent money to the government. We know, that to pay the interest of this mortgage; to pay a standing army in time of peace; to pay the tax-gatherers; and to pay placemen and pensioners, we are so heavily taxed, that we can no longer live in comfort, and that many of us are wholly destitute of food, and are brought to our deaths by hunger.

Endeavours have been made to persuade us, that *we* are not hurt by the taxes. It has been said, that taxes *come back* to us, and are a *great blessing* to us. And Mr. *Justice Bailey* has lately taken occasion to say from *the Bench*, that a *National Debt* is a good thing, and even *a necessary* thing. England did pretty well without a Debt for *seven hundred years!* How this matter came to be talked of *from the Bench* I do not pretend to know; but, for my part, I look upon a national debt as the greatest curse that ever afflicted a people. In our country it has made a happy people miserable, and a free people slaves. And, I am convinced, that, unless that debt be *got rid of*, in some way or other, and that, too, in a short time, this country will fall so low, that a century will not see it revive.

Those, who wish to make us believe, that it is not the taxes that make us poor and miserable, tell us that they *come back* to us. This being a grand source of delusion I will endeavour to explain the matter to you. I have before done it many times; but, all eyes are not opened at the first operation; and, besides, there are, every month, some young persons who are beginning to read about such things.

BURKE, of whom many of you never heard, said, that *taxes* were *dews*, drawn up by the *blessed Sun of government*, and sent down again upon the people in refreshing and fructifying *showers*. This was a very pretty description, but very false. For taxes, though they fall in *heavy showers* upon one part of the community never return to another part of it. To those who *live on taxes*, the taxes

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are, indeed, refreshing and fructifying showers; but, to those who *pay them*, they are a scorching sun, and a blighting wind.—They draw away the riches of the soil, and they render it sterile and unproductive. But, how came this BURKE to talk in this way? Why, he was one of those, *who lived upon the taxes*! Very fine and refreshing and fertilizing showers fell upon *him*. He had a pension of *three thousand pounds a year for his life*; his wife, *fifteen hundred pounds a year for her life*; and besides these, he obtained, in 1795, grants of money to be paid yearly to his executors *after his death*! And, not a trifle neither; for he took care to get thus settled upon *executors, two thousand five hundred pounds a year*. The following is a copy of the grant.

"To the Executors of *Edmund Burke*, 2,500l. a year.
"Granted by two patents,
"dated 24 October, 1795.—
"One for 1,160l. a year, to
"be paid, during the life of
"Lord Royston, and the
"Rev. and Hon. Auchild
"Grey. The other for 1,340l.
"to be paid, during the life
"of the Princess Amelia,
"Lord Althorp, and William
"Cavendish, Esq."

Now, as Mr. GREY is still alive, and as Lord Althorpe and Mr. Cavendish are alive, the money is all of it still paid to the executors of BURKE; these executors have already received, on this account *more than fifty thousand pounds* in principal money; and, as there is no probability of the death of the gentlemen above named, they may yet receive double the sum. BURKE's pension, while he was alive, cost the nation about *twenty thousand pounds*; and his wife's about *four thousand pounds*. So that here are about *seventy four thousand pounds* already paid by the public on account of this one man, and that, too, in *principal money*, without reckoning *interest!*

This, you will allow, must have been to Burke, his wife and executors, an exceedingly *refreshing* and *fructifying shower!* But, not so to those, who have had to *pay* this money. It has not tended to *refresh* us. In the space of twenty seven years, seventy four thousand pounds have been taken from us, who pay the taxes, on account of this *one man*. Now, suppose a different mode from the present were used in making us pay taxes. The pensions have, for the last 27 years, amounted to 2,740 pounds a year. Suppose the amount of them to have been raised upon *fifty tradesmen*, at 54l. a year each. Would not

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each of these tradesmen be *now* 2,700 pounds *poorer* than they would have been, if they had not had these "*refreshing showers*" to send off in dews? Suppose them to be raised upon 400 labourers at about 10 pounds each. Must not these 400 labourers be made poor and miserable, must they not be prevented from *saving* a penny; and must they not, at last, be brought to the poor-house by these "*refreshing showers?*" Is not this as plain as the nose upon your face? Is it not plain that this pension to the executors of this man now takes away the means of comfortable living from nearly *four hundred labourers families?* Has not this been going on for twenty seven years; and has one single man, in parliament, made even an effort to put a stop to it? Has one single man moved even for an *inquiry* into the matter? And yet, the facts are all before the parliament in their own printed reports!

And what *services* did this BURKE render the country? For, to give such a man such enormous sums, there must have been *some reason*. His services were these: He *deserted his party in the Opposition:* and he *wrote three pamphlets to urge the nation on to war, and to cause it to persevere in the war, against the republicans of France!* Which war raised the annual taxes from *sixteen* millions a year in time of peace, to *fifty three* millions a year in time of peace, and the poor rates from *two millions* a year to about *twelve millions* a year? These were the *services*, which were so great, that it was not sufficient to give him *three thousand* pounds a year for them during his *life-time*, but we must still pay his executors *two thousand five hundred pounds* a year; and *may* have to pay them this *for fifty years yet to come!*

Need we wonder that we are poor? Need we wonder, that we are miserable? Need we wonder, that we have, at last, come to see Englishmen *harnessed* and drawing carts, loaded with gravel? And, if we complain of these things, are we to be told, that we are *seditious?* Are we to be told, that we wish to *destroy* the constitution? Are we to be *imprisoned, fined* and *banished?*

When we take a view of the effects of *taxation*, our wonder at all we see instantly ceases. We look no further for the cause of our misery. And, is there any one, who proposes to *lighten the load?* Not a man. On the contrary, every measure has a tendency to make it heavier and heavier. The act, passed last session, respecting the payment in gold bars has produced double the quantity of misery that before existed. It has diminished

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the quantity of paper money, and, in the same proportion, has added to the weight of the taxes and to the want of employment for artizans, manufacturers and labourers. Let me explain to you how this effect is produced; for, it is fit that you all clearly understand what is the cause of your misery.

When money, whether it be *paper or gold*, is abundant, every thing is *high in price*. Now suppose there to be a community of only ten men, who have a given number of dealings amongst them in a year, and who move from hand to hand a certain quantity of valuable things. Suppose one of them to be a farmer, and that he has to sell wheat to the rest, and suppose his wheat to sell for 10s. a bushel. We will suppose, next, that the quantity of money, possessed by the *whole* community to be six hundred pounds. Every one has his due proportion according to his property. Now, suppose, that, by some accident or other, every man, just at the same moment, loses one half of his money. The effect of this would be, that every one could give for the things that he would want of every other one, only just *half as much* as he gave before; and, of course, the farmer must sell his wheat for 5s. a bushel. The shoe-maker must sell his shoes at 5s. a pair instead of 10s. and so on.

This change would produce injury to no one; because a pair of shoes would still bring a bushel of wheat. There would be less money; but money is merely a thing to be used as a measure of the value of useful things. This little community would still have a just measure of value; and, though prices would fall one half, no soul would suffer from the change. But, suppose the shoe-maker to have *owed* the farmer *fifty shillings* before the change took place. The shoe-maker would lose greatly by the change; but, the farmer would (if he were a yeomanryman, at least) call upon poor Crispin to pay him; and Crispin must give him *ten* pair of shoes (or the price of ten pair) instead of *five*. So that, in fact, Crispin's debt, though still only *fifty shillings* in name, would, by the diminution in the whole quantity of money, be *doubled*.

This is *our* case precisely! The fund-holders, the army, the navy, the placemen, the pensioners, lent their money to the government, took places and pensions under the government, and, in fact, made the nation their *debtor* for *so much a year*. But, now that the quantity of the money is reduced in such a way as to bring down prices nearly one half, the

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nation has to pay them all to the full nominal amount; which, though it be still called by the same name, is, in fact, nearly *double* what it was before the quantity of money was reduced. Each of you has *fifteen shillings* tax to pay on a bushel of salt; and, so you had before: but, as fifteen shillings will now purchase *twice* as much of your labour as they would purchase before, your salt tax is in fact *doubled*.

Thus it is as to the whole nation. It has about *thirty millions a year* to pay to fund-holders, but *now*, the thirty are equal to what *sixty* would have been when the money was borrowed. Suppose a fund-holder to have lent the government a *hundred pounds* twelve years ago; and suppose, that he was to receive five per cent. for it. Suppose a farmer had been to pay the interest in wheat. *Six bushels and two thirds* would have paid the five pounds. But, *now* it would require *thirteen bushels and a third* to pay the five pounds. Thus it is that the fund-holders, and all who are paid out of the taxes *gain*, and those who pay the taxes *lose*, by a diminution in the quantity of money. And this adds greatly to the evils, which naturally arise out of heavy taxes. And thus it is, that a nation is *scourged*, not by God, but by those works of man, a national debt and a paper-money.

But, you will say, *how* can the Bank lessen the quantity of money, and ruin the people thus by doubling the real amount of debts and salaries and pensions and other incomes of those who live on taxes? I will tell you how. The Bank can make as much paper-money as it pleases. The cost of it is merely the paper and the print. There are always *borrowers* enough. Now, I want to borrow. I go to the Bank and give them a note for a hundred pounds, which I promise to pay them again in two months. They take my note, and give me the hundred pounds in their *paper-money*, taking the two months' interest out. This interest is called *discount*; and this is called *discounting* a note. The Bank can discount as much or as little as it pleases. When I bring my hundred pounds, and take the note out of pawn, I may get another note discounted if the Bank choose; and, in this way, the paper-money gets about. But, if the Bank have a mind to cause the quantity of money in the country to *grow less*, it *refuses to discount*, or, it discounts *less* than it did. Suppose the Bank have ten hundred notes and have lent out paper-money upon them; and, suppose, when the paper-money is brought in to pay off the notes with, the Bank will

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lend out paper again for only five hundred of the notes. In this case the paper-money in circulation is diminished *one half*; and, of course, *prices fall*, and, as we have seen, *taxes rise* in real amount.

This is what has been now done; and what is more, it has been done with a professed desire to *remove the evils* that afflict the country! The pay of the placemen, pensioners, fundholders, soldiers, and of all those who live on the taxes has thus been augmented; and by the same means, those who pay the taxes have been ruined. The labouring classes, in all such cases, suffer most severely; but, when they are quite down, they can fall no lower. They fall into the ranks of the paupers, and there they remain. There is another class, however, who will endeavour to save themselves: I mean those who have, as yet, *some property left*. They will flee from the dismal and desolating plague. They will carry their creative industry and their capital with them. And will thus leave the burden greater for those whose timidity makes them remain behind. Thousands are preparing to go to America. And, unless something be *speedily* done to relieve us, they act wisely. It is, on an average, only *a month at sea*. The danger is nothing. And, when a man reflects, that he has left the tax-gatherer behind him, and can now set him at defiance, what are dangers of the sea, or any other dangers? One would escape out of England and even out of the world to avoid the sight of men *harnessed* and *drawing carts*, loaded with gravel for the repair of the highways.

No man, you will observe, proposes to do any thing that has a tendency to relieve our distress. The very measure for diminishing the quantity of paper-money is only *beginning* to operate. It has not yet produced a tenth part of the evils that it is calculated to produce, and that it will produce, if persevered in. The Labouring classes, I mean, those who have no property in any thing but their labour, cannot fall much lower. Hundreds die for want of a sufficiency of food; but *hundreds of thousands will not*. And, as they have not the means of going to America, they will remain, and will *live* somehow or other; for, as to being transported to Canada or the Cape of Good Hope, they neith r will nor can.

The means of restoration are, however, *easy*. The affairs of the nation *might* be retrieved, and that, too, in a short space of time; and, if I am asked, *why I do not suggest those easy means*, my answer is, that I have done all that a private individual could do to *prevent the evils*; for all

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my efforts, I have, except by the people, been repaid in abuse and persecution; and that, therefore, in the capacity of a *writer*, I will suggest nothing in the way of remedy. My former efforts have been treated with scorn, and now let the scorners extricate themselves. If I were in *parliament*, I would point out the means. Not being there I will point out none. Those who have property at stake, have, *even now*, the means of putting me there. If they do, my opinion is, that measures of salvation will be adopted; if they do not, I am of opinion that no such measures will even be *proposed*. In either case I shall have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have done my duty; and whether the country be doomed to anarchy or despotism I am as able to bear the scourge as another.

Amongst our duties are the duties which we owe ourselves: and, amongst those duties is that of not suffering ourselves to be degraded. And, for my part, I should deem it degradation to the last degree to be an *underworker* of such men as those, who have brought this once free and happy nation into its present state. An endeavour to serve the country in this way would, too, be wholly unavailing. It would only tend to amuse and deceive. And, therefore, I will never attempt it. I will hear the schemes of others. If they adopt any thing that I have already laid down, I will claim it as my own. If they broach any thing new, I will offer my opinions on it; but, *unless in parliament*, the thing, for me, shall take its course. I, at present, owe nothing to the country, except to the Labouring classes. If I am placed in parliament, it will be my duty to do much, and much I shall do: if I am not placed there, the country will have no demand upon me. Even in the utter ruin and abasement of the country *I* shall be neither ruined nor abased. Not to possess wealth is nothing to him who does not desire it; and, as to reputation, the world would have the justice to say, that I have lost none by events which I had foreseen and foretold, and which I had endeavoured to prevent, and for which endeavours I had been most furiously persecuted.

My beloved Countrymen and Country women, think of these things; and, be assured that, under all circumstances, I shall bear about me and carry with me to the grave the kindest feelings towards you, and the most anxious wishes for your happiness.

I am,
Your friend,
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE REFORMERS.

On the subject of raising a sum of money for the purpose of defraying the expences attending the securing of a seat in Parliament at the next Election.

London, Feb. 5, 1820.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, AND COUNTRYWOMEN,

The sum of money which I wished you to put me in possession of, under

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he name of a Fund for Reform, will, I can clearly see, be raised by the time that I should think it necessary to employ it. But the death of the King has made me anxious to appeal to you for a purpose, which I think proper openly to avow; and that is, the obtaining of the means of securing a seat in the House of Commons; which seat great numbers of you are certainly very anxious that I should obtain. Before I proceed further, in speaking of the utility of my being in Parliament, suffer me to say some little matter with regard to the calumnies which have been heaped upon me by the atrocious Daily Press of the metropolis; by the still more atrocious Quarterly Review, and by almost the whole of the country newspapers. I shall go back further than may be thought necessary, in order that you may see me from the beginning. For, upon this particular occasion, I am desirous that you should have all the means of judging fairly, between me and those by whom I have so long been assailed.

At *eleven* years of age my employment was clipping of box-edgings and weeding beds of flowers in the garden of the Bishop of Winchester, at the Castle of Farnham, my native town. I had always been fond of beautiful gardens; and, a gardner, who had just come from the King's gardens at Kew, gave such a description of them as made me instantly resolve to work in these gardens. The next morning, without saying a word to any one, off I set, with no clothes, except those upon my back, and with thirteen halfpence in my pocket. I found that I must go to Richmond, and I, accordingly, went on, from place to place, inquiring my way thither. A long day (it was in June) brought me to Richmond in the afternoon. Twopenny worth of bread and cheese and a pennyworth of small beer, which I had on the road, and one half-penny that I had lost somehow or other, left three pence in my pocket. With this for my whole fortune, I was trudging through Richmond, in my blue smock-frock and my red garters tied under my knees, when, staring about me, my eye fell upon a little book, in a bookseller's window, on the outside of which was written: "TALE OF A TUB; PRICE 3d." The title was so odd, that my curiosity was excited. I had the 3d. but, then, I could have *no supper*. In I went, and got the little book, which I was so impatient to read, that I got over into a field, at the upper corner of Kew gardens, where there stood a *hay-stack*. On the shady side of this, I sat down to read. The book was so different from any thing that I had ever read before: it was something so *new* to my mind, that, though I could not at all understand some of it, it delighted me beyond description; and it produced what I have always considered a sort of birth of intellect. I read on till it was dark, without any thought about supper or bed. When I could see no longer, I put my little book in my pocket, and tumbled down by the side of the stack, where I slept till the birds in Kew Gardens awaked me in the morning; when off I started to Kew, reading my little book. The singularity of my dress, the simplicity of my manner, my confident and lively air, and, doubtless, his own compassion besides, induced the gardener, who was a Scotsman, I remember, to give me victuals, find me lodging, and set me to work. And, it was during the period that I was at Kew, that the present king and two of his brothers laughed at the oddness of my dress, while I was sweeping the grass plat round the foot of the Pageda. The gardener, seeing me fond of books, lent me some gardening books to read; but, these I could not relish after my *Tale of a Tub*, which I carried about with me wherever I went, and when I, at about twenty years old, lost it in a box that fell overboard in the Bay of Fundy in North America, the loss gave me greater pain than I have ever felt at losing thousands *of* pounds.

This circumstance, trifling as it was,

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and childish as it may seem to relate it, has always endeared the recollection of *Kew* to me. About five weeks ago, I had occasion to go from Chelsea to Twickenham with my two eldest sons. I brought them back through Kew; in order *to show them the place where the hay-stack stood*; having frequently related to them what I have now related to you.

Far be it from me to suppose, that *you* want any thing to convince you, that the numerous *foul accusations*, made against me by the public press, are *wholly false*. But, upon this occasion, permit me to say, that it is not unnecessary, and that it is but bare justice to *you*, justice to your discernment and your virtue, for me to show, that you have not conferred such marks of respect on one who is unworthy of them.

You have how, and at what an age, I started in the world. Those of you, who are *mothers* will want nothing but the involuntary impulse of your own hearts to carry your minds back to the alarm, the fears and anxieties of my most tender mother. But, if I am "an *extraordinary* man," as I have been called by some persons, who ought to have found out a different epithet, I was a still more extraordinary *boy*. For, though I never returned home for any length of time, and never put my parents to a farthing in expence, after the time abovementioned, I was always a most dutiful son, never having, in my whole life, wilfully and deliberately disobeyed either my father or my mother. I carried in my mind their precepts against *drinking* and *gaming*; and I have never been drunk and have never played at any game in my life. When in the army I was often tempted to take up the cards. But, the words of my father came into my mind, and rescued me from the peril. Exposed, as you must well know, to all sorts of temptations; young, strong, adventurous, uncommonly gay and greatly given to talk; still, I never in my whole life, was brought before a magistrate, either as defendant or complainant. And, even up to *this hour*, about *five oaths* are all that I have ever taken; notwithstanding the multitude and endless variety of affairs, in which I have been engaged. I entered the army at *sixteen*, and quitted it at *twenty-five*. I never was once even *accused* of a fault of any sort. At *nineteen* I was promoted to *Serjeant-Major* from a Corporal, over the heads of nearly fifty serjeants. While my regiment was abroad, I received the public and official thanks of the Governor of the Province for my zeal in the King's service; while no officer of the regiment received any thanks at all. Many years after this, this same Governor (General Carleton) came to see me and to claim the pleasure of my acquaintance. When I quitted the army at Portsmouth, I had a discharge, bearing on it, that I had been discharged at my own request, *and in consequence of the great services I had rendered the king's service in that regiment*. During this part of my life I lived amongst, and was compelled to associate with, the most beastly of drunkards, where liquor was so cheap, that even a soldier might be drunk every day; yet I never, during the whole time, even *tasted* of any of that liquor. My father's, and more especially my mother's precepts were always at hand to protect me.

In 1792, I went to the United States of America. There I became a *writer*. I understood little at that time; but the utmost of my ability was exerted on the side of *my country*, though I had been greatly disgusted at the trick that had been played me in England, with regard to a court-martial, which I had demanded upon some officers. I forgot every thing when the honour of England was concerned. The king's minister in America made me offers of *reward*. I refused to accept of any, in any shape whatever. Reward was offered me, when I came home. I always refused to take one single penny from the government. If I had been to be

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bought, judge you, my countrywomen, how *rich*, and even how *high*, I might have been at this day! But, I value the present received from the females of Lancashire a million times higher than all the money and all the titles which ministers and kings have to bestow.

Driven again across the Atlantic to avoid a *dungeon*, deprived of *pen*, *ink*, or *paper*, I still adhered faithfully to my beloved, though oppressed and miserable, country. I overcame every difficulty; and, to the surprise of friends and the confusion of enemies, caused a Register to be published once a week in London, though I was on the other side of the sea. And, while there, though I did much to benefit that country in the way of *agriculture*, I never did any act or uttered any word, that should seem to say, that I had abandoned England. If I had preferred tranquillity and ease and comfort to duty, I should not have returned; but have called my family to me. But, I have never had an idea of happiness distinct from the happiness and honour of my country. The greater her distress, the more necessary the presence of those of her sons, who possess abilities to assist in saving her.

The calumnies of the London daily press, and of a great part of the weekly press and the country press, together with the *Quarterly Review*, have been so numerous, that I can only notice them in the gross. These cowardly libellers have exhibited me as a *fraudulent debtor*, and yet as being *without a shilling*. These calumnies answer themselves. But, if either were true, should I *voluntarily have come home*; and that, too, at a great expense? It is very true, that the sudden breaking up of my affairs, in 1817, following a total loss of *six thousand pounds and upwards* arising from the imprisonment and fine I had to endure for expressing my horror at seeing local-militia men flogged, in the heart of England, under a guard of German Bayonets: it is very true, that these things, together with all the expenses attending a flight to, and a return from, America, leave me comparatively destitute of immediate pecuniary means. But, was it ever before heard of in the world, that, in answer to a man's political writings, his books of account are to be produced; a list of his pecuniary engagements published; and, what is more, his *private letters*, written in confidence many, many years before, obtained from a base and treacherous agent, and published to the world, and that, too, in a partial and garbled state? Was a thing like this ever heard of in this world before; and is there, on this side the grave, a punishment adequate to so foul and so detested a deed? Consider, too, that my wife and daughters were here to support, to bear up *in silence* against all the reproaches, all the scoffs, all the taunts, all the savage insults of this numerous and united band of literary ruffians!

These cowardly and brutal men have represented me as being a harsh, tyrannical, passionate, merciless, and even greedy man. I have said before that, in the whole course of my life, I never was once before a Magistrate in any criminal case, either as accuser or accused; and that is a great deal to say, at the end of fifty-three years, and having no one to protect or advise me since I was eleven years old. Very few men can say as much. There is hardly a quaker that can say as much, though he be much younger than I am. I never, in the whole course of my life, brought an action against any man for debt, though I have lost thousands of pounds by not doing it. Where is there a man, so long engaged in business of various sorts, as I have been, who can say as much? I know of no such man. I never could find in my heart to oppress any man merely because he had not the ability to pay. I lose money by acting thus; but I did not loose my good opinion of myself, and that was far more valuable than money. Nor

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have I ever had an action brought against me for debt, in all my life time, until since this my last return to England; when an Attorney at Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire, had a writ served upon me, *without any notice; without even writing to me for the money;* and, what is more horrible still, the Sheriff's Officer was sent to a public Meeting, at the Crown and Anchor, and *desired to arrest me there, at the very time that I should be addressing the Meeting.* The Officer had more decency and more honour than to lend himself to such a base purpose. He followed me to my lodging; called out a gentleman who was with me, requested that I would call at his house the next day, which I did. This malicious act was perpetrated by the Attorney of one Stares, a Maltster at Droxford. The debt was for about thirty pounds; a thing which I had totally forgotten, the malt having been served during the year before I went to America. This is the only action that has, in the whole course of my life, ever been brought against me for debt. Can any man say as much, who has been in a great way of business, of various kinds, during more than twenty years? I have employed, for a great many years, numerous servants and labourers at Botley. I seldom had less than seventeen, altogether; and I never had to complain of any of them to a magistrate but three times in my life; and, of all my servants and labourers, no one ever went to a magistrate to complain of me. When the printers *turned out for wages*, in London, my then printer, Hansard, in order, as he said, to break the *conspiracy*, as he called it, of the men, asked me to *suspend* the publication of the Register for a week. My answer was, "no: the men have "a right to as much wages as they "can get: give the men their wages; "and, if you must raise your price, "I must pay accordingly." At this very time, WALTER, of the TIMES, one of my principal calumniators, was cramming printers into jail by half-dozens, on a charge of conspiracy to raise their wages. These are the men that have calumniated me; and represented me as a harsh and tyrannical man.

I have seven children. The greater part of whom are fast approaching the state of young men and young women. *I never struck one of them in anger, in my life;* and I recollect *only one single instance in which I have ever spoke to one of them in a really angry tone and manner.* And, when I had so done, it appeared as if my heart was gone out of my body. It was but once; and I hope it will never be again. Are there many men who can say as much as this? To my servants, I have been the most kind and indulgent of masters; and I have been repaid, in general, by their fidelity and attachment. Two *consummate* villains I have met with. But their treachery, though of the blackest die, will by no means tend to make me distrustful or ill-tempered. The attachment and devotion, which I have experienced from others, exceeds even the perfidy of these two black-hearted men, who, besides, have yet to be rendered as notorious as they are infamous. These two diabolical fellows have been the instruments in the hands of the proprietors of what Lord CASTLEREAGH calls "the *respectable* part "of the press." Each of them is in possession of a considerable number of private letters of mine. These the wretches pull out and exhibit to the newspaper proprietors, as occasion may serve; though to these men I have been a most generous benefactor; and my only faults, with regard to them, are, that I did not *transport the one*, and that I *employed* the other.

Such men will always be found in the world; and we must take the world as we find it. But, were there ever before found in the world, men, the proprietors of *Literary Journals*; men having pretensions to the character of gentlemen; men pretending to moral decency; men admitted into honourable society: were there ever be-

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fore found in the world men in this walk of life, and having these pretensions, ready and willing to make their pages the vehicle of slanders drawn from a source so polluted! Never! and, to all the other disgraces, which now stain our country, we have to add this: a press almost wholly divested of every one of those characteristics, which have heretofore rendered the press a thing to be held in estimation and honour.

If I were disposed to *retaliate* upon two or three of the *setters-on* of these two perfidious monsters; if I were disposed to retaliate upon *one*, who has, in some measure, given countenance to their perfidy, by following their example, *how miserable during life, could I render that man!* But, no! the example is too horrible for me to think of following it. Besides, if the public can view this breach of private confidence without feelings of detestation towards the wretches who have been guilty of it, no exposure that any man can make, will excite such feelings against them: and, therefore, for my part, I never retaliate. I keep the means of doing of it in my hands, and forbear to do it, that my children may learn sentiments of generosity, and may contract a fixed opinion that nothing is to produce *a breach of private confidence.*

As to *forgiveness* towards the *literary* assassins, that is never to be expected from me. For myself, I have the power of chastisement in my hands; but, for their base and barbarous conduct, during my absence, *towards my wife and daughters*, whose lives they rendered one continued series of mortification and of grief; if, for this, *I do not bring them to some signal degree of suffering, it will only be for the want of the power of doing it.* Two or three BARRISTERS, too, have joined in the scandalous cowardice and barbarity, not to mention some persons in *another place*, from whom nothing that was just or fair no man expected.

Evil seldom is wholly unattended with good of some sort. Thus has it happened here. The outrageous slanders uttered against me, the falsehood of which nobody so well knew as my own family, have had a tendency to make me, if possible, still dearer to that family. To feelings of filial affection uncommonly strong have been added, in the breasts of my children, an ardent desire to see me triumph over my enemies, and to inflict vengeance on them. My sons, three of whom are from *sixteen* to *twenty-one* years, and who, of course, must detest the very idea of belonging, even in appearance, to the same profession, which contains the cowardly, savage, and perfidious men, by whom their father has been assailed, have, nevertheless, made up their mind to sacrifice the gratification of every natural desire of their own, in order to stand by him, and to obtain justice on the insulters of their mother and their sisters. My daughters, equally devoted to their father and their mother, wrote to me upon my landing: "Think nothing about *us* and our "*feelings*. We are now able to la- "bour. We can earn our bread. "We shall think it no disgrace to "do it. Nothing that we can do will "ever half repay you and dear mama "for your matchless tenderness to "wards us; and, as to the indulge- "ance of *pride*, we shall always have "enough of that in being able to say, "that we are *your children*, and that "we have, we hope, always been, and "always shall be, your dutiful and "affectionate daughters."

Upon reading this letter, I should have wished fire and brimstone to fall upon and consume the country, which contained the savage ruffians, whose base calumnies had awakened these apprehensions. But I was, at *that moment* surrounded by a part of YOU, my beloved countrymen and countrywomen! I was in the midst of the brave, just, and enlightened Reformers of Lancashire, whose generous congratulations wiped the tears from my eyes. And, though the *public* effect

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of those congratulations, of your addresses, and of the many marks of respect and of confidence which you have been pleased to bestow on me, from all parts of the country; though the *public* effect of these have been great, the effect in *my own family* has been still greater. You have given a degree of pleasure to that family, which you will much more easily conceive than I can describe. My sons are ready to stand or fall with you, and my wife and daughters would scorn the enjoyment of any happiness which was not participated in by your wives and children.

To YOU, however, I do, and I must, look for support in my public efforts. As far as the *press* can go, I want no assistance. Aided by my sons, I have already made the ferocious cowards of the London Press sneak into silence. But, there is a large range, a more advantageous ground to stand on, and that is the *House of Commons*. If I were there the ferocious cowards of the press would be *compelled*, through their *three hundred mouths*, to tell the nation all that I should say; or, if they would not, they must give place to men who *would*. And, it is easy to imagine what I should say, how much I should do. A great effect on the public mind I have already produced; but, what should I produce in only the next session, if I were in the House of Commons! Yet, there I cannot be without YOUR ASSISTANCE. Therefore, to you, the Reformers in every part of the kingdom, I appeal for that assistance.

That it is perfectly *lawful* to subscribe for such a purpose we know by the proceedings of others; and, recollect, that PERCEVAL's opinion was taken upon the subject, in the case of that creature MAINWARING, and he gave an opinion, being then Solicitor-General, that to subscribe was *lawful*, and he added, that he himself had subscribed.

The "*Fund for Reform*," I shall, for the present, divert to this more pressing object; so that that may go on, under its present name, or under this new appellation. The parliament may be dissolved in *less than a week*; so that, now there is *no time to be lost*. I would not call upon you for a farthing; but, tuated as I am, I should not, if I were to go, on this account, to any expence out of my own means, act prudently with regard to myself nor justly towards others. What will be the sum required I cannot exactly say. *Two thousand pounds* perhaps; a little more or less. But, whatever there may be over a sufficiency, shall be applied to the purpose of the *Cause of Reform*. Something approaching nearly 200 pounds has been already *actually received* towards the *Fund for Reform*. This fund will now be applied to the present avowed purpose.

As to *myself*, all the world must know, that I have no value for *money*, otherwise than as it conduces to objects like this. I am aware, that it will be said, that if I had been careful of my *own* money, this appeal to YOU would not have been necessary. Very true; but, then, I should not have been *the man I am*: observe that. To be careful of money; to sue and be sued; to squabble about shillings and pennies: these are wholly incompatible with the pursuit of great public objects. No extravagance, of any sort, have I ever indulged in. In my whole life I never spent one evening away from my own home and without some part, at least, of my family, if I was not at a distance from that home. Except at about *ten* public dinners, I have never, during the 28 years that I have been married, eat a meal or drunk a drop, in a public house of any description, except upon a journey, or at a temporary lodging. I have never indulged in extravagance of any kind; and, as to my wife, though she is, doubtless, equalled by many, in point of prudence and economy, no one ever excelled her. She has always been kind and generous to poor neighbours in distress; and has always been as sparing as possi-

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ble with regard to all other expences. In her *example* she will give her daughters a far more valuable inheritance than I could have raked together by sharp-dealing and by close-fistedness. The *two atrocious wretches*, who are now showing my private letters about London, and are serving as *informers* to the ruffians of the Daily Press, my wife always disliked and suspected. The one she called a "a *simpering knave*," the other "a *down-looking* rogue." Over and over again, a thousand times, she worried me to *take care* of these men! Women are quicker-sighted than we are. They penetrate into character more quickly. And of this, her prejudices against these two accomplished monsters of ingratitude and perfidy, is a striking proof.

This is "*egotism*," "*disgusting egotism*," the ruffians of the press will exclaim! They first assail me with atrocious falshoods, and then, when I defend myself, they call it *egotism*. These brutal men have been taunting, scoffing at, galling, mortifying and in all ways annoying my defenceless wife and family, during my absence: and, is it not right that the world should know, what sort of persons those are, whom the savages have thus treated? Is there a father, is there a mother, is there a kind and dutiful child, in this country of kind-hearted people, who will not, upon this occasion, feel, as I, my wife, and our children feel?

And what have I done to merit the reproach of any man? I have done, during my whole life, every thing in my power to serve my country. I contracted, at an early age, high notions of love and duty towards my *country*. It has been my *pride* to be an Englishman. I have been blessed with a sound body and a sound mind. I possess them still, and in their vigour too: and my only desire now is, to be able to exert their powers for the salvation of my distressed and tottering country.

I am my, beloved Countrymen and Countrywomen, your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

On the Laws, recently passed, relative to the Press.

London, 29th January, 1820.

I have elsewhere endeavoured to describe the nature and tendency of these laws; but, upon this signal occasion, I think it proper to repeat this description, in substance at least; and to accompany it with such remarks as appear to me likely to be of general utility. The law allows no man to plead *ignorance* of it; *because*, says BLACKSTONE, "*every* "*Englishman* is supposed to be "*present in Parliament*, and to "*give his assent to the law*, either "in his *own person*, or in that of "his *representative*." A *representative*, like the holder of a power of attorney, is, to be sure, a man *chosen* by the person represented, and not *chosen by others*; and, therefore, how can we say, that every man at Manchester is, at the making of a law, *present* in the person of a man chosen by the two or three electors of Gatton or of Old Sarum? However, be this as it may, the law allows no one to plead *ignorance* of it; and, therefore, it is the duty of a man, placed in my situation, to make the nature and tendency of our laws known, as well for the information of the public as for the purpose of showing that public the magnitude of the perils, by which every writer is now surrounded.

During the *month's* legislation *three* Acts have been passed, relative to the press. The *first* of these imposes stamps in such a way as to put a stop to cheap publications, touching on matters of

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Church or State. It compels the proprietor to enter *(before he begins publishing)* into bonds, with two or more sureties, for the payment of *any fine*, that may, in case of conviction for libel, be inflicted on him. And then, it enables *any justice of the peace*, upon a charge of libel being made against any printer, publisher, or proprietor, to cause the accused person to be taken up, and to give bail, not only to *answer the charge*; but, also *to be of good behaviour in the mean time*

Let us stop here, and contemplate the character and the natural consequences of these provisions. The *previous bonds* are nothing, when compared to the *binding over*. But, what says BLACKSTONE as to the press? He boasts greatly of this branch of English freedom. He says, that there can be *no liberty at all*, where there is not liberty of the press. And he says, that this liberty consists not in men being answerable for what *they have published*; but, in their *not being subject to any previous restraint*. These previous bonds, then, sweep away Blackstone's liberty of the press. For what is *previous restraint*, if these bonds be not? A man dares not *even begin to publish*, 'till he has given bonds with *two or more sureties!* It is easy for a man to enter into bonds himself! but is it easy for him *to find sureties*; and, especially, when it is considered, that the only publishers whom to restrain is the object of the law, must already be *marked men?* Is it easy, under such circumstances, to find sureties?

And, suppose the sureties found: will the *bounden* man be as *free* as he would have been without such bonds? Will his pen not move continually loaded with the recollection of the bonds, into which his friends have entered for him? It is not *himself* that is put in jeopardy; but his friends. Can a man so situated, be said to be left at liberty to write and publish *what he pleases?* Is he not, in fact, writing under constant *restraint*, not only of his own natural apprehensions, but of the fears and remonstrances of his friends? Can such a man be called *free*, and can he be said to enjoy *liberty of the press?*

There is no deed, however odious in its tendency and in its very nature, that craft and perverseness may not endeavour to gloss over. And, upon this occasion, it has been said, that this is *no new thing*; that it is not hostile to the *spirit of the law*; for that men are, in many cases, *bound with sureties beforehand*. Publicans, I believe, and, I know, that owners of vessels of a certain tonnage give bond with sureties, not to be engaged in, or, at least, to employ the vessels in *smuggling*. But, in the name of common sense, what analogy is there in the two cases? The ship-owner knows well *what smuggling is*. He knows that he is safe, and that his bonds are a nullity, as long as he refrains from taking certain specific articles into his ship. But, does a writer know *what a libel is?* Can he know, when he sees Paine's Age of Reason prosecuted, while the writings of Hume and Gibbon, are not only not prosecuted, but every where read, and every where sold? Can he know, when Mr. HONE, upon being prosecuted for certain *parodies* brings forward scores of parodies, upon the very same subjects, which have never been prosecuted?—

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Can he know, when he sees Mr. Hone acquitted for first publishing certain parodies; and when he sees many poor men, in different parts of the country, convicted, and most severely punished for selling those *very same parodies?* Can he know, when the law does not tell him what *blasphemy is;* when the dictionary tells him, that it is "*the offering* "*of an indignity unto God himself;*" and when he sees men convicted of blasphemy, and most tremendously punished, though they have been most strenuous, eloquent and fervent in extolling the praise and glory of God, and have only expressed their disbelief in the Christian Faith? Can he know, when the law (as it now stands) makes any thing a *seditious* libel, which has a TENDENCY to bring *either House of Parliament into contempt?* Can he tell what shall have that tendency? Can he know when any Judge, or any twelve men, or any one man, will think that any writing will have such *tendency?* And yet, monstrous to relate, such writer, so bounden, is compared, as to his state of restraint, to the shipowner, who gives bonds, that he will not take smuggled goods on board his ship!

It is manifest to the plain understanding of every man, that such a writer must be constantly under restraint. He never can know when he is endangering his friends, unless *he continually writes in favour of the Ministers and the Parliament;* and this is a pretty state of degradation; this is a pretty thing to be called *liberty of the press!* It is impossible for any writer to know what others (and especially after every thing has been done to stretch his meaning) may *think* tending to bring the Parliament *into contempt.* There may be men to think, that what I am now writing has *such tendency.* To *dispute* any point with the Parliament; and, especially, to dispute it with *success;* especially to show that the Parliament has done *wrong*, or fallen into *error.* May there not be men to think, that all such writing has a tendency to bring the Parliament *into contempt?* Is not the writer of every petition, which shall complain of any law; is not every such man a "*seditious libeller*"? And, the Parliament having resolved and enacted, that the Bank shall pay in specie, must not he be a *seditious libeller*, who proves to demonstration, that the Bank *never can pay in specie?* Praise, then, is all we have left to bestow. We may praise as long as we please, but, according to this law, we are *free* to do nothing but that. If we write at all, we must take care not to be *silent;* for silence is one of the most efficacious ways of showing *contempt.* "Better be damned than *not be named* at all." *Praise,* praise, and that only is our safe course. And, even here we must *take care* of ourselves; for, as the same poet informs us, we may "damn with *faint* praise," more effectually, perhaps, than with censure. Unqualified and loud praise is, therefore, now the only thing that can insure our safety.

Such is the state, in which every writer is placed by the *previous* restraint imposed upon him. But, far more powerful is another means of restraint imposed by this same Act of Parliament.

A writer (or a printer or publisher, which latter includes all *sellers*) may now, if any man, upon oath, inform a Justice of the

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Peace, that the writer, for instance, has written *what the Justice may deem a seditious libel;* a writer may instantly be *held to bail*, with sureties, to appear and *answer the charge* at the next quarter session. But, this is not all, the bonds are to include a condition *to be of good behaviour in the meanwhile!*

Now, then, what is the state of this famously *free* JOHN BULL with a pen in his hand! Any Justice can have a publication brought to him and sworn to. And, if *he* thinks it a seditious libel, he can, at once, bind the writer over, as above mentioned, or *plunge him into a jail at once*, upon his own authority and in consequence of his own uncontrouled opinion as to the *tendency* of the publication!

Pretty well so far; but we must not stop here: if we do, we shall not do a hundredth part of justice to this act of parliament. The Quarter Sessions arrive. A Bill of indictment is presented against this safety and firmly bounden writer. The Grand Jury *throw out the Bill.* They differ in opinion from the binding justice. They do not think the publication a seditious libel. But, the writer is not, perhaps, to go unpunished, merely because he was innocent. He was bound over, we will say, a month before the Sessions. A week before the Sessions he is bound over again for a second libel, upon which a bill is found; and he is convicted on this second libel. Having been so convicted, he has *forfeited his first recognizances*, he and his sureties are sued for them, and with a *certainty* of the crown's recovering. So that, he is punished with fine or imprisonment, or both, for his *guilt;* and he is punished with forfeited recognizances for his *innocence!* Nay, he may be punished for his innocence; he may be legally punished on a charge *proved to be false* before a Grand Jury, by even a shorter process than that of obtaining a conviction for a second libel. A writer, bound over on a charge, which a Grand Jury declares to be *false*, may, before the meeting of the Sessions, commit an *assault;* may be engaged in *riotous* conduct; may be guilty of *profane swearing.* These are all *breaches of the recognizances:* and thus, though he had published *no libel;* though a Grand Jury had declared the charge, on which he was bound over, *to be false;* still he might be punished and even ruined, for the publication!

To say, that the Parliament has passed such a law as this, may, perhaps, be thought to have a *tendency* to bring it into "*hatred or contempt.*" But, must I, then, not say, that it has passed such a *law?* Or, must I praise such a law to the skies? Must I be a liar, or hold my tongue, lest I should be fined, imprisoned, or banished? Let those who have words to express their feelings here, express them: I have not. The whole vocabulary of our language affords not epithets and terms wherein justly to describe my feelings with regard to this law.

Yet, there are men, who have assurance enough to assert, that even this; aye *this*, is consonant with the spirit of the laws of England! Nay; they have said, that is *law*, and *always was law.* I have heard knavish, petty tyrants, in a *Republic*, assert the same thing. But (reserving this latter to be spoken of fully when I meet with any Reformer who shall have been misled into a love of republicanism), I defy the most

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dustrious rummager into the records, of mirnle to find any decision, in the English Courts (except that of Star-Chamber) giving countenance to such an assertion; an assertion which is in itself, the foulest libel on the law.

WILKES was prosecuted for an *obscene* and *blasphemous* libel. He was held to be bail (before conviction) *to be of good behaviour*. He applied to the Court of King's Bench to release him from the bail, on the express ground, that bail could not legally be taken in case of libel, *before conviction*. LORD CAMDEN was the Chief Justice; and he delivered the opinion of the Court, which opinion was, that it was not lawful to demand bail for good behaviour, in cases of libel, *before conviction!* and that, therefore the *bail must be discharged*. And it *was discharged* accordingly. There is but one case, that I have ever heard of, in which bail, in case of libel, was insisted on. It was that of the *Seven Bishops*, in the reign of James the Second. They refused to give bail; they were sent to the Tower; three of the Judges were corrupt and decided against them; they were afterwards tried and *acquitted*; and their acquittal was the signal for the overthrow of the base and tyrannical king, and councillors, who had thus stretched and violated the law. This *precedent*, therefore, is, one would think, a thing to be shunned and not to be followed.

But, if this binding over, in cases of libel, was *always law*, why did SIR VICKARY GIBBS bring in a bill, in 1808 (I think it was) to *authorize* the holding to bail to answer the charge, in cases of *misdemeanour*? Libel is a misdemeanour; if bail, in such cases, could be *legally* demanded *before* 1808, why did Sir Vicary bring in this Bill? Observe, too, that this Bill gave no one but a *Judge* this power of holding to bail, before trial, for misdemeanour. And, not even to a Judge, unless in very *urgent cases*, and with very pointed *affidavits* before him. If the present law were *always the law*, what was the sense of this Bill? Lord Sidmouth's CIRCULAR first broached the doctrine of a power in Justices of the Peace to hold to bail, on charges of libel, even *to answer the charge*; and this Act, which we have now under examination, has completed the subjection and degradation of the press. For, according to this Act, every public writer, every printer, and every publisher, may now *legally* be held to bail, during the whole of his life, and may be punished many, many times in every year, by the forfeiture of recognizances, *given on charges of libel*, though it may, at the same time, be *legally proved*, that not one of them has ever published any libel at all! Can an *Imprimatur*; can a *Censorship*: can any thing short of a *halter* actually tied round our necks, be a greater *restraint* than this law?

It was my intention to pursue the subject into the other Acts, providing for *confiscation* of property and for *banishment* of person. But what is the value of any other property compared with the property which men have in the use of their talents, the thoughts of their mind, and the feelings of their hearts? And, as to *banishment*, where is the man, who would not regard it as a blessed escape from this state of everlasting restraint?

And *why* have these laws been passed? Could not the press,

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ninety-nine hundredths of which is absolutely devoted to the Government and the Church: could not the press have been left to correct itself? Could not the ninety-nine writers have been trusted to for a refutation of the hundredth; backed, as the former were, by the pulpit (sectarian as well as orthodox) and by the whole body of livers on the taxes?

The fact is, the Ministry finds itself surrounded with all sorts of difficulties; difficulties so great, so numerous, so complicated in their nature, and demanding in the way of remedy, measures so far beyond the scope and compass of its mind, and especially of any thing that it feels itself able to propose or support, that it is, like a strong man in a state of delirium, laying about it, back stroke and fore stroke, not knowing or caring what class it destroys, or what wounds it inflicts upon the character of the country.

This has been the true cause of the late month of angry legislation. Let us hope, that the six weeks, as it were taken to cool, will have produced a change of tone and a change of temper. The general disease of the country, is, *a want of reform;* the immediately pressing complaint, the *misery of the people;* of the whole of the people, the very rich and those who live upon the taxes excepted.

To remove this distress, and to restore the nation to prosperity, require measures, which, thus far, no man, in either house, has had the courage to propose. We have projects enough, high and low, from the seizure of the estates of the great down to the allotment of plots of ground to the poor: from the scheme for diminishing the quantity of food by Corn Bills down to the augmenting of it by cultivating lands completely barren. These projects are so numerous, that to promise to notice every one separately (especially when we consider the new ones that may spring forth) is much more than I dare venture. But, in the course of these papers, I shall certainly notice such of them as appear to have attracted public attention and to have been able to produce any considerable portion of public delusion.

WM. COBBETT.

CURIOUS HISTORY OF A CALUMNY ON PAINE.

It is a part of the business of a press, sold to the CAUSE OF CORRUPTION, to calumniate those, dead or alive, who have most effectually laboured against that cause; and, as PAINE was the most powerful and effectual of those labourers, so to calumniate him has been an object of their peculiar attention and care. Amongst other things said against this famous man, is, that he *recanted* before he died; and, that, in his last illness, he discovered horrible fears of death. This is, to be sure, a very good *answer* to what these same persons say about his *hardened infidelity*. But, it is a pure, unadulterated falshood. This falshood, which I shall presently trace to its origin (the heart of a *profound hypocrite*) was *cried* about the streets of *Liverpool*, when I landed there in November last. Thence it found its way to the grand receptacle and distributor of falshood and calumny, *the London press*, which has sent it all over this kingdom. One *Country paper*, however, pre-eminent in all that is *foul* and *mean*, affects to possess *original* matter and *authentic* information on the subject; and, indeed it *pledges* itself for the *character* of the "*gentleman*" from whom it says it *has received* the pretended authentic account. The Country-paper I al-

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lude to is, the *Norwich Mercury*, printed and published by one BURKS; and the article on PAINE is as follows:

"The following statement has been *handed to us* by *a Gentleman*, whose character is a *sufficient pledge* that he would not put forth any article which he had not the *best reason* to believe to be true:—

"THOMAS PAINE.—The following is an extract of an *American* letter, the writer of which is of the *most unquestionable respectability*, and appears recently to have obtained the information it contains *from authority equally entitled to credit*:—The latter had resided in a family in the neighbourhood of the celebated Thomas Paine, which, during his last illness, had contributed to his comfort by occasionally preparing and *sending in food* and refreshment better adapted to his situation than he usually enjoyed.—Of these *the informant chose to be the bearer* to his bedside, although his personal circumstances were *so deplorable* that the air of his chamber could scarcely be endured, and in performing this *humane office* had the opportunities of conversation with him, which *authorized the writer's belief*, that he exhibited another proof of Dr. Young's assertion, "that men may *live fools*, but fools they cannot *die*." The letter proceeds to say, that she found him frequently writing, and believed, from what she saw and heard, that when his pains permitted he was always so employed, *or in prayer*, in the attitude of which she more than once saw him when he thought himself alone. One day he enquired of her if she had ever read the "*Age of Reason*;" and on being answered in the affirmative, desired to know her opinion of that book.—She replied that she was but a child when she read it, and that he probably would not like to know what she thought of it; upon which he said, if old enough to read, she was capable of forming some opinion, and that from her he expected a candid statement of what that opinion had been. She then said, she thought it the most dangerous insinuating book she had ever read; that the more she read the more she wished to read, and the more she found her mind estranged from all that is good; and that from a conviction of its evil tendency she had burnt it, without knowing to whom it belonged.—Paine replied to this, that *he wished all who had read it had been as wise as she;* and added, "*if ever the Devil had an agent on earth, I have been one.*" At another time, when she was in his chamber, and the master of her family was sitting by his bed side, one of Paine's former companions came in; but seeing them, hastily went out, drawing the door after him with violence, and saying, "*Mr. Paine, you have lived like a man—I hope you will die like one.*" Upon which, Paine, turning to his principal visitor, said, "you see what miserable comforters I have." An *unhappy female*, who had *accompanied him from France*, lamented her *sad case*, observing, "for this man I have *given up* my *family* and *friends*—my *property* and *my religion*; judge then of my distress, when he tells me that the principles he has taught me will not bear me out."

The Norwich Mercury did not imagine, that any one would take the pains to expose this tissue of falshoods. In the first place, why does he not *name* his "*gentleman*" of such excellent character? How these informers *skulk!* Mr. Burks can *pledge* himself for the *character* of the "gentleman" informer; but, where are we to get a pledge for the character of Mr. Burks, who, if we are to judge from this act of his, stands in need of very good sponsors.

Let us look, a little, at the *internal evidence* of the falshood of this story. Mr. PAINE possessed, at his death, an unencumbered estate of *two hundred and fifty acres* of land, *not more than twenty miles from New York*. He possessed a considerable sum besides. These he left by will. Will any one believe, that he was, on his dying bed, in want of *proper nourishment*, and that he was in a *deplorable* state as to apartments and necessaries? Then, was it likely, that when a *neighbour's maid servant* went to carry him a little present of sweetmeats, or the like, that he would *begin a conversation on theology with her?* And, is it not monstrous to suppose, that he would call himself the *devil's agent* to HER, and not *leave behind him* any recantation at all, though he had such ample time for doing it; and thought his *confidant* was so ready *to receive it and take care of it!* The story is false upon the face of it; and, nothing but a simpleton, or something a great deal worse, would have given it circulation and affected to believe it to be true.

I happen to know the *origin* of this story; and I possess the real, *original document*, whence have proceeded the divers *editions* of the falshood, of the very *invention* of which I was, perhaps, *myself*, the innocent *cause!*

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About two years ago, I, being then on Long Island, published my intention of writing an account of the life, labours, and death of Paine. Soon after this, a Quaker at New York, named *Charles Collins*, made many applications for an *interview* with me, which at last, he obtained. I found that his object was to persuade me, that Paine had *recanted*. I laughed at him, and sent him away. But, he *returned again and again to the charge*. He wanted me to promise that I would say "that *it was said*," that Paine recanted. "No:" said I; "but, I will say, that *you say it*, and that you *tell a lie* unless you *prove the truth* of what you say; and, if you do that, I shall gladly insert the fact." This *posed* "friend Charley," whom I suspected to be a most consummate hypocrite. He had a *sodden* face, a *simper*, and manœuvred his features, precisely like *the most perfidious wretch that I have known or ever read or heard of*. He was precisely the reverse of my honest, open, and sincere Quaker friends, the PAULS of Pennsylvania. Friend Charley plied me with remonstrances and reasonings; but, I always answered him. "Give me *proof;* name *persons*; state *times;* state *precise words;* or, I denounce you as *a liar*." Thus put to his trumps, friend Charley resorted to the aid of a person of his own stamp; and, at last, he brought me a paper, containing matter, of which the above statement of Mr. BURKE is a *garbled edition!* This paper, very cautiously and craftily drawn up, contained only the *initials* of names. This would not do. I made him, at last, put down the *full* name and the address of the *informer*, "MARY HINSDALE, No. 10, Anthony-street, New York." I got this from friend Charley, some time about June last; and had no opportunity of visiting the party till late in October, just before I sailed.

The informer was a Quaker woman, who, at the time of Mr. PAINE's last illness, was a *servant* in the family of Mr. WILLET HICKS, an eminent merchant, a man of excellent character, a Quaker, and even, I believe, a Quaker Preacher. Mr. HICKS, a kind and liberal and rich man, visited Mr. PAINE in his illness, and, from his house, which was near that of Mr. PAINE, little nice things (as is the practice in America) were sometimes sent to him; of which this servant, friend Mary, was the bearer, and *this* was the way, in which the lying cant got into the room of Mr. Paine.

To "friend Mary," therefore, I went, on the 26th of October last, with friend Charley's *paper* in my pocket. I found her in a lodging in a back-room up one pair of stairs. I knew that I had no common cunning to set my wit against. I began with all the art that I was master of. I had got a prodigiously broad-brimmed hat on. I patted a little child that she had sitting beside her; I called her *friend;* and played all the awkward tricks of an undisciplined wheedler. But, I was compelled to come quickly to *business*. She asked, "what's thy name, friend?" and, the moment I said *William Cobbett*, up went her mouth as *tight* as a purse! Sack-making appeared to be her occupation; and that I might not extract through her eyes that which she was resolved I should not get out of her mouth, she went and took up a sack, and began to *sew:* and not another look or glance could I get from her.

However, I took out my paper, read it, and, stopping at several points, asked her if it was *true*. Talk of the *Jesuits*, indeed! The whole tribe of LOYOLA, who have shaken so many kingdoms to their base, never possessed a millionth part of the cunning of this drab-coloured little woman, whose face simplicity and innocence seemed to have chosen as the place of their triumph! She shuffled; she evaded; she equivocated; she warded off; she affected not to understand me, not to understand the paper, not to remember: and all this with so much seem-

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ing simplicity and single-heartedness, and in a voice so mild, so soft, and so sweet, that, if the Devil had been sitting where I was, he would certainly have jumped up and hugged her to his bosom!

The result was: that it was *so long ago*, that she could not speak *positively* to any part of the matter: that she *would not say that any part of the paper was true*: that she had *never seen the paper*: and, that she had never given "friend Charley" (for so she called him) authority to say *any thing about the matter in her name*. I pushed her closely upon the subject of the "*unhappy French Female*." Asked her, whether she should *know her* again—"Oh, no! friend: I tell thee, that I have *no recollection* of any person or any thing that I saw at THOMAS PAINE's house." The truth is, that the cunning little thing knew that the French lady was at hand; and that *detection* was easy, if she had said that she should know her upon sight!

I had now nothing to do but to bring friend Charley's nose to the grindstone. But, Charley, who is a grocer, living in Cherry-street, near Pearl-street, though so pious a man, and, doubtless, in great haste to get to everlasting bliss, had *moved out of the city for fear of the fever*, not liking, apparently, to go off to the next world in a yellow skin. And thus he escaped me, who sailed from New York in four days afterwards: or, Charley should have found, that there was something else, on this side the grave, pretty nearly as troublesome and as dreadful as the Yellow Fever.

This is, I think, a pretty good instance of the lengths to which hypocrisy will go. The whole, as far as relates to recantation, and to the "*unhappy French female*," is a lie, from the beginning to the end. Mr. PAINE declares, in his last Will, that he retains all his publicly expressed opinions as to religion. His Executors, and many other gentlemen of undoubted veracity had the same declaration from his dying lips. Mr. WILLET HICKS visited him to nearly the last. This gentleman says, that there was no change of opinion intimated *to him*: and, will any man believe, that PAINE would have witheld from Mr. HICKS, that which he was so forward to communicate to Mr. Hicks's *servant girl*?

Observe, reader, that, in this tissue of falshoods, is included a most foul and venomous slander on a woman of virtue and of spotless honour. But, hypocrites will stick at nothing. Calumny is their weapon, and a base press is the hand to wield it. Mr. BURKS of Norwich will not insert this article, nor will he acknowledge his error. He knows, that the calumny, which he has circulated, has done what he intended it to do; and he and the "*gentleman*" for whose character he *pledges* himself, will wholly disregard good men's contempt, so long as it does not diminish their gains.

This is not at all a question of *religion*. It is a question of *moral truth*. Whether Mr. PAINE's opinions were correct, or erroneous, has nothing to do with this matter.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE KING.

London, January 31st, 1820.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I have this day witnessed the ceremony of proclaiming your Majesty King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; to which, had not unwise and evil councillors existed twenty years ago, would have been added the word France; a part of the title which your Royal Father inherited from his predecessors, and which, in my opinion, ought never to have been given up, because, in the affairs of nations, particularly, *honour* ought to be

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valued as highly as existence itself.

To subjects of more immediate importance at this time, I take the liberty to endeavour to call your Majesty's attention; a liberty which I am compelled to take in this public manner, or to refrain from doing that which I regard as being my duty to do. Your Majesty ascends the Throne at a period of unexampled embarrassment, difficulty and distress. You become the King of a great nation, at a time when it is seriously doubted, by a great number of persons of sound heads, great experience, great information and very extensive views, whether this great nation be or be not destined to experience a decline of weight and of power such as very few nations, of which we have any knowledge, have ever experienced.

Under such circumstances, an accession to the Throne would appear, at first sight, to be an elevation hardly to be envied. But if we rightly consider the matter, this is, perhaps, taking an entirely wrong view of it. As it is more glorious in an army to wear the laurels won on an occasion where there is every reason to expect its defeat: so it will certainly be more glorious to your Majesty, if you should, so I pray GOD you may, see, during your reign, this harrassed and miserable nation restored to tranquillity and happiness, and to the enjoyment of that freedom, which our fathers enjoyed at the time when his late Majesty ascended the Throne.

In order, however, that this restoration may be effected, and that your reign may be happy and glorious, *great changes* must take place in the management of the affairs of this nation. Merely to point out the whole of these changes with sufficient clearness, and in language and manner suitable, on an occasion like the present, would be a task too voluminous to be attempted at this moment. Yet, there is one change or two, which, as they seem to present themselves with peculiar claims to attention, I shall endeavour to point out; and, as they relate to matters of somewhat a personal nature, I put in, beforehand, an earnest request, that my words may receive the most liberal interpretation.

I am sure I speak the sense of the people of this kingdom in general, when I say that our having, of late years, been deprived of the use of the right to Petition the King and the Regent, has produced great injury with regard to the feelings of the people towards the Sovereign; and also great injury with regard to the administering of the affairs of the country. No human institution can be perfect. Abuses will arise in every such institution. A man may be unjustly treated by a constable, by a justice of the peace, by a court of law. But, still he may petition the Parliament. The Parliament may turn a deaf ear to him. Some wrong influence may prevail even there. Still, however, he has the King, to Petition; and it is the King, whose office it is at last to afford him redress.

There is something so manifestly just and reasonable in this, that I believe that there never yet was a nation in which it was not the practice for any man to be able at any time to present a petition to the Chief Ruler of such a nation. In the Bill of Rights, this right of *petitioning the King* forms one of the items of the un-

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alienable rights of Englishmen! and, indeed, that a man should be held bound in ties of *allegiance* to one, to whom he is not permitted to put up even his *prayers*, is something too monstrous for common sense to conceive or common spirit to endure.

Yet, may it please your Majesty, it appears to me that this right, if not absolutely denied to us in words, has been so much abridged, and the performance of it reduced to so much uncertainty, that the great mass of your Majesty's subjects can with difficulty look upon themselves as enjoying it at all. According to a regulation, which has been adopted of late years, our petitions to the King are to be delivered to the *Secretary of State*: or given to his Majesty, or, in his behalf, to the Regent) at the *levee*. It is very well known that very few persons, indeed, comparatively speaking, can gain admission to a levee. The great body of the people are, indeed, wholly excluded from it. It is a thing of which they know nothing except by hearsay. And, therefore the Secretary of State is the only channel through which their petitions can pass.

It is manifest that, under such circumstances, no person will consider this mode of petitioning as coming up to what is properly called the exercise of the Right of Petition. The petitioner is by no means certain that his petition will ever reach the King. He knows very well that his petition will first be read and well examined by the Secretary of State: this Secretary is one of the Ministry; and, as every petition will be likely to contain a complaint of some grievance or some wrong, arising from the misconduct, or negligence of the Ministry, or of some person in power under them, it is obvious that there must be a natural disinclination on the part of the Ministry to suffer the petition to meet the eye of his master; and the more true and the more important the matter of the petition may be, the less likely it is that the Secretary should be disposed to lay it before the King; nay, the Secretary now seems to be relieved from all chances of inconveniences on this score; for according to a recent letter of his, it appears that, whether he shall lay before the King or not, depends wholly upon his own discretion. So that, it would appear that to this it is come, at last; an Englishman's right to petition the King; a right, which, at the revolution, was declared to be inherent and unalienable, is now reduced to a right to petition the Secretary of State: though it may happen that this Englishman's complaint, as contained in his petition, relates to some grievous oppression experienced at the hands of that Secretary himself.

Petitions are not, like some other modes of application, *answered*. No answer is given to them, or, at least, no acknowledgment of their being right; and no immediate assurance that the prayer of them will be granted.—The petitioner is, in all cases, left to entertain the supposition that his petition will receive due attention and have its just weight.—When the prayer of it is not granted, no positive refusal is given; and this, as far as relates to petitions to the King, is the most dignified and most gracious mode of proceeding. All that the petitioner can reasonably require in the first instance, is to know for a certainty, that his petition

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has been received by the King; but this he cannot now know; and therefore, he is as completely cut off from all hope of redress, to be received from the crown, as if there was no crown in existence.

One injurious effect of this regulation, so new to Englishmen, and so contrary to all their settled notions of liberty and justice, is a diminution in the warmth of their attachment towards the sovereign himself, whom they cease, by degrees, to regard as their last hold of safety. They have enough to remind them of his power and of their obedience to his authority. They do not fail duly to receive his commands and to hear his injunctions not to resist those commands. They are warned upon occasions frequent enough, of the honour that they are to do him; and they know well how numerous and how great are the punishments inflicted in his name. And, if they are to be deprived, though under the most grievous oppression, to make known to him the wrongs which they suffer, it is to expect more than human nature allows us to expect not to believe that they will entertain towards the King less warmth of attachment than they would entertain, if they could, at their pleasure, appeal to his own justice for redress. God himself, if he were only a God of terror, would not be adored, except by beings wholly unworthy to live.

This prohibition to present petitions in person to the King has the further disadvantage belonging to it, that (whatever may be the fact) it is looked upon as a prohibition *coming from the King himself*, and, coming so closely in contact with his very person, it must be supposed to be a matter with which he has personally something to do. For a King to say to his subjects, what this prohibition, if fully expressed, seems to say, would certainly be very little calculated to gain or to preserve the affections of any people, and particularly of a people, who, in spite of every thing that has been done, or that can be done, to lower them in their own esteem, are still a proud people, and a people always prone to resent every act and every word which seems to imply contempt or disdain. As I am very well satisfied that this prohibition never did originate in the mind of your Majesty, and has not been continued by any particular desire of yours, I do not impute it to you; but, certain I am that its effect upon the minds of the people of this country has been very injurious, and that every day of its continuance, especially now, will add to an evil already gone to an extent far beyond what your Majesty can possibly imagine.

But there is another great evil attending this prohibition. There are grievances to be *prevented* as well as grievances to be redressed. Ministers, and other persons in authority may be guilty of sins of omission as well as of commission. There may be persons quite unknown to your Majesty, whose zeal and ability, though voluntarily exerted, may, upon particular occasions, be of infinite utility to the King, as well as to the nation. Yet such persons, for want of the power to make their representations to the King, may, with regard to him, and to the country, uselessly possess such zeal and such ability. Many have been the occasions when I could have rendered great service to the country, had the channel of petition been open to me: of two

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instances only, I will, at this time trouble your Majesty with the mention.

In the year 1812, when it was evident to me, that, if the Ministry pursued their then measures, a war with the United States of America was inevitable, I used, through the means of the press, my best exertions to prevent that war. The party in opposition to the Ministry, pledged themselves to support the war upon a certain contingency, which they thought would not arrive. I knew that it would arrive; and, therefore, I endeavoured to convince both the parties that they were wrong; that war would come; that the progress of that war would be disappointment and defeat; and that the result would be enormous loss and everlasting disgrace. The whole nation will bear witness to my strenuous labours to prevent that war, and it will also bear witness that I laboured *alone*.

Upwards of *seventy millions of money*, now making part of our hideous Debt; upwards of seventy millions of money expended in that war, and now forming a part of the irredeemable mortgage of the lands and labour of the people of this kingdom; great as this was, it was nothing compared with the *disgrace* of that war, which remains written in the history of numerous battles by land, and still more legibly written in more numerous battles by sea: the history of which battles an Englishman will never be able to look at without feeling his cheek burn with shame. At the outset of that war, one of the then Lords of the Admiralty, Sir JOSEPH SIDNEY YORKE, vauntingly said, in the House of Commons, that we had the President of America to *depose* before we could lay down our arms! This was answered by the calm disdain of the President, and by the thunder from the American ships. Then it was, for the first time since England was England, that Englishmen were beaten, gun for gun and man for man.

I cannot bring myself to believe, that, if your Majesty had read what it was then in my power to write to you, in the form of petition, that war would ever have been begun. I possessed knowledge upon the subject which your Ministers did not possess. I knew what the result would be before the first shot was fired. I was in possession of facts, the bare statement of which must have convinced any man open to conviction, that defeat was certain. These facts I could not disclose in print. To disclose them to a man like Mr. PERCEVAL, the very sound of whose name I abhorred, was hardly to be expected; but, besides this, I despised him on account of his arrogance, insolence, and total want of judgement and of talent. Add to this, a firm conviction in my own mind, founded upon positive assurance, as well as upon reason and experience, that every thing urged by me against any measure, was, with the Ministers, a strong inducement to persevere in it. It has been thus, in several instances; and I have little scruple in saying (however presumptuous it may be deemed) that a very considerable portion of the calamities which the nation has to endure at this day, may be truly ascribed to a rejection of salutary measures proposed by me. A spirit of haughtiness has prevailed; and to that spirit we may fairly attribute a great part of our sufferings.

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When your Majesty was a youth, occasionally rambling with two of your brothers and your tutor, about Kew Gardens, I was a little boy, in a blue smock-frock, working in those gardens; and I remember that you passed me once when I was sweeping the grass-plat round the foot of the Pagoda. But, since that time, I have seen a great deal of this world; I have seen more of mankind, in all their various situations, than most men have seen. I have been a very attentive observer; a very accurate retainer of all that I have observed. I have been very communicative, and have found, in all ranks and degrees, every body that knew me ready to impart to me their thoughts. Always ready to repose confidence in others, I have sometimes been deceived and betrayed; but I have never been intimate with that human being who was not ready, almost at first sight, to repose confidence in me. Hence, and from the resources of my industry, and my delight in labour of all sorts, a stock of knowledge has accrued, which was unavoidable unless nature had deprived me of the common capacity of comprehending and remembering.

But your Ministers seem to have had the little blue smock-frock continually in their eye, and to have thought it beneath their high mightinesses to condescend to listen to any thing coming from an origin so low. They, who, for the far greater part, had never exchanged the purlieu of a county and the chicanery and wrangling of a Quarter Sessions for any thing but the smoke and buz of London, were, nevertheless, as full of conceit as if they had occasionally resided in different nations and had studied the manners, feelings and interests of all classes of mankind.

To this one cause, I ascribe a very considerable part of the Debt, and the whole of those laws against popular liberty, and particularly the liberty of the press, which now make England appear like any thing but England. But, at any rate, I know for certain that, at the time of beginning the late disgraceful war against America, one man in authority actually said: "we shall now beat these "Americans; and that will de-"stroy COBBETT'S credit for "ever." Monstrous as this may seem, I know the fact to be true; and as a truth, I solemnly state it in an address to your Majesty.

Therefore, I could have no hope, that any petition or memorial, addressed to the Ministers, would be of any use. They would, I knew, spurn at it; and, as I had no means of approaching your Majesty with a petition, the facts have remained in my own bosom; the war took place; and the fatal result we have to deplore.

Upon another occasion, not much less important, I wrote, and caused to be printed, a petition, addressed to your Majesty. I allude to the petition written in America, not published there, but published in England, with regard to the struggle going on in the South American provinces.—But that the petition contained a very small part of the knowledge which I possessed upon the subject. Though living in a very obscure part of the country, gentlemen from South America, agents from the Provinces, found me out. I had opportunities of knowing every thing relating to the contest; relating to the views and wishes of the insurgents; and

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I was put in possession of numerous most interesting facts, accompanied with an anxious expression of the desire of the parties that I would cause them to be communicated to the government in England. I could undertake nothing of the kind. I had no channel of communication but LORD SIDMOUTH, and men like LORD SIDMOUTH. The facts, therefore, remained with myself; a series of measures, the contrary of what I should have petitioned for have been pursued; and the result will be as heavy a blow as the greatness of this kingdom ever received.

Could I have entertained the smallest hope of my petition reaching the hand of your Majesty, I should have dispatched a son as the bearer of it, notwithstanding the dungeons were still open to receive every one, whom your Ministers might chuse to imprison on *suspicion* of treasonable designs. But, having left, of my unalienable Right of Petition, nothing but the Right of Petitioning LORD SIDMOUTH, the duty which I would have performed remained unperformed; and the Gulf of Mexico will now be passed by a British fleet only by sufferance, if it ever again pass that Gulph at all.

These, may it please your Majesty, are only amongst a few of the evils which naturally arise out of this not very gracious curtailment of the last resource, in the way of right, left to an oppressed subject. A new reign ought to begin with acts of grace; and, though I anxiously hope that the first exercise of your Royal Prerogative will be to open the prison doors to those who have been imprisoned for political offences; I hope not much less anxiously that your own Royal hand will be again opened freely and graciously to receive, agreeably, I am sure, to the dictates of your own heart, our humble and dutiful petitions. I am,

Your Majesty's
Dutiful and faithful subject,
WM. COBBETT.

DEATH OF THE KING.

His Majesty expired, it appears, at Windsor Castle, on Saturday evening, the 29th instant, at half-past eight o'clock, *in the eighty-second year of his age, and in the fifty-ninth year of his reign;* having been born in the year 1738, and having ascended the throne in the year 1760.

In the remarks which I have to offer upon this event, I shall probably differ from many of my contemporary writers; but, it offers an occasion for laying before the Public, truths which I deem of an useful nature: it is, therefore, my duty to lay those truths before it; and I trust that fear of clamour, will never prevent me from discharging any part of my duty.

It would be impertinent in me to pretend that I feel any *sorrow* upon this occasion. All the circumstances considered, if it had been my own father, whose decease, in place of that of his Majesty, I had now to announce, I should be afraid to express any feelings of sorrow, lest I should be taken for a fool or a hypocrite. I should thank GOD that he had released my parent from a state, the prolongation of which could be viewed by no rational man as any thing other than a very serious calamity. I cannot, for my part,

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bring myself to entertain even a good opinion of persons, (especially those not connected with his Majesty by ties of blood), who pretend to be oppressed with grief upon this occasion. However clearly we may be convinced that the death of our parents or children is a great good to themselves, reason, when the moment comes, will give way to the weakness of nature. But, is it not impertinence, as well as affectation in us, who never can have known any thing even of the private character of his Majesty; and who by no possibility, can have contracted for him any personal affection; is it not, in us, impertinence as well as affectation, to pretend that we are overcome by those feelings, which, in the case of parents, children, wives and personal friends, are allowed to lay reason asleep for the moment, and lead men to express their sorrow at events which ought to be a subject of joy?

Decorum, good manners, a feeling of respect for the office of the King, and also a feeling of respect towards his successor, and the rest of his Royal Family; all these call upon us, on an occasion like this, for a grave and serious deportment, and for those outward marks of veneration even for deceased Royalty, which we are not called upon to show on the demise of common men, however highly they may have been respected in their lives and how well soever they may have deserved that respect. But, if we carry the thing further, and, pretend that our feelings are engaged in the matter, all the world sees that we are guilty of affectation, not to call it by the harder name of hypocricy, and they turn from our lugubrious whine with contempt and disdain.

Much higher duties, however, has the public writer to perform in such a case; for, let it be borne in mind that the pages of to day become the documents of posterity. Kings and Princes and all rulers, enjoy, during their lives, innumerable things withheld from common men. And, therefore, it is just that, when that enjoyment comes to an end, the acts of their lives should be more freely canvassed than the acts of common men.

As to the *private* character of his Majesty, I know full as much as my countrymen in general, and that is, just nothing at all. It is to discover a degree of immodesty, rendering the party dead to all feelings of shame, to pretend to know any thing of the character of a personage that the party has never been able to ap-

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proach. His Majesty's private character I know nothing of; I have never known any thing of it; and therefore, nothing can I truly say of it; and not being able to say any thing truly of it (except by mere guess), nothing will I say of it.

Indeed, this is a matter with which we, the subjects of the King, have nothing at all to do. And, if we take but a moment to reflect, we shall see the great danger of our impertinently pretending to meddle, one way or the other, with the private character of a chief Magistrate. If we are to praise him for a good private character, does it not follow that we are to censure him, if he have a bad private character? If we are to obey him with the more willingness and alacrity, on account of his good private character, are we not placed in danger of unwillingness to obey him at all, if his character should happen to be bad? And, let it be borne in mind, that unwillingness to obey is only one short step from *resistance!* Yet, what mischiefs; mischiefs how great and how numerous, and how dreadful in their results, have not arisen from this fatal political error of confounding the private character with the public functions of men in power; magistrates of all descriptions, and especially those of Princes and of Kings!

This is a matter wholly out of our province. The relationship between us and our King, is that of subject and Sovereign; and partake, not, in the smallest degree, of any of those ties which are not purely political. I, therefore, keeping these principles in view, shall now proceed to submit to the public some few observations relative to the acts and events of his Majesty's reign, which reign, instead of having been *glorious*, as some persons have thought proper to declare it to be, has, in my opinion, been *inglorious* in the extreme.

I wish to premise, however, that I ascribe to his late Majesty, none of the acts of his reign; and, of course, none of their fatal consequences. To do this would be to remove the responsibility from where the law and constitution have lodged it, and to place it where it never was yet placed by any faithful subject or sensible man. Our government is not a *monarchy*, which means a government in one single person. It is a mixed political government, at the head of which we have a King, whom the law presumes incapable of doing wrong towards

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his people, while it gives him Ministers, who are, in their own persons, responsible for every act done in his name. To praise the King on account of some acts, implies a perfect right to censure him on account of other acts.—Therefore we must speak of the acts, merely as the acts of his reign, leaving him wholly out of the question.

Keeping this doctrine steadily in our minds, let us take a short review of the acts and events of the reign of his late Majesty, which, as it has been of uncommon duration, has witnessed an uncommon portion of events; and, as we shall find, has seen a change in the affairs of this kingdom, which it is impossible for any man sincerely attached to his country not deeply to deplore.

His late Majesty ascended the Throne under circumstances the most auspicious that ever accompanied the elevation of man. It was towards the close of a war the most completely victorious that the nation had ever known. The pride of France had been humbled by his grand-father's fleets and plain-dressed soldiers. The King himself was the first of his family a *Briton born;* and it might truly be said that he put on the brightest diadem that ever adorned the brow of a sovereign. A most honourable and advantageous peace soon put an end to the war, and enabled him, though his dominions had been greatly extended, to secure the peace and safety of his dominions, uphold the splendour of his throne and maintain his high station amongst the Potentates of Europe, with a military establishment so trifling as hardly to be worthy of the name of an army. Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and other territories had been added to the possessions of his crown; and yet the whole of the taxes raised in the kingdom during the year, amounted to not double the sum which is now annually paid in the shape of wages to tax-gatherers only!

At the end of a few years of peace, evil councillors, in evil hour urged their sovereign into violent contentions with his subjects in the American colonies. Those subjects had, as is usually the case with regard to colonists, been even more strongly attached to their sovereign than those who were placed nearer the throne. They had, in the late war, expended most liberally their blood, as well as their treasure, voluntarily in his service and for his honour; and without their aid, that war might probably have ended

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in disgrace instead of glory. For these generous sacrifices; these marks of fidelity and attachment, they were requited with attempts to compel them to bear taxation without representation. Attached to freedom from their infancy: not less enlightened than they were generous and brave: not less resolute in maintaining their own rights than they had been generous and devoted in maintaining those of their King, they, after having exhausted, to its very sands, the source of petition and remonstrance, took up arms in defence of those rights.

To subdue them, or, as was the phrase of the day, to compel them to submit to be *bound in all cases whatsoever*, by a legislature in which they were permitted to have not a single representative, fleets and armies were sent forth from England, joined by German armies paid out of the taxes of England: fire, sword, famine and false money were spread over their land. After a long and bloody struggle, the colonists triumphed. Liberty bore away the palm; English fleets and armies, so lately crowned with laurels on that same continent, now retired from the contest covered with disgrace.

Out of this event has arisen an independant nation, the rival of Britain in commerce and in naval power: and, perhaps, the day is far less distant than some men must imagine when the armies of that nation may invade this kingdom in return.

When his late Majesty ascended the throne, the annual interest of the National Debt was little more than *four millions and a half*; it is now *more than thirty-two millions*. At that time the whole of the taxes collected in the year, amounted to little more than *eight millions* and a half. They now amount to *fifty-three millions* (exclusive of more than four millions paid in wages to the tax-gatherers); and even these fifty-three millions leave a deficiency of more than eight millions.

But, some one will say, if the taxes have been increased in amount, the means of paying them have also been increased. The *positive* means have, but the *relative* means have not. Rich and *poor* are relative terms. The man whose estate renders him one hundred a year, and whose outgoings are confined within that sum, is richer than the man whose estates are worth a hundred thousand a year, and whose outgoings are extended beyond his income. *Rich* and *poor*, are not terms to be made use of in considering the af-

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fairs of a nation. Happiness and misery are the terms; and as the criterion of the sum of happiness and misery which existed at the time of his Majesty's ascending the Throne, and those existing at the time of his demise; is to be looked for in the relative amount of the poor-rates of England and Wales, let the following facts be remembered: when the King ascended the Throne, the poor-rates amounted to *one million a year*; and they now amount to more, perhaps, than *fifteen millions a year*; while, besides this enormous demand, every creature with a pound in his pocket, is called upon for voluntary contributions to stifle the incessant cries of starving millions.

Ah! my countrymen! must we keep silence; must we choak with the words that we could utter! No; let us, at any rate, if there be, as we are told, no cure for our sufferings, indulge in the last sad privileges of degraded nature in crying out, and uttering our sighs and groans. If, when his Majesty ascended the Throne, some one had told him to check the honest exultations into which he could not, in the ardour of his youth, refrain from bursting out; if some one, in that happy hour, had said to him, "be not too vain, young "Prince; exult not too much in "the thought of ruling over this "industrious, laborious, ingenious, frank, brave and happy "people; for, before your days be "numbered, they shall be a mass "of human beings the most "wretched on which the sun ever "shone. Their boasted independence of spirit, and the solidity "of their dealings shall flee like "the sands of the desert before the "chicanery and craft of taxation "and paper money. Their boasted freedom shall go staggering "along under blow after blow; "'till at last, ere the tardy messenger of death shall summon "you away, Englishmen shall not "dare to meet to discuss matters "appertaining to their rights without being superintended by persons having authority to make "them disperse upon pain of "transportation; and, as to the "expression of their opinions upon paper, if, per chance, they "should utter that which may be "thought to have a *tendency* to "bring either House of Parliament into contempt, they shall "be liable to be banished for life. "Bridle, therefore, your exultation, young Prince; for, from "this now happy England, shall "its natives petition to be transported to seek refuge from their

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"misery amongst savages in the "snows of Canada, or in the Afri- "can sands." If any one had said this to his late Majesty, during his walks at Kew, in the bloom of his life, would he not have answered: "Away, lying prophet; that "which thou foretellest is as im- "possible as that the sun should "shed darkness instead of light!"

However, let us never despair of any thing that we ought to cherish; and, above all things, let us never despair of our country; let us say with our mouths, and accompany the words with the wishes of our hearts: "GOD SAVE "KING GEORGE THE "FOURTH!" And, that we may not be hypocrites, let us, when we dare, and as far as we dare, tell him honestly what we think of the conduct of his servants, and aid him, as far as we are able and are permitted to aid him, in endeavouring to restore our country to freedom and to happiness, and thereby using the only sure means of giving tranquillity to his reign and dignity and safety to his Throne.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT's EVENING POST.

12 *February*, 1820.

The Press has been called the *guardian of public morals*. And, though, in the conduct of the London daily press, for some time past, during which time that press has been the vehicle of garbled statements, relative to a man's most private affairs, and has been in co-operation with perfidious men who have been abandoned enough to make a boast of being guilty of *breaches of private confidence*; though, in the conduct of this press, it has been very difficult to discover any very good proofs of its being the guardian of public morals; and though a like proof has not been very easy to be discovered in the very liberal use of the words apostate, miscreant, blasphemer, villain, and the like, against a man upon whom they were unable to prove any one single instance of irreligion, immorality or indecency: though this press has not, for some years past, merited the high title above mentioned; and though I do not flatter myself ever to see it merit much commendation; I have to congratulate the public in general and our friends the Reformers, in particular, that this press has, within the space of the *last nine days*, discovered some favourable symptoms of amendment. It has ceased its outrageous and indecent abuse. It has refrained from again dipping into private account

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books; from publishing lists of mortgages and book-debts; from being the vehicle of accounts of arrests and of forgeries pretending to be old private letters, which, if authentic, must necessarily have *been stolen*, and must as necessarily have been communicated by *a thief*. It has ceased this part of its almost daily practice; and for this salutary change in its conduct the scandalized public has to thank *this paper*; which has operated with regard to this most "respectable" part of the press in exactly the same way that a good heavy stone taken up by a man pursued by a barking cur, operates upon the conduct of that cur. The cur becomes, under such circumstances, silent and good-mannered: at least, he ceases from his pursuit; and thus has it happened with this part of the press.

Generally speaking, a daily newspaper is worse than a weekly newspaper, so far as falsehoods told every day are more mischievous than falsehoods told once a week. But, a newspaper containing true intelligence, and remarks just as well as prompt upon all that passes, is certainly a most useful thing. And, my paper, I hope, will be of this sort; I think, that at this crisis it will be of the greatest service to the country. The prevention of falsehoods is one effect of it, and the conveying of truth is another. I recommend to the Reformers to join, in half-dozens, dozens, twenties, or thirties, as it happen; to apply to some one (if it be in the country) who is known in town, to order it of a news-man; and, they may take my word for it, that they will then be far better informed than those who do not do the same.

WM. COBBETT.

SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

My readers will see what I have said on this subject. I have stated fairly to the people my reasons for wishing to be placed in Parliament, and I think they may by this time have a pretty tolerable opinion of what I could do there. But, the acting when there, and the getting there, are two different things. The services I could render cannot be rendered unless *I be put* there; and this depends upon the people. I know the peoples' minds are made up upon it, and it now only wants a little *individual exertion*. Only think, if every one were *to do something!* And in return for this (which

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would *secure success*, mind,) what might you have from me! I have offered myself for the City of Coventry, and have pledged myself to stand the election, let who will have the impudence to oppose us; and if such there be, difficult shall be his task. But, though *I* shall do my best, I cannot do all *myself*. The people of Coventry are a public-spirited people, and always have been. But they are not all of them on the spot; and it will be necessary to raise the means to carry down the voters from London. They have been so worn down by corruption that great numbers of them are left almost destitute; besides, it would be unjust to expect them to go at their own expence. They will do their parts by going to Coventry to vote for me, if the people of England will afford them the means.

I therefore do urge the Reformers to bestir themselves. I am anxious upon this subject because there is no time to be lost. It is suggested to me by some of the Electors in Town who have formed themselves into a committee, to recommend to you, in Town and Country, to form little *sub-committees* of six, or a dozen of friends, as it may happen, to make collections; and then the sums which you collect you should send without loss of time, directed to me, at the office of Cobbett's Evening Post, London, or to be left for the Committee (by those who are in the neighbourhood) at the Jacob's Wells Tavern, Barbican, where the Committee meet.

WM. COBBETT.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

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81] LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1820. [82

HISTORY

OF THE

COVENTRY ELECTION,

Which began on the 8th, and ended on the 16th, of March, 1820.

TO

Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT,

AT NEW YORK.

Botley, 23 March, 1820.

MY DEAR JAMES,

The recent *Election at Coventry* will form an important epoch, not only in my political career, but in that of this corrupting, corroding, and destroying system of sway. Therefore, I shall endeavour to give a full and clear account of the matter from the beginning to the end; and, if this account contain but too many proofs of the corrupt state of the people generally; of the base and slavish propensity of many; of the cowardice and ferocity of a considerable proportion of those engaged in elections: if this be the picture I have to draw, the fault will be found to be in the subject, and not in the painter. I must speak the *truth*, whatever be the pain it may give me.

This election, as far as I had any part in it, must be considered as immediately connected with my return to England; for, had it not been with a hope of getting into parliament, I should not have returned, foreseeing and foretelling, as I did, that measures for *stifling the press* would certainly be adopted before the end of last year. Before I sailed, we had the news of the Manchester tragedy, and of Sidmouth's letter to the Magistrates. It was easy to see what was to follow. Indeed, we all saw it; and it was, at New York, a common observation, that the Parliament would *be sitting to receive me with new laws against the press!* My uncommonly short passage prevented this prediction from being fulfilled to the very letter. The Parliament met the day after that on which I landed; and, the press-stifflers were before it in forty-eight hours afterwards.

But, I calculated on the *King's death*, and upon the chance of getting into Parliament when that should happen. If I succeeded in this, I knew, that I should very quickly produce *a great effect* of

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one sort or another. My desire was to produce a *healing* effect; to produce a change *within*, and to prevent it from being produced *from without*; to propose measures, calculated to restore the country to prosperity and peace; in short, to do great things for the country, without any view to self-interest.

Therefore, the moment the king's death was announced, I announced my intention to stand for *Coventry*, which is a city containing about twenty thousand souls, and the business in which is, principally, *Watch-making* and Ribbon-weaving. It is in the County of Warwick, and is within a few miles of the centre of England. The land all around it, for many many miles, is very rich indeed. It is like *garden ground*. Much of it is in grass; and the cattle and sheep are generally very fine and fat. Nature and art appear to have exhausted their joint stock upon the land and cattle in this part of England; and yet, good God! what a miserable race of *human* beings! what a ragged, squalid, woe-worn assemblage of creatures! The poor wretches toil for *their masters* and for the *Tax-eaters*. Enough is left them, and barely enough, to sustain *life*; and thus debility becomes a *habit* with them. My compassion towards the mass must necessarily be blunted by the atrocious acts, which some part of the mass committed, while I was at Coventry; but, I, nevertheless, do most sincerely regret, that I have not the power of alleviating their sufferings. Many of them were so good, so true, so faithful, that their conduct would, if any thing could, make me forget the ruffians, who were hired to stab and tear my friends.

The right of voting at Coventry is *solely* in the *Freemen*, as they are called. That is, all those who have, by regular indenture of apprenticeship, served seven years to one and the same trade in the City or Suburbs of Coventry. There are about *three thousand* of these Freemen. So that this would appear to be a very just thing, seeing that it gives to these men, who are, for the far greater part, *poor men*, the power of sending two men to parliament. But, you will by-and-by see, that this power is really no power at all; and that, in every case the *will* of these *Freemen* (as they are called) is nothing; but that they are compelled, or, at least, a majority of them, to obey *the will of others*. That, in fact, these poor fellows bear the name of *Freemen*, and are, all the while, *real slaves*; aye, as completely slaves as are the negroes in Jamaica. Generally these facts are not made to appear so plainly. But, upon this occasion, the *feelings* of men were

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roused. *Conscience* had to try its strength openly against *direct force* of various kinds; and therefore, now the poor, wretched Freemen stand exposed in all their degradation.

You will observe, that *all* the Freemen have a right to vote; and, as some hundreds live in London, and some hundreds more at Birmingham, and at other towns, in different parts of the Kingdom, the *expence* is always considerable; for, these out-living Freemen require not only to be *taken to* Coventry, but to be *entertained there* and *on the road*, and to be *paid for their time* into the bargain! This, to begin with, is a pretty complete stab at the chance of fair play; for, it is evident, that, as to these out-livers, the heaviest purse is pretty sure to have the greater part of them.

My first step was to meet the *London voters*, to address them, and to explain my motives to them as fully as was necessary. You would have been *charmed* with their *enthusiasm!* You would have thought, that they would have gone barefooted and fasting in Coventry to vote for me. They did not, however, forget to grasp as much money as they could, and while I am happy to have to say, that *some* of them acted a most honourable and patriotic part, others of them appeared to be as selfish and greedy and base a crew as I ever set eyes on. I told some of them at Coventry, that I really was sorry, that the Coventry men were not as base as they; for that then, I should go home happy in the reflection, that the government of CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH was just such a government as they deserved.

However, the main part of the people at Coventry were very different from those London speculators in corruption, and had not *brutal force* been employed, I should have been elected by a very large majority; for, though *coercion* of every kind was made use of, still the conviction in my favour was so strong and so general, that a majority would have declared for me, had not *beating* and *stabbing* been resorted to.

I had been at Coventry one night before the election, and, by writing and speaking, had produced great effect upon the minds of the people, who appeared to consider this as *no common* case. Having seen the Freemen in London again, and arranged matters in town, I set off for Coventry, with your sister, on the night of Monday, the 28th of February; the election being to come on the next week. We went all the night (the coldest of the winter) in a post chaise; breakfasted at DAVENTRY, twenty miles from Coventry, on the Tuesday morning, and then proceeded on

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towards DUNCHURCH, which is eleven miles from Coventry. Here we were met by messengers, who brought accounts, that I should certainly be *murdered*, if I attempted to enter the city. The band of rich ruffians, who had leagued together against me, thought and said, that, if I entered, and remained, talking to the people, until the day of election, I should be sure to be elected. They, therefore, got together, on the morning of Tuesday the 29th of February, a parcel of men, whom they made partly drunk, and whom they gave orders to go out, meet me at a bridge, about a mile from the City, and if I refused to return to London, *fling me over the bridge*.

I could hardly bring myself to believe this; but, I should have been less incredulous if (as I afterwards saw) I had supposed these rich ruffians capable of hiring men to *carry knives* for the purpose of *cutting* and *stabbing* their opponents. While we were deliberating on what course to pursue, a gentleman arrived with intelligence, that the enemy had drawn up, rank and file, in the City; that they were marching off with fourteen banners waving over their heads, and with drums and music in their front; and that, they had not reached the outside of the City, when *our friends* sallied forth upon them, took away their banners, staved in their drums, dispersed them in all directions, and set off on their march to meet me.

Of course, it now became necessary for me to get on as fast as possible; but, the two landlords at Dunchurch (who had, doubtless, been *prepared*) *refused to let me have a chaise!* In this difficulty, your sister and I got into a gig, which had been brought out by a friend, and went on as fast as we could. At about four miles from Coventry we met with some small advanced parties of young men, with leaves of laurel in their hats and boughs in their hands. Some friends soon after met us with a post-chaise, into which we got. The groups of persons, assembled on the road, grew more frequent and larger as we approached the City. All the villages, to five or six miles distance, on each side of the road, had poured out their population; and, by the time that we arrived at Coventry, the number could be little short of twenty thousand.

The people had drawn the chaise from the distance of about three miles from the City, and before we actually got into the streets, the curiosity to see me was so strongly expressed, that I was obliged to get out of the chaise and stand upon the foot-board *with my hat off*. The effect of this, added to that of a *cold*, caught

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in London, proved, in the end, an evil, which I have lamented more than any other misfortune of my life; or, rather, than all other misfortunes put together. The loss of the election was a mere nothing, when compared with the *loss of my voice*, which was nearly as complete as if I had been dumb from my birth.

I was thus drawn through all the principal streets, which did not occupy a space of much less than *two hours*, in a *frosty evening*, part after sun-set. The acclamations were so general and so hasty; the enthusiasm so great; the words as well as actions of the mass of the people so clearly expressive of ardent attachment to the cause of which I was the representative, that it was not being at all credulous to suppose, that corruption, however foul and persevering, would be unable to produce, finally, a successful resistance against me. However, I resolved to proceed with caution; but, as my cold and my most unfortunate *hoarseness*, wholly disqualified me for a canvass *in person*, I was compelled to rely on the reports of others, which were, however, all favourable, and all fully warranted by every indication, whereon a judgment might reasonably be formed.

The *savage violence* of our enemies was no bad sign of the fairness of our prospect. This began to show itself on the very night of my arrival. Our friends, satisfied with the victory of the day, had retired to their homes, when the savages, who had been hired by the Band of *Rich Ruffians*, sallied forth, dashed in the windows of the house of Mr. Sergeant, at which I was, and made many brutal attacks upon individuals, whom they took unawares in the streets, or at public houses. Even at this early period, they cut several persons with *knives*; and, there is no doubt in my mind, that they were *furnished with knives by their employers*, for the express purpose of being used in cutting and stabbing. This supposition may, by some, be thought *monstrous*: but, the *facts*, which have since come out, fully warrant it. I am, my dear James, ashamed to relate these things of *Englishmen*, who have heretofore been famed for *fair play*; but, I must relate them, or not do justice to my own friends at Coventry, who, though full of honest zeal, never thought of carrying an election *at the point of the knife*. The knives appear to have been *all of one sort*, or nearly so. *Stout pen-knives*, with sharp points. I saw two drunken savages, carter fellows, brandishing each a knife of this sort in the face of the hustings, and threatening *to rip my voters up*.

From the *Tuesday* night to the

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evening of the next *Monday* things remained pretty quiet. On Monday, the sixth of March, MOORE and ELLICE arrived in Coventry; but, not as I had arrived, drawn in by the people, and having no protection but the general good wishes. From a very early hour in the morning, great numbers of men, selected for the purpose, had been *fed* and *drenched* for the job. But, this was not deemed sufficient. The *Rich Ruffians* themselves turned out on horse-back, armed with *staves*, the small end of which they held in their hands, having the big end ready *to knock down with*. Guarded by this species of Yeomanry Cavalry, the two stupid heroes entered the town; and, as a signal of their arrival, their hired Savages again mauled in the windows of Mr. SERGEANT, which had been mended after the former attack. Upon this occasion the hired Savages made an attempt to *enter the house*; but, they, after getting into the passage, were beaten back into the street, and they discovered as much cowardice as ever was discovered in the world, *except by* ELLICE, at a subsequent period of the contest, which I shall notice in a particular manner by-and-by.

From Monday evening to the Wednesday morning all was bustle and preparation on the part of the enemy, who was flying about the country in all directions to get together *stout* rascals, fitted for the intended acts of violence. On Wednesday morning the election began; and, to the utter astonishment and indescribable terror of ELLICE, the poll closed in the afternoon, leaving *me at the head of it!*

It is, before I go any further, necessary that I bring you better acquainted with my opponents, their connections and their supporters. MOORE has been a member for Coventry eighteen years. He had, a little before that, come *home from India* with a great parcel of money, got, of course, in the usual way, in which money is got in those regions. He had gone out an *understrapping clerk*, and had made good use of his time. Coventry elections (the first of which he lost) took most of the bullion from his garb, and left him little but tinsel. Nevertheless, the expenditure of his money got him a *footing*; linked him personally with certain Master Silk-Weavers, whose friendly offices he paid with vulgar familiarities. There was a congeniality between the parties that endeared them to each other. The old India Clerk was still a clerk, in mind, though a Member of Parliament in name and rank. He boasts of his great attention to the *interests* of City, and of the *Freemen* in particular. That is to say, his getting little *places* for some of them, or their sons, under the East India Company (of which he has always continued a *something*); his getting others *out of scrapes with the Excise office*; and, he boasts, I am told, of the vast number of Coventry-men, for whom he has procured a

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mitigation of punishment, when condemned to *death* or to some other ignominious or heavy punishment. This, though a very *pretty* occupation for a member of parliament, was no silly way of going to work to keep his ground. It was a thing that I would have scorned to do; but, perhaps, it was one of the most efficacious means of securing a seat for life. However, all these *little* means would have failed without *large sums of money*: and these MOORE (for the best of all possible reasons) has not, of late years attempted to expend on elections. Still, large sums being absolutely necessary, it has, of late, been contrived, that a man *with money* shall *come in* with MOORE against every other opponent. And, in the present case and the preceding one, ELLICE has been the man with the money. MOORE is a singularly mean-looking man, with not the smallest portion of talent, but with a great deal of impudence, and an apparently utter insensibility to the feelings of shame. But, you will need nothing more than to be told, that, for many years last past (until very lately) he was a sort of *managing clerk to Drury-Lane Play-house!* I remember this man's *name* occurring frequently, in political circles, during the last twenty years; but, always with a sort of ridicule attached to it. He has always been called "*Peter* Moore;" and, as is well known, the bare fact of the Christian name being constantly used (when speaking of persons in this rank of life), instead of the word *Mister*: this bare fact proves that there is something ludicrous attached to the very character of the party. You will, perhaps, wonder, why the *Rich Men* at Coventry should prefer a man like this to a man like me. But, you have not yet seen enough of mankind to be able, at once, to discover the reason. These men, though *rich in* money, are very *poor* in mind. The money has not been able to remove the vulgarity of their way of thinking. Such men, conscious that their *only* possession is money, hate *talent* wherever they find it. MOORE is just the sort of man for them. He talks, drinks, does every thing in their way: writes to them "My *dear Charles*, and My *dear Abraham*"; though these are men, who, unable to break themselves of their early habits, regularly spend every evening of their lives in alehouses, where they smoke and drink till midnight. Such men are full of low cunning; and, they had only to hear me talk for five minutes to be well convinced, that they would never get any "*dear Charleses*" and "*dear Abrahams*" from me. They could easily foresee, that, if I once became a Member for their city, their political consequence was gone for ever; and, in proportion to the unfitness of a man to meddle with such matters, you always find him reluctant to give up his power of meddling.—These men, as far as I visited them, were, on my first visit to Coventry, very civil to me. They expressed their anxious wish to *see me in parliament*: but, wished, not less anxiously, that I should get a seat somewhere

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else! I could perceive the real ground of their objection: I could perceive, that they trembled for their own future consequence: and, could I have brought myself to play the hypocrite, after the same manner of CARDINAL MONTALTO: could I have condescended to make professions of future subserviency to their will, and could I have succeeded in the attempt, they would have been as clamourous for me as they were against me. But they saw, that, my success would, at once, put an end to their political power, and would for ever set at real liberty the great body of Freemen, who had so long been their slaves.—That this was the true ground of the opposition I had to experience you will not doubt, for a moment, when I tell you, that several of these hirers of the Savages with knives were *Reformers*, and even *Radicals*, and that they had *actually subscribed* towards the expences of a *Radical Meeting*, held in the neighbourhood of the City, last fall!—These facts present a striking and horrid picture of the selfishness of this description of persons, and of the nothingness of principle and of public duty, when these come athwart their enjoyment or pursuit of power. Yet they rail against the Boroughmongers, whom they call upon to part with *their* power; though the Borough power is full as lawful, and less odious and tyrannical, than the power held and enforced by these low and base usurpers of the Freemen's rights.

In ELLICE they had a man with *some money*; but, they had a very difficult game to play with him.—The last election had cost him *many thousands more* than he expected. They had *themselves subscribed* some thousands. They were unwilling to subscribe again. They had given him the most solomn assurances, that *this* contest would cost him scarcely any thing. They had assured him, that I should not get *fifty votes*. When he arrived, the coldness of his reception by the people alarmed him: and he was ready to *be off*, if he saw the poll going against him. ELLICE is of *City* origin. The *'Change* has been his theatre. He is a partner in a mercantile house; and, by marriage, is related to *Lord Grey*, whose sister or relation of some sort (the widow of some naval or military officer) is ELLICE's wife. There is one of the numerous instances, in which the pride of Aristocracy has been bent down to an alliance with the 'CHANGE. These alliances, arising out of a desire to get wealth on the one side and out of vanity on the other, have been one of the great causes of that perseverance in upholding the system of *banking and funding*, which system has spread such ruin and misery all over this kingdom, and which will,

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finally, make this once great country the most contemptible upon the face of the earth.

ELLICE is a very tall man. More than six feet high. As big as Mr. HULME about the shoulders and breast, but with a frame *tapering downwards*. This great, bulky body is surmounted by a head as disadvantageous in appearance as any that I ever saw in my life. A forehead *falling back on the sides*; and the angle formed by the line drawn from the bottom of the ear to the point of the nose, and by that passing from the point of the nose to the crown of the head, is uncommonly acute; so that, if the doctrine of GALL be not wholly false, the *animal* prevails here in an unusual degree. The eye, set in a shallow socket, is large, round, dull, and of downward cast. Very much like that of the chubby, good-tempered, honest Jew, who sells cakes and oranges on board the Steamboat, which crosses from NEW YORK to BROOKLYN. The voice of ELLICE is what we may call *soft* and *fat*. He has nothing of the *keenness* of 'Change Alley about him. He would seem to have taken lessons to acquire the Bond-Street *croak*. In short, imagine a great *school-boy of forty*, and you have my man fully before your eyes.

Such were my opponents; and, I leave you to guess at the *fright* of ELLICE, when, on the first evening of the election, he saw me at the *head of the poll!* It was now, to the utter confusion of my enemies, quite clear, that unless some *violent* means were resorted to, I should be elected. A *fourth* candidate (Capt. CLOSE) had been put forward *by the Corporation*, with the hope of getting MOORE out and *keeping me out*, by causing votes to be split between CLOSE and ELLICE; but, those who voted for the Captain, generally voted *for me* also; so that their scheme was soon found to have failed. The rage of our opponents, on the Wednesday night, was, therefore, extreme. ELLICE skulked out of the Booth before the close of the poll; and his band of Rich Ruffians had the utmost difficulty to prevail on him to remain in the city another day; and were absolutly forced to *set on foot a subscription* to induce him to stay. At this stage of the affair, it was in

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contemplation of ELLICE and his *immediate* friends to *shuffle off* old PETER; but, Peter *threatened;* he said he would not be "*bamboozled* out of his election." He talked of certain *correspondences* and *contracts;* and, he brought the *shufflers* to a determination to carry him along. If Captain CLOSE, who appeared to be a very good and frank man, had listened to a proposition of mine, both the humbugs would have been packed off on the Thursday. But, the Town Clerk, who, I suppose, spoke for the Corporation, would not let him agree to it. We should, in that case, have had the civil authority to protect us against *the hired Savages with knives;* and that would have decided the election on the Thursday.

On the Thursday the Savages came well fed and well supplied, all the day long, with *gin* and *brandy*, brought out to them in glass bottles, and handed about from one to the other in the face of the Booth, where a scene of violence and sounds of execrations were witnessed and heard, such, as I hope, were never matched, and never will be again matched, in the world. I that day saw above twenty of my voters actually torn away from the polling place, and ripped up behind, and stripped of their coats, and sometimes, even of their waistcoats! Nevertheless, in spite of all this destruction: in spite of blows, ripping up, and even stabs, my voters persevered to such a degree as to put me nearly on a level with my opponents at the close of the poll; and, if the *infirm persons*, whom I had got *into* the Booth, had been permitted to poll, I should have stood *above Moore* at the end of the second day. I had about twenty of these in the Booth ready to poll. These (for what *reason* I never could discover) were not permitted to poll. They were, after long waiting, got away in safety; but, they never dared to venture to come up again.

It was now clearly seen, that I *had the votes*. And, therefore, unless these votes could be *prevented from being given*, it was clear, that I must be seated in parliament, especially as no one act had been committed by me or by my friends, of an unlawful or violent nature. Therefore, grand preparations were

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made by the *Rich Ruffians* for the *next day*. They, indeed, had done much on the day just closed. We saw, during the afternoon, several fresh bands of Savages arrive from the country by *sixes, eights*, or *tens;* so that, by the hour of closing the poll, an immense multitude of these wretches, roaring like wolves, and foaming with rage and drink, were collected round the Booth.

This evening ELLICE went out of of the Booth in great dudgeon. I, not suspecting any attempt against me personally, followed, at a few paces distance, intending to go to the house of a Mr. GRANT, where my Committee was, and which might be about forty yards from the Booth. I had to pass through the bands of Savages; and I was scarcely amongst them, when they (at ELLICE's instigation) began an endeavour to *press me down*. They were more than a *thousand* in number, including the mere partizans of my enemies. Several attempts were made to press me down. I got many blows in the sides; and, if I had been either a *short* or a *weak* man, I must have been pressed under foot, and inevitably killed. However, the crowd took a swag towards a row of houses, standing on a pavement above the level of area of the open street, or sort of square. With a good deal of difficulty I reached the pavement keeping my feet. I had, when I left the Booth, my snuff-box in my right hand. It is oblong square, and has very sharp corners. The Savages pressed me side-ways towards my left; and I had to fight with my right hand, in order to prevent them from getting me down. I had to strike back-handed. One of the sharp corners of the snuff-box, which stuck out beyond the bottom of my little finger, did *good service*. It cut the noses and eyes of the Savages at a famous rate, and assisted mainly in securing my safe arrival, on the raised pavement, on which I got just opposite the door of a shop. Just at this time, one of the Savages, foaming at the mouth like a mad dog, exclaimed: "*damn him, I'll rip him up.*" He was running his hand into his breeches pocket, apparently to take out his *knife*, but I, being pulled up to the door-way by the left arm by two young women, who wished, I suppose, to get me into the house

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drew up my right leg, armed with a new and sharp-edged gallashe over my boot, dealt Mr. Ellice's ripping Savage so delightful a blow, just between his two eyes, that he fell back upon his followers. For this I should certainly have been killed in a few moments, had not Mr. FRANK SERGEANT, who, seeing my danger, had made shift to get along, by the side of the houses, to the spot where I was, happily came to my assistance. Never did I behold a more gallant young man than this! Having got to me, he turned round, saying *follow me, Sir*, and, having first beaten back three or four of the Savages, so as to make them press upon others behind them, the whole body, which were on the pavement turned about, while he with thumps on some with his hands, with kicks bestowed upon others, set the body on a swag towards the house of Mr. GRANT, at which we arrived quickly in safety. The young gentleman merits, my dear JAMES, the best thanks of every creature, who has a regard for me. To him I certainly owe my life. The manner, in which he, at the manifest hazard of his own life, saved my life, will never be effaced from my memory; and, if Coventry and its neighbourhood, contains five hundred cowardly Savages and a score or two of still more cowardly Rich Ruffians to employ and urge them on to deeds of blood, it also contains FRANCIS SERGEANT, whose merits atone, in my eyes, for all the atrocious acts of the Ruffians and their Savages.

ELLICE has had the meanness to deny, that he set his Savages on to attack me upon this occasion. But, we have *two persons*, and many others have offered, to *declare upon oath*, that he was guilty of the base and cowardly act; an act well worthy of him and of the race, to which he belongs; but, unworthy of any thing else, in the shape of man.

This atrocious attempt gave us a sort of foretaste of what was to be attempted against us on the next day (Friday), for the arrival of which we waited with some impatience. We were informed, that the bands of Savages had been greatly augmented from the country; that they were now divided

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in regular bodies, fed and drenched at different houses, regularly paid, and ready to be brought out in succession, in order to *relieve* each other. We had nothing in the way of *force*. We depended upon our number of voters, and of these we knew that we had a decided majority.

When the poll opened we had between *three and four hundred men*, all arranged by the side of the booth; all ready to poll; all was quiet; the polling was going *on rapidly*. In the space of *an hour and a half*, I had *topped Moore* upon the poll. I was then polling at the rate of *twenty* to *one* against the other two Candidates. In another hour, ELLICE, who had *not had the courage to shew his face at the Booth that morning*, would have been off to London, seeing that he had tried in vain to shake off MOORE. This was the state of things, when the Rich Ruffians of Coventry brought their Savages to the attack, and in fact, they now *decided* the matter as completely as if they had brought a regiment of horse to take possession of the Booth and to drive away my voters.

The Booth has no *rail-way*, or any other protection for the voters. It seems admirably calculated to give advantage to those who will condescend to employ force. It is a mere *enclosure*, a little more than breast high, and up against this place men stand to vote, exposed to every species of violence that others may choose to employ. The ground, too, is *sloping*, and the slope runs longways of the Booth. So that, though men may be standing ready to poll, it is by no means difficult to force them away, if the assailants be at all superior in point of numbers or strength.

After the polling, on this memorable Friday, had gone on in the manner, and during the time, above described, the *Rich Ruffians* (several of them in person) came with their savages, *not less than five hundred in number*, in regular order, about eight or ten deep, with drums and banners at their head. They made their approach by the higher part of the ground. The head of this column of Savages began the attack upon my voters at the upper end of the Booth. *Fighting* was out of the question. All attempts to resist were vain. And, in five

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minutes, *three hundred* of my voters were as completely driven away as if an army had made an attack upon them.

After this, not a man dare to shew his face in order to vote for me, during that whole day. If a man crept in unperceived, he was, as soon as discovered, pulled back, dragged away, jostled, beaten, or cut. The ferocity of the Savages, this day, was such as I thought human beings incapable of. I have seen parcels of drunken soldiers. I have seen gangs of furious and drunken sailors. I have seen roaring mobs in London. I have seen whole bands of American Indians, drunk with rum. But, never did my eyes behold any thing in human shape so ferocious, so odiously, so diabolically ferocious, as those bands of villains, hired, paid, fed, and drenched by the Rich Ruffians of Coventry. I have seen much of the world: I have seen French, Irish, Scotch, Americans, Spaniards, Portuguse, and American Indians. I have always been proud of my native country. Few men, with like means, have boasted more than I have of *English humanity* and *fair-play*. But, never, since I was born, did I see any thing so disgraceful to human nature; so ferocious; so odious; so hateful; as the conduct of the Rich Ruffians and their savages, at Coventry, on Friday, the tenth of March, 1820.

There were about sixty wretches, stationed opposite the poling place for the express purpose of putting forth *execrations* on me. They and all the savages were regularly supplied with gin or brandy. The *execrators* foamed at mouth, till, in some cases, the foam extended itself widely down into their dirty and long beards. I actually saw a wretch, who kept on repeating: "*G—d* "*blast you!*", till the foam, from white, became brown all round his mouth. There were two fellows with broad faces, one of them pocked-marked, who sent forth execrations and foam, till they whitened over the shoulders of a man that stood just before them. One old wretch, who had swallowed a great deal of gin, exhausted himself so much by straining his throat, that he, at last, fell down in a sort of fit, with the curses on his lips!

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The way I managed the brutes was well calculated to sting them and their employers to madness. I have, perhaps, as much of *good-humour* on my countenance, naturally, and as little of the gloomy, as any man that ever lived; and, I defy the Rich Ruffians of Coventry to say, that the *thousand pounds a day* (for that was about the sum), which they expended on their savages, ever took away that good-humour for one single moment! My way was to stand and look upon the yelling beasts with a most good-humoured smile; turning my head now and then, and leaning it, as it were to take different views of the same person, or same group. I now and then substituted something of *curiosity* instead of the general total *unconcern*, that was seated upon my face. Now and then, I would put my mouth close to the ear of some friend that stood by me, and then point to some beast that was foaming with rage, giving him at the same time a laughing look, such as we bestow on a dog that is chained up and barking at us. Then, another time, when half a dozen fresh-drenched brutes were bursting forth close under my nose, I would stretch up my neck, and look, with apparently great curiosity and anxiousness towards a distant part of the crowd, as if to ascertain what was passing there; and this I would do with so much apparent earnestness and continue in the attitude so long, that the beasts really seemed, sometimes, as if they were going mad! I never had so good an opportunity to *philosophise* before. A friend, who saw these man-brutes said, that they shook his faith in *the immortality of the soul!* But, I see no reason at all for any such conclusion. I believe, and I have long believed, that there are more *sorts* of men than there are of dogs. The mere circumstance of a creature's walking upon *two legs* is no proof, that he is of the same *sort* or *kind* as I am, or as any other man of mind is. I really looked at and heard these brutes, till they became a subject of amusing speculation; and I could not help concluding that it would be a species of impiety to consider them as partaking in the smallest degree, of the nature of such men as POPE or PAINE. Your old sow, that went to the top of the hillock to ascertain which way the wind was coming before she fixed on the side of the barn to put her pigs to bed for the night: Your dog Carnot, who upon finding his game, comes and, in looks, asks you to go with him to the spot: BOXER and NAP, who when on Long Island, sucked, in one year, at least five thousand eggs, and yet so wisely managed their affairs as never to get one single drubbing, but, even when the whip was raised, disarmed us

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all, one after after another. I thought of all these, while I was looking at and hearing the hired Savages of Warwickshire; and I could not bring myself to feel any thing like *anger* towards the poor beasts, every one of whom I sincerely regard as inferior to any of the animals abovementioned; and, perhaps, the far greater part of their employers are greatly inferior to CARNOT, or OLD BESS. I am sure they are much less decent in their behaviour, and discover less of intellect. The word *fellow-creature* is generally very foolishly used. All *created* things, whether animate or inanimate, are *fellow-creatures*. A Warwickshire Savage, or his employer, is, therefore, my *fellow-creature*; but so is a bug, a flea, or a louse, as SWIFT observes; and, as I may hold these latter things wholly beneath me in nature, so, I trust, I may the former. I am sure I should be very miserable, if I could believe myself to be of the *same* nature.

This, or something very much like it, was the train of my ideas, while contemplating the horrid groups at the Booth. A parcel of frogs or toads, croaking in a pool of dirty water, could as soon have disturbed the muscles of my face as these miserable and degraded things could have done it. When one of the beasts attempted to *strike* me, however, the feeling became *different!* He reached over the side of the Booth, and caught me by the collar, which was instantly repaid by a blow in his face, for, as SWIFT says, "if a *flea* or a *louse* bite me, I'll kill it, if I can." The sight, this day, was such as *Hogarth* should have seen. Your brother William has made a sketch; but, it was done from *memory*. He had no good situation in the booth; and, to do the thing well, required several hours. He has, however, got several separate portraits, and we have been tracing in them the strong resemblances to different animals. When you come to divest them of the mere appendages of dress, and compare them, as to *form of head*, with mastiff and pug dogs, you will be surprised at the nearness of the resemblance.

Such, my dear James, were the scenes and the transactions of the Friday. The Saturday exhibited something very much the same, except that many of the *execrating* Savages having become *hoarse*, they were seen *moving their lips* instead of being heard. However, the thing was, in fact, *decided* the day before. The driving of my voters away, the tearing and ripping their clothes to pieces, and the *dreadful threats* held out to them, if they dared to come up again, had given my base and cowardly opponents a majority that formed an apology for many of my voters to keep away, especially as it was now manifest to every one, *that the election ought to be set aside*. This day, however, I should have very nearly recovered my ground, had not my voters been again driven away in great bodies. In short, there was no more any freedom of election than there would have been if a whole army had been posted to prevent my being elected.

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At the close of the poll on *Saturday*, the fourth day, ELLICE and MOORE were much annoyed by my resolution to keep the poll open the next week. Their friends, the *Rich Ruffians*, on whom some, at least, of the expence was to fall, were still more annoyed. And they conceived the idea of *driving me out of the City*. In the evening, about dusk, their Savages, led on by two or three of the Ruffian employers, made *a regular attack upon Mr. Sergeant's house*, vowing their resolution to *drag me out and kill me*. They first dashed in the upper room windows; next they pulled down the shutters of the ground floor room. They then broke into the house passage by forcing in the door; and we expected them upstairs pretty quickly; and while the main body were entering in front, others were (as we could see from the window of our room) scaling a wall to get into the house in the rear by way of the garden. I, who was very ill with a cold, was sitting in my bed-room with your sister Nancy. Some gentlemen came running up for our *poker* and *tongs*. Dinner had been going on down stairs; and Mrs. SERGEANT had taken away the knives and forks and carried them into the cellar for fear the savages should use them to stab us and cut our throats with. This precaution would have been useless; for, as afterwards appeared, they came well armed with *knives*.

Considering the suddenness of the attack and the absence of fire-arms on our part, the thing was done very well. A detachment with Mr. FRANK SERGEANT at their head, faced the savages in the *passage*, which was about twenty feet long. One or two took station on the top of the stairs, armed with pokers; while I in my room, with your sister, fixed the bedstead in a way to let the door open no wider than to admit one man only at a time, and stood with a sword to send the first that should attempt to enter, to receive from the devil the arrears that might be due to him on account of his services to Moore and Ellice and the Rich Ruffians of Coventry. I had pulled off my coat, and was prepared to give with a clear conscience, as hearty a thrust as ever was given by man. My *philosophy* despised the brutes, but to have one's throat cut by them would have been a little too bad.

However, their cowardice soon put an end to the siege. They entered the passage, *stabbed one man twice in his arm*, intending *to stab him in the body*, and did some other mischief: but being met by Mr. FRANK SERGEANT and his platoon, they retreated hastily into the street; and as the constables

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soon afterwards arrived, tranquillity was restored. If we had had, as was *my wish*, a couple of good blunderbusses, loaded with old nail heads and the like, and, having suffered the savages to nearly fill the long passage, fired right along the passage amongst the heads of the brutes, we should not only have ridded the world of about forty cut-throats, but should have *carried the election*, notwithstanding all the advantage, that their violent proceedings had given our adversaries. And, as to "*shedding blood*," the blood, which the brutes, who came to kill us, and some of the worst of whom were *butchers*, were in the daily habit of shedding, was much more valuable than theirs, and ought to be shed with feelings of compassion much more strong. I felt no *anger* against the brutes. Nor did I ever feel *anger* against a flock of crows. And I would have fired amongst the one with exactly the same feelings that I would fire amongst the other. We unfortunately had no fire arms; or, no man should have prevented *me* from using them. I would have taught the brutes and their employers what it was to attempt *to drag me out and kill me*. For, observe, this they threatened to do many times, as is *sworn to by twenty witnesses*. If we had killed a score or two of the worthless brutes, a monstrous hubbub would have been raised. Troops would have been called in. A complete suspension and setting aside of the election would have taken place. The Rich Raffians would have been filled with fear and trembling. Government would have been called upon for instructions how to act. We should have had the whole country in an uproar; and, to this this would have succeeded a quiet and lawful election. And all this would have been obtained by our lawfully and justly putting to death a score or two of cut-throat wretches, whose carcasses would have been well disposed of in food for the crows and kites of the country that their deeds have for ever dishonoured.

Instead of this, the thing went off without bodily hurt to any *but our friends!* And the natural consequence of which was, that the poor men, who wished to vote for me, and who had not yet voted, dared no longer *even talk of it*.—The scoundrel Masters had, in many instances, *turned off* such as had voted for me. They had stuck up *notices* in their factories, that no employment should be given to such men as had voted, or should vote, for me. The atrocious miscreants were not ashamed thus to proclaim themselves tyrants and *suborners of perjury*. They resorted to all these means, besides the employment of *rippers* and *stabbers*,

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and yet the base curs have pretended, that the *Freemen* did *not wish* to vote for me! If this had been the fact, why were such means made use of? Why not leave the Freemen to reject me? Why not suffer the election to be *free*? Why *turn off*; why put up *notices*; why bring in bands of *rippers and stabbers*? And that, too, against a Candidate, whose friends had never, from first to last, committed one single act of violence of any sort. On the Tuesday, when I entered Coventry, all might have been at my command. No man, who was not for me, publicly showed his face. Yet, though our enemies had threatened us in the most insolent manner, not a single act of violence from the first moment of the contest to the last. These facts alone are quite enough to decide the question as to which party had the *good* cause, and which the *bad cause*.

The attack on Mr. SERGEANT's on the Saturday night filled the City with alarm. It was manifest, that the Savages only wanted courage to make them fulfil their threats of murder. They came prepared with *knives*, and, as one of the subjoined *depositions* will shew, their leader began to use his knife in the passage. That he meant to kill THOMAS ASBOTH is certain. He stabbed at his *body*, and the stabs were received in the arm. It was as THOMAS ASBOTH says, a knife with a *white handle*; and they were knives of this same description that I saw in the hands of the Savages near the Booth. They pretended to be cutting bread and cheese with them; but, they *held them* up and *brandished them*, in a very significant manner. They were *stout penknives* with thick, round *white handles*. They were things which it was very unlikely for the brutes *from the country* to have possessed of their own purchasing. What should these brutes do with *penknives* at all? And how came they by them? And all *white*-handled knives too! A lot of knives was, in all likelihood, gotten from Birmingham (which is only 18 miles from Coventry), and distributed among these ferocious brutes. This is a horrid thing to relate; it is what I am ashamed to say of *Englishmen*: but, it is the *truth*, and justice demands its promulgation. Several men, who had voted for me, were *cut* and *stabbed* in their retreat from the Booth. One man related, that he was stabbed in the thick of the thigh with some sharp instrument, but that he was unable to ascertain the instrument or the hand. What sort of protection my friends received from the peace officers may be guessed at from what was done to Mr. FULHAM of London, who came to the Booth, on the Thursday, in order *to speak*

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to me. The Constables *turned him back*, and would not let him come to me. The moment he was out amongst the Savages, they pitched upon him, set their *knives* to work, ripped the coat from his back, and otherwise treated him in a most barbarous manner. But, indeed, the bands of hired brutes were masters of the civil power as well as of the rest, while embodied round the Booth; and, I am certain, that, on the Friday or Saturday, if the Magistrates had, with their feeble force, attempted to protect my voters, the Booth would have been torn down, and many of us would have had our throats cut. On those days, particularly the former, the scene was far more horrible than any thing of which any man, not actually present, can form an idea. There were at least three scoreselect wretches constantly vomitting forth *imprecations* the most horrid that words can frame; intermixed with expressions peculiar to prostitutes and bullies and houses devoted to lewdness. The bottles of gin and brandy were continually passing from mouth to mouth; and, from the mass of heads (including those of the whole crowd) which were closely jammed together, there arose a *reek*, or *steam*, proceeding from the sweating carcasses and from the foaming and belching-mouths of the brutes; just like the reek that rises, in a morning, from a heating dunghill. The *smell* was nauseously offensive. Every sense was disgusted. But, what was still more shocking and disgusting than all the rest, was the sight of the *wives* and *daughters* of the *Rich Ruffians*, who were seated on the balconies and at the windows, looking directly down upon this scene, and discovering every symptom of *satisfaction* and *delight*, at hearing what would have made a bevy of common prostitutes hang their heads with shame! And observe, these base-minded, these vile creatures; call themselves *ladies!* I must solemnly declare, that I have never seen any company of Negro-women, who, I believe, would not have run away at hearing what appeared to be highly engaging by these "*ladies*" of Coventry! Amongst the wives and daughters of the Freemen and others, I met with some most excellent women; but, I must say, that the females of the Rich Ruffians of Coventry were the most impudent, shameless, and hardened set of women that I ever saw. I remember seeing crowds of prostitutes on the *Point at Portsmouth*; and, I once saw three hundred (as they told us) *on board of a Seventy-four at Spithead*; but, I never before saw any thing in the shape of woman, that would, as I believe, have remained and listened to what appeared to give delight to the wives and daughters of the

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Rich Raffians of Coventry. There was, with regard to the bloody-intentioned attack on Mr. SERGEANT's house a circumstance, which must be particularly noticed. ELLICE lodged at an Inn, called the *Craven Arms*, which is in the same street with MR. SERJEANT's house, and up-hill from it, distant, perhaps a hundred yards. Just after the siege was over, and the enemy, from our unfortunate want of fire arms, had retired to sup and receive their pay, a woman came to give us information, which she afterwards *swore-to*, in the following words:

"CITY OF COVENTRY.—The Examination of MARY WESTBURY, of "the said City—who says, that she "was passing, on Saturday, March "the eleventh, between the hours of "six and seven o'clock, by the CRAVEN ARMS. She saw EDWARD ELLICE, one of the Candidates, standing at the gate of the CRAVEN "ARMS, and that a man came running from the mob that was then "near Mr. Serjeant's house, and that "the said man said to Mr. Ellice, "*We are working well. We have "smashed all the windows and broke "the shutters, and we are going in to "kill him.*" And, further, this deponent says, that the said EDWARD "ELLICE, tapped the man upon the "shoulder, and said to him: "*Well "done, my lads, work away.*"

Another woman made a deposition stating, that, at dusk, the same evening, she saw ELLICE walking down the street, at a short distance from the Craven Arms; that he was walking between two other men; that a man, named Turner, a chaise driver, came running up as from the mob at Mr. SERGEANT's; that this man, when he met ELLICE, said, with great vehemence, "they have got into SERGEANT's yard, and we shall *have him out*; I'll be damned if we shan't;" to which ELLICE made some reply, but in a low tone of voice, and she did not hear the words. The man then *ran on*, and she again met him immediately afterwards, running back, as hard as he could, towards Mr. SERGEANT's house, with a *truncheon* in his hand, as thick as her wrist and as long as her arm.

Now, let it be observed, that these witnesses came *of their own accord* to us. None of us knew any thing of them. Their husbands were also unknown to me, and also to my Committee. What improper motive could then, have actuated them? In short, this is such evidence as *must* be believed, if the usual law and rules of evidence be adhered to. I will make no attempt to draw a *conclusion* from this evidence. That will be drawn by you, my dear James, and by every impartial person. But, in another case, where ELLICE has had the meanness to *lie*, in public as well as in private, I must be a little more particular. He has denied, that he set his Savages on upon *me* on the Thurs-

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day. When called to account by our brother JOHN, he behaved in the manner, which JOHN has *yet to state to the public*, and with which affair, as it is in very competent hands, I shall not meddle. Now, to show what a mean creature it is, take the following declarations of Mrs. HARRIET CLARE and of ANN WARING.

"HARRIET CLARE declares, that, "in the afternoon of Thursday, the "9th of March, she (standing between "the houses of Mr. Reynolds and "Mr. Pridmore) saw Mr. Ellice come "out of the Booth, the polling for "the day being over. That she saw "him turn round, and say to his "party: "*Jostle him well, my lads,*" "upon which his furious mob surrounded Mr. Cobbett, and forced "him, with great violence, up to "Mr. Reynolds's door, to which this "declarant had run herself for protection. She got into Mr. Reynolds's house, and saw no more of "the matter. She is ready to make "oath of this, if necessary.

"HARRIET CLARE."

"Ann Waring declares, that she "saw and heard all that is described "in the above declaration of Mrs. "Harriet Clare.

"ANN WARING."

There are, perhaps, *twenty persons*, who can make oath to the same fact. One gentleman has called at the Office in London to say, that he heard ELLICE desire his savages to attack me. Only think of the baseness of this man! To *do the act* was bad enough; but to endeavour to screen himself from your brother's resentment by a LIE! This is something too low for any origin but one like that of ELLICE, whose blood, though it may communicate baseness, can receive no elevation. These persons who gave this evidence were utter strangers to me. I asked for no evidence. It was voluntarily brought, and tendered to us. It must be believed: it cannot be rejected: and it fixes the character of this man for ever.

The effect of the Saturday night's attack, ending as it unfortunately did, without our inflicting justice on the cut-throats, was no other than that of inspiring new terror in the minds of our voters. The facts relating to the stabbing and the manifest intention to murder some of us, though they excited great *indignation* and *hatred* against our enemies in the minds of all good people, by no means tended to remove the *fears* of my friends, *who remained unpolled.*— They were, in short, now convinced that they must vote for me, if at all, with nearly a *certainty* of losing their employment, and with a great *risk* of losing their lives. And thus, in fact, the election became a matter to be decided by *knives*, and by knives only! The

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savages, who had attacked the house, were *at large* the next day, just as if they had done nothing at all. I saw, taking the past into view, not the smallest hope of obtaining protection for my *voters;* nor, indeed, for myself out of the house. We had on the Sunday, got some few *fire arms*, and were quite secure in *the house;* but, as to the *election*, there remained nothing belonging to it worthy of the name.

I, therefore, on the Monday morning, before the poll opened, sent to the Sheriffs the *Protest*, which you will find below. They, however, opened the poll, and went on! They got no Constables round the Booth *till noon*, and kept polling away all the while. About noon, they sent me a *verbal* message to say, that all was quiet, and that they had a *force* out and on foot. Why did they not provide such a force *before?* I had applied to them ten times a day for such a force. I had, as you will see, applied to the Mayor in the morning of the *Saturday;* who neither sent a force *nor an answer!* But *now*, when terror and stabbing had done their work; when many of my voters from the country had *gone home without polling*; when the great body, who remained unpolled at Coventry, had been overawed and reduced to absolute subjection; when the wives and children had been filled with fear of loss of bread and of their husbands' and father's lives; *now* was the time to bring forth *protection*, and give the election the appearance of *fairness!*

I, however, went near the Booth no more. I could not by my presence, give countenance to any further proceedings. When I have collected most of the prominent facts and circumstances, I shall lay the case before some lawyer; and, if his opinion bear me out, I will petition against the return of these two men, who according to law and justice, are no more Members for Coventry, than they are Members for New York. I did *nothing* any more. I let them all do just what they pleased. And they, at last, stated that the numbers were as follows:—

ELLICE - - -	1474
MOORE - - -	1422
CORBETT - -	517

You will remember, that I was at the head of the poll on the *first day;* that I again topped my opponents at 11 o'clock on the third day. You have seen by what means they obtained their majority afterwards. And, observe, that, after all, my votes were almost all of them *double votes*; that is to say, the men who voted for me, voted for *nobody else*. Split my votes; that is, multiply them by two; and see, after all, how very trifling my minority! Had it been a *first* and *fair* election. Had there been no master's subpœnas;

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had there been no hired savages; nay, had only the *knives* been kept away, I should have polled about *two thousand men!* It was the *knives*, and the *knives only*, that obtained Moore and Ellice their majority. My voters would have borne any thing in the way of hunger, arising from the want of employment; any thing in the way of *beating*; but, life is dear to all men, and especially, when a wife and children pull at the heart-strings; and, the *knives* were so busily at work, by dark as well as by day-light, that every man, who voted for me, actually did it at the peril of his life.

"All the circumstances considered, the wonder is, that 517 men should have been found so full of devotion to principle as to vote for me at that Hell-upon-earth, the Booth of Coventry. My heart ached for them when I saw them approach. When I shook hands with them, it really seemed that I was bidding them adieu upon their death beds. Many of them, and, indeed, the most of them, were sober, religious, men. They were manifestly actuated by a conscientious feeling of duty. I never shall forget the friendship and affection that they demonstrated towards me; and, whether the time may be near or distant, when I shall see them again, I shall not fail to do every thing that I may have the power to do, to serve them. A Mr. Jewiss, who came from London, and who voted *for me only*, is put down amongst the voters for *Moore and Ellice!* He went, and offered to swear, that he had voted for me only; I will swear that that was the fact; a Mr. Taylor, who voted with him, was ready, and is ready to swear to the same fact. A representation of this was made, at the time; but, *we could not get the poll-book altered!* In how many instances the like of this may have occurred, I know not; for, indeed, the confusion and violence and continual uproar were such as to destroy all chance of any thing like correctness in any part of the proceedings. But, I believe, that it occurred in at least fifteen instances; and *no one* such *mistake*-like occurred on the other side. The 517 votes, given for me, were *real* votes. They were given in consequence of a conviction, that to elect me would be a good done to the country; and, when we consider, that I had *no support* of any sort, other than that, which arose out of the good opinion of conscientious men, the result of this election is more honourable to me, than any thing that has ever before taken place; it is even less equivocal, than the honour bestowed on me in the passing of the Dungeon Bill, in 1817, or the passing of the Banishment Bill and the other five Bills, in 1819.

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On the Wednesday, in the second week, I went, with your sister to a village, called MERIDEN, to see whether the change of air would *restore my voice*. It did not; and I am yet very *hoarse*. This was a monstrous misfortune. The two cowardly scamps had to deal with a *dumb man!* They escaped the far better part of what I had in store for them. Had I had my voice, I could have half-subdued their Savages. There was ELLICE stammering away his nonsense by the hour, while I was as silent as a woolpack!

At MERIDEN there was a curious adventure, in which that pretty fellow, the EARL OF AYLSFORD, took a part, and which you shall have *an account of in the next Register*. It really must be, that the *Drama is drawing to a close*; for, we daily witness and hear of things so out of all reason; things so wholly incompatible, not only with civil and political liberty, but with every thing like *order* and *law*, that it is impossible to believe in the long continuance of such a state of society.

I here subjoin all the documents, which I think necessary to publish at present. In conclusion, I must beg you not to entertain a bad opinion of the main part of the *people of Coventry*. The bands of Savages were composed of all the vile miscreants that could be picked up within ten or fifteen miles of the place. They had been *recruited*, just as soldiers are, and had been brought in, lodged, fed, drenched, and *armed with knives!* In fact, this battalion of miscreants had been raised for the purpose of making war upon the people of Coventry. All those gentlemen, who took part with me, and, indeed, who took the main part of the trouble upon themselves, behaved towards me in a manner that I shall always remember with the greatest gratitude. They showed as much public-spirit as I ever witnessed; and it will be a source of deep mortification to me, if I never should be able to render them and their City any service. The inconvenience they experienced is indescribeable. Nor were the real injuries they sustained trifling. I admired the fortitude, with which they endured every evil; and, though my pen cannot do them justice, my heart does.

God bless you.

WM. COBBETT.

APPLICATION FOR PROTECTION.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF COVENTRY.

Coventry, 11th March, 1820.

MR. MAYOR—I, as one of the Candidates for representing this city in Parliament, beg leave to represent to you, that many of the persons, who have been coming up to vote for me, have been hindered from so doing by threats of the most violent tendency; that others have been assaulted, in the most cruel manner; that many have had their clothes torn from their backs; that some have been maimed to the hazard of their

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lives; that knives have been used by the savage assailants; that flags, banners, and exhibitions, expressly calculated to inspire a disposition in a furious rabble, to commit acts of the blackest dye, have been carried through the streets and round the hustings; and, that, in one case, it was with some difficulty, that I myself escaped with my life. In short, Sir, every thing shews, that it is intended by those who employ or spurn on, this furious rabble, to prevent all freedom of election at this time. Upon the ground of these premises, I beg leave to request, Sir, that you will be pleased to cause peace officers to protect the voters in their way to and from the poll; and to use such other means as in your better judgement may appear necessary to put an end to those continual breaches of the peace.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

PROTEST TO THE SHERIFFS.

To Messrs JOHNSON AND HAWKES, SHERIFFS OF COVENTRY.

Coventry, 13th March, 1820.

GENTLEMEN, — The transactions, which have taken place since the beginning of the election, have at last assumed a character, which calls for a formal notification and protest on my part.

Instead of that *total absence* of obstruction and tumult, so imperiously demanded by the law, *all* has been obstruction and tumult. But *now* it appears to have come to this: whether my votes and myself be to enjoy our rights or whether we be to be exposed to be maimed or murdered if we further attempt an exercise of them: or, in other words, whether this election be to be decided by *votes*, or by *blows* and *stabs*.

I have the honour to send you herewith several depositions: on these depositions I ground a complaint of want of protection against obstruction and tumult, and against violence of all sorts, at the Booth, which ought never to have taken place there. You have, in these depositions, full proof of *effectual obstruction* to my voters, by means of the most odious and cruel, and also full proof of a settled design to murder me. Therefore, I shall not again attend at the Booth, nor, by myself, or any agent, give countenance to any of the proceedings there until a *real and effectual* protection be afforded; until all round the Booth be peace and safety; and until the avenues to it be free from danger to my voters; and, until, in short, all tumultuous proceedings be put an end to. And I now *protest* against all polling, and all proceeding in the election, until such protection be provided, and be actually on foot and brought forth into efficient activity.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble,

and most obedient Servant.

WM. COBBETT.

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AFFIDAVITS

OF OBSTRUCTIONS TO THE VOTERS.

No. 1.

JAMES DILLON, Wells-street, Dyer, says, that, during the election he has made several attempts to get to the booth to vote for Mr. Cobbett; but was always prevented by the violent obstruction of a band of men, who were crying out "*Moore and Ellice*," and who were constantly employed in forcing Mr. Cobbett's voters from the booth. He, at ast, got up to the booth, before the polling began on Friday Morning. He got his arm over the side of the booth, and had, as he thought, secured the means of giving his vote. But, the gang of Moore and Ellice having perceived him, two of them put their hands over his shoulders and seizing him by the neckcloth, twisted it and pressed their knuckles so hard against both sides of his throat, that he was compelled to quit his hold of the booth in order to endeavour to get their hands away and to save his life. They then dragged him out and flung him down in the mud, out of which he got with some difficulty. They, during the time, cut a part of his coat off, and totally spoiled it, and he has the coat now to produce, to show that it was *cut* as well as *torn*. He says, that he has, by these violent means, been prevented from voting, and that he now fears to go to vote, lest he should receive some great personal injury.

No. 2.

ISAAC JOHNSON, Weaver, maketh oath, and saith, that, on Friday last he went to the booth, with intention to poll for Mr. Cobbett. Being perceived by the

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gang of Moore and Ellice, they cried out for *a show of hands for Moore and Ellice*, and as he did not hold up his hand, *Day*, the gardener, bore upon him; and *Adie Cramp* seized hold of him and dragged him out from the booth. On Saturday morning he went up again and got very near to the booth. *Adie Cramp* came up to him again. Cramp began to push him. Examinant said to Cramp, "I have a right to give my vote as well as you:" to which Cramp answered: "*I'll be damned if you shall.*" And, after some more words, he, with others at his back, forced examinant from the booth. Examinant says, that this Cramp has been heading a violent band of men during the whole of the election. Thus, this examinant says, he has been prevented from exercising his right of suffrage, and he now is afraid to attempt it, lest he should be killed, or receive some great bodily injury.

No. 3.

City and County of Coventry.—The examination of John Careless, of the said City, Weaver, taken the 12th day of March, 1820, who saith; that he went up to the booth on Saturday morning last, to poll—that he was forcibly and violently prevented from getting up to the booth, for a considerable time, by John Roe, and several other persons, in the interest of Moore and Ellice—that they were saying Mr. Cobbett should not poll a man for the next hour, and then the election would be over—that they should let them all go up, that we may weed them out—that with great difficulty he got up to the side of the booth—that they cried out a show of hands for Ellice and Moore, and upon that show of hands, all that did not show their hands, were attacked and pulled back from the booth—that while he was hanging on the booth in order to poll, John Roe forced his knees between his thighs and tried to injure him—that while he was polling, his coat was ripped up to the collar, and he felt something sharp prick him on the small of his back, and he turned round immediately, and complained to the sheriff, whose protection he claimed—that he does not know

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who pricked him in the back, or ripped his coat—that while he was standing prepared to poll, he saw Thos. Clay, of Park-street, Coventry, Weaver, reach his hand over and collar Mr. Cobbett and tried to spit in his face—that Clay and the other persons assembled round informant were calling Mr. Cobbett, a B———r, and other atrocious names—that during the whole of the present election, he has seen a body of men, who moved from one part of the booth to another, wherever they saw the friends of Mr. Cobbett placed to poll, and by pushing and other violent means, force them from their situation—that this has been their general conduct, and witness has known a great number of Mr. Cobbett's friends thus violently forced from the booth by the above body of men—that in this body of men were the following persons; John Ranmap, George Sanders, Adie Crump, William Harris, William Bromfield, —— Webb, William Darleson, George Harris, and Francis Gutteridge that Examinant frequently attempted to poll during the election, but was not enabled to do so, from the above or other means, until Saturday; and that he was almost killed in making these various unsuccessful attempts.

No. 4.

The examination of JOSEPH BIRD GREENWAY, of the said city, Weaver, taken this 12th day of March, 1820, who saith that he is a Freeman of Coventry, and has attended at the booth erected for receiving the votes of Freemen of the said city, at the present election, every day since the poll commenced. That he has been repeatedly forced away from the said booth with great violence, by various persons who employ themselves, or are employed by others to force away those persons who wish to poll for Mr. Cobbett, (one of the candidates) from the booth. That on Friday last, John Witton, of the said city, Weaver, who is not a Freeman, knocked down examinant as he was going to the booth, and five or six other persons fell upon him. That he has thus been prevented from polling; that he has seen a great many other persons who intended polling for Mr. Cobbett, forced

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away from the booth; that he received a blow on the eye at the booth, while waiting to poll; that he had once taken his station at the booth for the purpose of polling, and was actually forced away.

No. 5.

WILLIAM MASTERS, Constable in Coventry, says, he was told by the Chief Constable, Mr. Goodall, on Friday evening last, to look out for some constables to assist in escorting Mr. Cobbett from the booth to the house of Mr. Grant: That he did so, and went himself, along with others, to conduct Mr. Cobbett to Mr. Grant's: That when he came out of Mr. Grant's he was assailed by the mob of Moore and Ellice, and was very much beaten and hurt by them, they calling out that he was a Cobbett. He further says, that he has been a spectator of the proceedings round the booth ever since the beginning of the election, and that he has seen a compact body of men, some freemen and some not, employed, day after day, in keeping Mr. Cobbett's voters from the booth, and in driving them and forcing them away, in order to prevent them from polling. He further says, that he was, on Saturday night, again attacked in the street by a party of Moore and Ellice's mob. He was alone, and they struck him twice. On Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, this examinant met Mr. ELLICE, the Candidate, near Broad Gate; Mr. Ellice came up to him and two other Constables, and asked them whether any thing had been the matter: the answer of the Constables was, that there had been, and a sufficient occasion for calling the Constables out; to which Mr. Ellice replied: "You, *Corporation Gentlemen*, "*make much to do about nothing.*"

No. 6.

The examination of WILLIAM MAUD, of the said City, a Freeman, who saith that he has attended at the booth every day earnestly strong to Poll for Mr. Cobbett, and has several times got close to the hustings for that purpose, but has every time been forcibly, tumultuously and violently pulled, pushed and jostled away from his station by the partizans of Moore and Ellice, who point

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out all the friends of Mr. Cobbett, and then illtreat them in the most unmerciful manner. That witness has been utterly unable to Poll although he has every day earnestly attempted to do it by every peaceable means. That bodies of men are constantly going from one part of the booth to the other selecting out Mr. Cobbett's friends, and in the most tumultuous and inhuman manner pushing and forcing them away from the booth. That this deponent dare not nor will not go up again to the booth to Poll, as he is in absolute fear of losing his life, or receiving the most serious bodily injury.

No. 7.

HENRY DAWSON, of the said City, Carpenter, a Freeman of the said City, maketh oath and saith, that he has attended at the booth in the said City, during the present lection for the purpose of polling for Mr. Cobbett. That during that time compact bodies of men belonging to Moore and Ellice, apparently appointed for the purpose, have been constantly going to all parts of the hustings for the purpose of forcing away all the freemen, in the interest of Mr. Cobbett, from the Booth. That they jostled them, crushed them, ripped their cloathes, and otherways illtreated them.—That this Examinant has been frequently during the poll treated in a most unmerciful manner by the said bodies of men; that his cloathes have been twice torn from his back, even his shirt; that on Friday last he was nearly killed by the said men, crushing, jostling and pulling him, that yesterday he was forced away twice from the booth when he had got up to the side of the booth; that the men who forced Mr. Cobbett's freemen away from the booth have had numerous opportunities of polling, but have declined so doing lest they should be prevented being near the booth. That he has not yet been able to poll. That amongst the persons who thus annoy and interrupt the freemen going to poll are several persons who are not freemen, who are in the interest of Moore and Ellice, by which means the friends of Mr. Cobbett have not been able to poll (although they have strenuously endeavoured so to do) from the violent opposition which

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they have met with from the said bodies of men.

No. 8.

JOHN NEWCOMB, of this City, Weaver, a Freeman of the City, maketh oath and saith, that he has attended at the booth every day during the Election, for the purpose of polling for Mr. Cobbett; that he has frequently got up close to the booth, and has as frequently been forcibly and violently jostled and pulled down by bodies of men, who go round the booth for that purpose: that he was very much beaten and injured by the said bodies of men, and has been forcibly withheld from giving his vote at the present election: that the persons who compose the said bodies are many of them Freemen, and have had numerous opportunities of polling, but would not, and he has no doubt but they are hired for the express purpose of preventing Mr. Cobbett's friends from getting up to poll, and a great many Freemen have been hitherto prevented from polling by them; that their conduct was most tumultuous and violent, and the friends of Mr. Cobbett are very much endangered by them.

No. 9.

The examination of THOMAS ASBOUGH, of Coventry, Weaver, taken this 12th day of March, 1820, who saith, that he is a Freeman of the said City, and that he has attended every day at the booth erected to receive the votes of the Freemen of Coventry, for the purpose of giving his vote for one of the Candidates: that he made several earnest attempts on each day to get to the booth, but that he was uniformly prevented by a body of men, consisting chiefly of the same individuals, many of them not being Freemen of the City, and carrying the colours of Moore and Ellice; and that this body of men were constantly employed in keeping from the booth the Freemen who were going to poll for Mr. Cobbett. This examinant voted for Mr. Cobbett early on Friday before the Freemen were driven away by the gang of Moore and Ellice. On Saturday night he was opposite Mr. Sergeant's house, and was amongst the friends of Mr. Cobbett, that had been listening quietly to the speeches made from the window. These persons were broken in upon by a mob, crying "Moore and Ellice." This mob began an attack upon the house by breaking the windows, and he went into the passage to escape their fury. The door

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was locked, soon after he got in. They broke away the lock of the door and forced themselves in. About thirty of them got into the passage, and one man seized this examinant by the collar, and, with the other hand, stabbed him in the arm twice. The blow was aimed at his belly, and he put up his arm to save his belly. One of the stabs went nearly through his wrist. The stabs were made with a *short knife with a white handle.* The men who entered the passage said: "fetch him down! Blast him, "*we'll kill him.*" Examinant heard these words, and words to the same effect, uttered by many of the mob.

No. 10.

WILLIAM FLAVEL, of this City, Ironmonger, maketh oath, and saith that on Friday, last, he went to the booth to poll for Mr. Cobbett; that there were, at the opening of the poll, not less than *three hundred* Freemen, ranged opposite the booth, to vote, as this examinant believes, for Mr. Cobbett. He says, that the voting was going on very rapidly and quietly, when a party of men, preceded by a drum and crying "Moore and Ellice," came and commenced an attack on this body of Freemen by the means of violent pushing and pulling, till, at last, the whole of the voters for Mr. Cobbett were driven away from the booth. This examinant was very near to the booth, but was driven away and prevented from polling; and he now looks upon himself as in great bodily danger if he again attempts to approach the booth. He has seen a body of men, during the whole of the election, acting in a compact form, forcibly driving back, and assaulting in various ways, the Freemen in the interest of Mr. Cobbett, and, in all sorts of ways, obstructing their approach to the booth.

No. 11.

WILLIAM MARRIOT, Whitesmith, of this city, residing in West Orchard, maketh oath and saith, that he is a freeman of the said city; that he for the four first days of the polling at the election commencing March 8th, 1820, made repeated exertions to get up to the booth for the purpose of voting for Mr. Cobbett; that all his exertions were vain, and that the partisans of Moore and Ellice by beating and violence did prevent him from exercising his right of voting; that he had his clothes torn from his back and flung into the air; and that he has never been able to recover them; and that to this period he has not yet been able to vote.

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No. 12.

JOSEPH WRENELER, of the said city, Weaver, a freeman, maketh oath and saith, that he has attended at the booth every day since the polling commenced at this election for the purpose of voting for Mr. Cobbett. That he had yesterday got close up to the booth twice, for the said purpose of polling, and was each time violently forced away from it by several persons in the interest of Moore and Ellice, who came round from the other side of the hustings. That they jostled and shoved him away; and if he had not called for Mr. Harris, the constable, they would have strangled him. That bodies of men kept constantly going round the booth in a tumultuous manner, for the purpose of forcing Mr. Cobbett's friends from the booth, and preventing them polling; he knows a great many persons who have been thus prevented polling by them; that the safety of the friends of Mr. Cobbett is very much endangered in going up to poll; that he is now prevented from exercising his right from the fear of personal danger; that on Thursday last he was completely exhausted by the crushing which he experienced in attempting to get up to the booth.

No. 13.

ISAAC KEEN, Silk Dyer, Coventry, maketh oath and saith, that he is a Freeman of Coventry, and that on four successive days, to wit, on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th of March respectively, he made several earnest attempts to get to the booth for the purpose of voting for Mr. Cobbett; that notwithstanding all his exertions, he has not yet been able to give his vote; that on Friday afternoon, March 10th, while in the act of endeavouring to get to the booth, he was very furiously assaulted by the partisans of Moore and Ellice, and his clothes, viz. his coat, was torn into fragments, and certain individuals in the interest of the said candidates Moore and Ellice, violently tearing away the parts of his coat, scattered them amongst the crowd.

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No. 14.

WILLIAM STAFFORD, of the City of Coventry, Cordwainer, maketh oath and saith, that he is a Freeman of the said City, and has every day attended at the booth, for the purpose of polling for Mr. Cobbett; that during the whole of the election, the friends of Mr. Cobbett have been treated in the most barbarous and inhuman manner, by the friends of Moore and Ellice, who have picked out the friends of Mr. Cobbett; and in the most tumultuous manner, jostled, pushed, and pulled them away from the booth where they have been ready, and waiting to poll; that this deponent has frequently been close up to the hustings, and has been forced away by bodies of men, who were going about to all parts of the booth, for the purpose of preventing Mr. Cobbett's friends from getting up to the booth; that the said bodies of men consist of Freemen generally, who have numerous opportunities of polling, but would not; and he believes that they are there employed for the above purposes; that the Freemen in the interest of Mr. Cobbett, are in danger of their lives, in going up to the booth, to exercise their elective franchises, from the inhuman, riotous, and tumultuous manner in which the friends of Moore and Ellice conduct themselves.

No. 15.

WILLIAM BRYAN, of the City of Coventry, Weaver, maketh oath and saith, that on Friday last he attempted three several times to get up to the booth for the purpose of polling for Mr. Cobbett, deponent being a freeman. That he has always every time been pointed out by the partizans of Moore and Ellice, as a Cobbett, and they have then thus jostled and violently pushed and forced him away from the booth. That he has observed, during the poll, bodies of men going about to different parts of the hustings, forcing away, in the most violent manner, all persons who attended at the booth to poll for Mr. Cobbett, which bodies of

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men appear to be employed for that purpose.

No. 16.

WILLIAM OLIPHANT of Coventry, Weaver, maketh oath and saith that he is a Freeman of the City of Coventry; that he attended on Friday morning, March the 10th, at the booth in the market-place for the purpose of voting for Mr. Cobbett; that he made earnest exertions to get to the booth, but in vain; that on the arrival of Moore and Ellice's partisans, he was with very great violence forced from the booth by them; and that by their violence he had the nail of one of his toes torn from the flesh; and that notwithstanding all his earnest exertions, he was during the whole morning incapable of polling.

ERRATA.

Page 97, Line 9, for *surrounded* read *surmounted*.
Page 100, Line 10, for between *me* and *on*, read *nearly*.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

TO

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT,

On his Defence at Leicester.

Botley, March 28, 1820.

SIR,

Admiring as I did, and still do, your indignant letter, relative to the Manchester Tragedy, I should at this time, have had only to lament, that you were likely to be imprisoned for having written it, had you abstained, in your defence, from an unnecessary *attack upon my conduct*. This attack I cannot overlook, or let pass by me in silence: because I have a public character to support as well as you; and because I think that character of as much value to the country as yours is, or ever was.

Your mode of defence was yours, to adopt, or reject, as you pleased. I think the whole of the defence erroneous in its tone; but the *apology*, at the close, is what I was particularly sorry to see. An appeal to and defence of *general conduct* were, in my opinion, beneath you. But, if you thought it becoming in you to go over the history of your own *loyal* and *orderly* political conduct, it, surely, was not just to bring my conduct forward as *a contrast*, in this respect, with your own!

In order that the matter may stand fairly before the public, I will insert here the whole of the close, or *peroration*, of your speech; for, it contains matter, which, though quite foreign from the subject before the Court at Leicester, is of very great importance at this time; for, if it be true, that you persevere in asserting the justice and policy of the *Corn Bill*, no time ought to be lost in endeavouring to convince you, that, while you may be, in your heart, a warm friend of the people of this kingdom, you are, in your actions, one of their greatest enemies.

The close of your speech, as I find it in all the newspapers, was in the following words:—

"His object in quoting those recorded opinions of his own was, to "prove that such had been his uniform sentiments. Those extracts "showed that he had never entertained opinions or sentiments calculated to propagate sedition, but "that ever since 1802 he had been "doing the very contrary, and endeavouring to unite all classes in "order to effect what so many enlightened men considered essential "to the welfare of the country. They "would not believe him to be seditious upon an unsupported charge. "The Attorney-General had said— "and he was extremely glad that he "had said, that they were to judge "of a man from his acts and declara-

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"tions. He appealed to his acts and "declarations, and he could not see "how, by possibility, they could "from these judge that he was "evilminded, malicious, or seditious. "These recorded acts of his were "better testimony than every "person in the world called as "witnesses. Let his whole life be "inquired into—let every word he "ever wrote or uttered be examined "—he defied any man to find any "sentence inconsistent with those "principles. He did not recollect "any thing more that he was called "upon to remark to them. The great-"est part of the Attorney-General's "speech he would have no difficulty "to reply to, but it was not in Court. "The boroughmongers might be cen-"sured and opposed without sedition "or treason. His conduct amounted "to nothing more than this—it was "not quite correct to identify them "with the Government, in order to "charge him with sedition. They "were complained of by all; and "their most monstrous cruelties would, "he trusted, soon have an appro-"priate remedy. They were not a "part of the government; but if "they were, he could not be con-"victed, for there was no inuendo in "the information that they were part "of the government. So it was "with the mention of King James, "of the soldiers, and every part of "the allusion to that period. They "were not at all before the Jury. "On account of the vagueness and "indefiniteness of the charge against "him, he was entitled to every pos-"sible indulgence; but he was still "more entitled to that indulgence "here, on account of the defective-"ness of the information. He had "not from malice invented, but he "had from perfect conviction stated, "that persons had been put to death "(at Manchester). He had evidence, "which he would offer at least, that "the facts were such as he had be-"lieved and stated. If they did not "believe that he was desirous of in-"citing to insurrection, they could "not find him guilty. They must "first find him mad.—He had spoken "in his letter, as he uniformly did, of "the Gentlemen of England, whom "he always looked on as the guar-"dians of the constitution. He had "not called on the people, but he "had called on all to unite in resist-"ing the usurpations and cruelty of "an oligarchy. To the King he had "sworn allegiance.——To the bo-"roughmongers he had sworn none, "and never would;—to the borough-"mongers he had always declared "hostility, and hostility, he ever "should declare to them. He was "sorry if they did not agree with him, "and thought his opinions dangerous; "but still, if they did not believe that "his intentions had been to incite to se-"dition, they would not convict him "upon the present charge. What "possible motive could he have had "for so wicked and stupid a thing? "He defied Mr. Attorney to give a "colour of credibility to the charge. "Mr. Attorney had indeed refuted "his own charge, and unless it could "be shown that he was mad, it was

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"impossible for the Jury to say "that his letter had any tendency "to sedition. The whole course of "his life was in direct opposition to "such a charge. On looking back-"ward it would be extremely difficult "to find *one who had so little listened* "*to popular delusions*, or even to "what was called *popular opinion*. "With popular opinions *he had never* "*fallen in*. For instance, *on the Corn* "*Bill*, in which the people felt the "greatest interest, he had *argued* "*with them that they were in er-*"*ror*. In every speech which he "had ever uttered in Parliament, "or out of Parliament, at public "meetings, or on the hustings, he "had uniformly shown and recom-"mended proper respect to the Royal "Family Even against the Whigs, "although acting with them, and "voting with them, he had con-"tended in Parliament for the "same principle. He had al-"ways felt anxious that the "people should feel affection for "the Crown, and the Crown feel "no apprehension or fear of the "people. He was a Tory so far as "to contend for the prerogatives of "the King, the executive branch of "the Constitution; and he was not "for confining the utmost powers "which the law allowed to the Crown; "but he always had resisted, and al-"ways should resist, the undermining "power of the boroughmongers and "traffickers in seats, who bartered "away the liberties of the country at "every election. Them he charged "with undermining the liberty of the "country. If that was libel, he "pleaded guilty. When he wrote "the letter he had learnt that a mili-"tary force had been employed in the "most unwarrantable manner. He "had not addressed it, *as some had* "*done*, '*to the weaver-boys of Co-*"*ventry*,' but to the *enlightened elec-*"*tors of Westminster, whose repre-*"*sentative he had been*. He had called "upon the people to meet, and if "numbers made a meeting illegal, "the meeting at Westminster must "have been illegal. But that meeting "had not been disturbed, and only at "Manchester had military force been "applied. At Smithfield, where Dr. "Harrison (the chairman) had been "arrested, the meeting terminated "tranquilly, and Mr. Hunt, he had "no doubt, would in like manner "have quietly submitted. At York "there had been a large meeting; but "as there was no military interfer-"ence, there was no disturbance. "He had never conceived that num-"bers constituted illegality in a meet-"ing. His object had been to ascer-"tain that they could meet, and not "be interrupted. His letter was "nothing more than a call to come "forward for this object. With what "pretence could this be charged to "have been done from a malicious "and seditious motive, without rea-"son or argument, or colour of sense? "If the same conduct which might "have proceeded from bad mo-

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"tives, could be accounted for on "good motives, a candid man "would not impute bad motives. "But when no motive could be con- "ceived for his desiring to excite se- "dition, and when no other conse- "quence resulted from his conduct "but a public and peaceable meet- "ing, with what pretence could a bad "motive be even suspected? If de- "lay was dangerous, the Attorney- "General ought, pro bono publico, "to have prosecuted instantly. But "in the whole of this prosecution he "felt only one great difficulty—this "was the want of a substantial charge. "But, be the charge what it might, "and be the result what it might, it "was to him matter of indifference. "All men had their ruling passions, "and all passions became so by in- "dulgence; he had his ruling passions, "and they were of a public kind. "Points of law he left to his friends "who sat near him. The charge it- "self was so bare, so naked, so un- "supported, so formed to convey "what it did not convey, that it was "not worthy of the time bestowed on "it. Its supporters were the borough- "mongers, who were now the Go- "vernment. He should have been "ashamed to address them at such "length, but that he grasped at the "opportunity afforded to him, by "being thus called on, *to set himself* "*straight in their view. They would* "*go out of Court with different ideas* "*of his character and intentions.* The "Attorney-General they would dis- "miss, as Lord Escalus, who presided "with Angelo, in the play of 'Mea- "sure for Measure' dismissed his "officer—

"Angelo.—How now, Sir, what's "your name, and what's the matter?

"Elbow.—If it please your Ho- "nour, I am the poor Duke's consta- "ble, and my name is Elbow; I do "lean upon justice, Sir, and do bring "in here before your honour a noto- "rious benefactor.

"Ang.—Benefactor! What bene- "factor is he? Is he not a male- "factor?

"Elbow.—What is't your wor- "ship's pleasure I shall do with this "wicked caitiff?

"Escalus.—Truly officer, because "he hath some offences in him, "that thou wouldst discover if thou "couldst, let him continue in his "courses till thou know'st what they "are."

I have not quoted this unfortunate conclusion of a serious speech by a passage from a punning play with any ill-natured design, but, merely because I would not be charged with *garbling*. The part of your speech, which I *complain* of is that, wherein you say, that you "had not addressed "it (the letter) as SOME had done *to* "*the* Weaver Bo *fntry*, but "to the *enlightened* Electors of West- "minster." I may, perhaps, notice this compliment to the Electors of Westminster by-and-by; but first,

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let us see what this *Weaver Boy* observation fairly amounted to.

Now, Sir, that I, and nobody else, have addressed publicly letters to "*Weaver Boys*," upon the subject of public affairs, is as notorious, in every part of this kingdom, as that your name is Francis Burdett and that my name is William Cobbett. And if you had said: "I addressed my letter to sober "and sensible men, not like that se-"ditious fellow, Cobbett, to ignorant "and wild *Weaver Boys*; and, there-"fore, gentlemen, whatever you may "think of Cobbett, pray, observe, "that I am a very *different* sort of "man, and have very different views:" if you had said this, in so many words, the meaning would not have been more plain: and this will, I am sure, be denied by not one impartial man in the whole kingdom.

As to the facts, I have addressed two letters to "the Weaver Boys of Lancashire;" not of *Coventry*, which error in your allusion, arose, doubtless from the intelligence (relating to my affair at *Coventry*) which had, for some days been continually arriving at Leicester. The title of "*Weaver Boys*" was given to the Lancashire Reformers in general by the Police People of Manchester; and, it was in the way of *defiance*, that I addressed the two letters in question to the "Weaver Boys;" and not on the ground of the propriety of appealing to wild and thoughtless *boys*. The first of these letters was published in January, 1817. The subject was of a serious and important nature; and the style, tone and manner were suited to the matter and the occasion. The second letter, addressed to the Weaver Boys, was written in the winter of 1819, in Long Island, and published here in the Spring. Its subject was, the very extraordinary proceedings, which followed the death of SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY. This letter is one of the Essays, of which I shall always be proud to be known as the author. It embraces numerous points both as to *morals* and to *law*. It boldly encounters the base *cant* of the age. Thousands of hypocrites stood ready to *condemn* and *revile*; but, though the author was so far distant from the scene; and though to attack him was so popular as well as so profitable; no one has ever dared to make an attempt to *answer* that letter. Of nearly a *thousand* Registers that I have written, there are only about *fifteen*, I think, of which I am *really proud*; and this Register, on the Inquest on Romilly, is one of those fifteen.

Now, Sir, though I still say, that I admired the *burst of indignation*, contained in your alledged libel, compare it with these two Letters of mine to the "*Weaver Boys*;" and, you will find, I believe, that the latter would have been more worthy of your pen than the former was. Then, again, the Attorney General found *nothing to prosecute* in my Letters

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though his friendship for me cannot be supposed to have exceeded his friendship for you. It was, therefore, mal-apropos, as well as unjust, to endeavour to "*set yourself straight*" with the jury by drawing the Pharisaical contrast. If you chose to assert your own *loyalty* and *orderly conduct*, that you had a right to do. But, you had no right to impute the contrary me, though it had been to save you from ten times the weight of punishment that you might wish to avoid. If you had thought proper to allude to my conduct at all, you ought to have observed, that, in no one instance, have I ever urged the people to acts of violence; that, in no one instance, has my name been coupled with rioting or mobbing; and that this was more than you could say for yourself! It is, I dare say, true, that you never *advised* a mob to demolish the houses of your adversaries; but it is, nevertheless, undeniable, that your adherents have, on several occasions, committed such acts of violence, and that, too, immediately after having been harangued by you. I do not say, that you did *wrong* in calling the Cold Bath Fields Prison "*the Bastile*," and in suffering many men, day after day, to go from London to the Election at Brentford, with *chains round them*, and rattling those chains on the top of your coaches. I do not say, that this was *wrong*; but this was the case; and it was not an instance of your great care not to encourage those "*popular delusions*," to which you now so significantly allude, and almost in the words of some of the late Speeches from the Throne and from the Ministers. I do not say, that you *meant disloyally*, and I believe you did not, when, in an address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, you talked of "*hired* sheriffs, parliaments, "and *kings*"; but, you did so talk; and you cannot find, in my letters to the "*Weaver Boys*," any thing of this description. I do not say, that, in *pointing me out*, upon this occasion, you *deliberately meant* to pave the way for a prosecution against me; but, you ought to have been careful not to persecute another, while you were yourself complaining of persecution. If you must resort to *contrasts*; if you must play the Pharisee in politics, you might have picked out *other* subjects for contrasts: you might have fixed upon some one, whose speeches or writings had filled the jails with victims, instead of falling upon the writings of one, who has, from the year 1809 to this day, been the cause of prosecution of no man in any part of the kingdom. *You* well know all *my thoughts* about public matters. You know me to *be as loyal as yourself* to the full! While, therefore, there was no reason for your singling *me* out upon this occasion, there was, it appears to me,

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every reason that could suggest itself to the mind of man, for your avoiding it.

Here I should stop; but, I cannot suffer the above extract to go forth under my hand without a remark or two upon other parts of it, beginning with that part which relates to the *Corn Bill*, which you still seem to regard as a measure of *sound policy*, and as being opposed only by *popular error*, fostered by *delusion*. I will not say, that this topic was introduced by you for the purpose of *conciliating* the *landholders*, of whom your jury was composed; but, most assuredly it was a matter wholly foreign from the subject before the Court; and if it were proper to introduce it, there was nothing, which it was not proper for the Attorney-General to introduce. However, we have now, being thus challenged by you, to inquire, whether the opposition to the Corn-Bill were a *mob-like* thing or not.

It is well known that no measure ever excited *so loud* and *so general* an opposition. More petitions were presented against it, than against any other bill that ever was brought forward. The Bill was at last passed with troops drawn up round the Parliament House, and for the avowed purpose of protecting the Members against the rage of the people. Your constituents petitioned amongst others. You presented their petition; and, you said, that you were *neither for nor against the Bill*; nor did you *vote for* it. Lord Castlereagh charged you with equivocating and shuffling. He said you were *for* the Bill; but had not the frankness to avow it. However, *now* you boast of having been *for* the Bill, and of having, on that occasion, scorned to listen to *popular delusion*.

We will leave undiscussed the question, whether a great *Reformer* acts a very consistent part in boasting that he approved of a bill that was passed in defiance of the petitions of five sixths of the nation: we will leave this out of our view, and confine ourselves to the nature, tendency, and effects of the measure, for having approved of which you take so much merit to yourself.

The Bill professed to have in view the *relief of the farmers*. It was, as we shall by-and-bye see, sheer nonsense to propose to effect such an end by such means. But, *has* it relieved the farmers? Are they not more deeply distressed than ever? Have not the sufferings of the labourers and the middle classes been *greater* since that Bill was passed than they ever were before? Will you say, that there are *other causes* at work to produce this misery and to render the benefits of the Corn Bill ineffectual in affording relief? If you say this, it was your duty to *point out those other causes*, and to *endeavour to cause them to be removed, before* you were for passing a Corn Bill. For, why pass a Corn Bill, while such causes remained in operation? Why put the money into the purse, when you knew of the great hole in the bottom?

You were for the Corn Bill with your eyes open. You knew, or had

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an opportunity of knowing, *all the causes* that were at work against the restoration of prosperity. With this knowledge, which you possessed, or ought to have possessed; with all those causes before your eyes; with every cause of the farmer's distress full in your view, you approved of the Corn Bill as the means of *relief* to the farmer. Therefore, you cannot now say, that the want of relief has arisen from causes which were too powerful for the Corn Bill: you cannot say this, without acknowledging, that, at best, the Corn Bill was but a mere piece of impudent nonsense, and was passed merely to show, that the people's petitions, though nearly unanimous, might be safely set at nought.

The Corn-Bill having *failed* of its object; and, observe, if you please, that the associations of farmers now declare, that it has done them *harm* instead of good: this being the case, it was to show but very little regard for public opinion to say, at this time of day, that the Corn-Bill was opposed by *popular error* and *delusion*; and to take merit to yourself for having set your face against that *delusion*; when experience has proved, that it was not delusion, which opposed, but which supported, the Bill.

The Bill, like almost every other measure, which has, for years, been adopted, relative to the internal and commercial affairs of the country, was founded on *narrow* views; views such as men in *trade* take of all public measures, which they can clearly see *affect them*, but cannot see *how*. The farmers found, that they could not pay their *rent* and *taxes*. The landlords wanted the former, and the government, or funding system, or whatever else we may call it, would have the latter. What was to be done? Why, *enable* the farmers to pay high rent and heavy taxes. But how? There was no way but that of enabling them to get a high price for their corn. And one way of effecting this certainly was to *put a stop to the importation of Corn*; or, in other words, to give them a *monopoly*. But, it appears to have been forgotten by the wise-acres, who passed this Bill, that this high price must *fall upon some other part of the community*; and that, finally, whatever was gained by the farmer, through the means of high price, must be taken from him through the means of *poor-rates*, while the manufacturers of the country, loaded with the high price and with all the burthens of taxation, must inevitably go on gradually perishing.

It is useless to say, that great and extended foreign commerce is an *evil*. Ours *was become* great and extended. Every art had been resorted to, in order to make machines do the work of men, and to draw men from the fields into manufacturing establishments. The nation was new-modelled. The small farms were gone. Farming was become a speculating concern in the hands of a few. Therefore, to do any thing, which would, all at once, take away the employment of manufacturers was to throw

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all into confusion, or, at least, to produce misery indescribable.

Manufacturers, in such a state of things, must depend on *commerce*, and commerce is, *exchanging one article for another*. It is folly to suppose, that other nations will buy of us to a greater extent *than we buy of them*. The thing can very seldom happen for any length of time. And, if it happen at one time, it must be compensated for at another time. This is a matter which has nothing to do with passion or prejudice, with friendship or enmity: it is a matter of necessity: it is a thing that *must* be so: and, to attempt to controul it by restrictive laws is wholly useless. If we do not receive a given quantity, or amount, of the products of America, for instance, she will not, because she *cannot*, take from us a similar amount of our products. So that the Corn-Bill, as far as it operates as a check to the importation of American flour and meat and timber, also operates as a check to our manufactures; and, if we take the dead stock of inactive machinery into view, this check produces a loss enormous.

Whether it would be a good thing if this body of manufacturers were not in existence, is a question that it would be useless to discuss. They *are* in existence. They are alive, and have a right to live. At any rate they cannot be gotten rid of. And while this is the case, every thing that tends to prevent articles from being bought in to be exchanged for the work of their hands is, and must be, unwise and mischievous. If, indeed, the farmers could sell their dear corn to somebody else besides the people of England, the gains of the land would go to be laid out for the benefit of manufacturers. But, the high price is to be paid *by the rest of this same community*; so that, upon the general scale, nothing is *added* to the national means by the high price, while, if the ports were open, something would be added to those means by the exchange of food for labour, which would prevent a large portion of the poor-rates that now exist.

If a man live as he ought to live, he will consume about 250 pounds of flour and 200 pounds of pork in a year, or some other food equal in point of nutriment. Now, here is a weaver at Coventry, who makes ribbons, when he can get work. Let him get this quantity of flour and pork from America, and the Americans will take the amount out in ribbons. Is not this an advantageous thing to England? The man lives well, and he never troubles the *parish*. His labour produces flour and pork as much as the farmer's man's labour produces flour and pork. His loom enables him to draw his food across the Atlantic, and to set the plough and the flail going there. But, if you will not suffer the American to bring the flour and the pork, the American cannot take the ribbons, his wife and

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daughters must do without these fineries; and, the ribbon-weaver must do without the American flour and pork; he must have half work or less, and must be half-starved.

Aye, say the Corn Bill wiseacres; but, if Farmer Gripum, my lord's tenant, get a high price for his corn and meat, he will have the money, which the American farmer would otherwise have, to buy ribbons with. Yes, he would; but, then, this high price being *paid by the rest of the community*, the rest of the community would have just as much *less* as Gripum would have *more*, money to buy ribbons with. The fact, however, is, that Gripum would not have more money to buy ribbons, or any thing else, with. His *poor rates* would be augmented, and his *rent* would be augmented; and, if gain rested any where, it would rest with the *owner of the land*, and not with the farmer. And, indeed, this Bill was a Bill wholly in favour of *landlords*, though the native greediness of the farmers made them, and still makes them, eager for it.

Take things upon an average of years, it is *impossible*, that *high price* can be beneficial to a *renting* farmer; because all his out-goings are high, and must be high, in proportion. He cannot be benefitted by high prices so long as his landlord has the power of augmenting his rent, and so long as labour rises with the rise in the produce of the land. But, there are the *taxes*. These continue stationary. To face *them* it must be best to have high prices. This is very true; but, then, observe, *the rest of the community*, being compelled to submit to this high price, will be *less* able to pay taxes than they were before. That which they pay, in addition, for their food, they cannot have to pay taxes with and to lay out in manufactured goods.

Thus, then this famous Corn Bill, which you, Sir, say was opposed by *popular delusion*, to which you *disdained to listen*, was manifestly, as I think, founded, in foolish greediness; and has, as I know, produced prodigious mischief. It proceeded (where the motive was not sheer greediness) upon a wrong notion as to the *cause* of the distress of the farmers; as to the cause of their inability to pay rent and taxes as before. This cause was, not the "*superabundant produce*," as poor Mr. Western called it; but, the diminution, which had then taken place in the quantity of the paper-money; in the consequent rise of the value of

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that money; and the consequent additional real demand made on the farmer for *taxes*, and also for *rent*, in case of a lease extending beyond the year. This was the *cause* of the distress; and, how was a cause like this to be counteracted by a Corn Bill?

This doctrine, which I alone held at the time, is now generally acknowledged to be true; and, therefore, it is, at this time of day, a little too much to hear you putting forward, as *a merit*, your having treated the opposition to the Corn Bill as having proceeded from *popular error and delusion!*

You may talk, Sir, of *parliamentary reform*, as long as you please; but, you will never make me believe, that you are sincere, until I see you *propose some measure likely to lead to it*. How is it to be obtained? By *force of arms?* That you are anxious to disclaim; and well you may, when you look at the military attitude of those who wish not to have a reform. How, then? By "*soft persuasion?*" By speeches made by you, Mr. Hobhouse, young Mr. Whitbread, Sir Robert Wilson, and Mr. Lambton? Alas! go, first, and try your harangues upon wolves in a sheep-fold; or upon a kite that has just made a successful dash amongst a brood of chickens. Do you still hope to gain over to you "*the* "*Gentlemen of England?*" What, to begin with, do you think of the *twelve*, whom you had the honour to address at Leicester? Where, then, is your reliance? On the Fox-hunters? They may, as to most other matters, be stupid enough; but, let them but get the slightest scent of you on the *reform track*, and they will show you, that they are as cunning as the animal they live to pursue. They are, nine out of every ten, tyrants in their very nature; and all their familiar bawling and boozing do not diminish their arrogance and insolence towards those whom they are able to oppress.

Who, then, are you to *persuade* to join you? I cannot imagine, for my part, any project more wild. REFORM will never take place, until the *paper-fabrick* be well shaken; and, if you would hasten a reform, you must attack that fabrick, and this, as you never yet have attempted it, so, I fear, you will not now attempt it. There are too many *ties* that bind you, and all the new heroes, to *the system*. These ties you *might* break, if you would; but you cannot break them, without an effort, such as I have no hope of

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seeing you make. I know, that the paper fabrick will go to pieces. Reform will then come; but, it will not have been brought by you, and you will not, it is my opinion, have much to say in the final settlement of the affair.

The way to go work *now*, is, to propose some distinct measure, *levelled directly at the paper-fabrick*. It would not be instantly adopted; perhaps never. But, it would be *discussed*; and by discussion the minds of men would be prepared for the event. But, as to *speeches about reform*, what are they *now* to produce? For, who is there in the whole world, that can possibly believe, that this nation is to be restored to *prosperity* merely by a change in the mode of electing Members of Parliament? That change is, indeed, necessary to the restoration of prosperity; but the change cannot take place, until the paper-fabrick be shaken; and as to keeping up this fabrick *after a reform has taken place*, the very thought ought to consign a man to Bedlam.

I have no hope of any change, which does not emanate from this source. Paine said, in 1796, that the question was, *not how long the Borough system would last*, but, *how long the Funding system would last*: and, every day, from that day to this, has made this truth more and more evident. *A thousand pounds*, therefore, expended, in order to get young Mr. Whitbread into parliament, though it may be very proper so to expend it, will do nothing towards restoring the country to freedom, unless we should, to our agreeable surprise, find that this young man has something to propose to shake the stock-jobbing concern; and that he has the ability and industry to produce a great impression on men's minds by the matter that he brings forward. If he do no more than his father did, of what *use* will he be? He may make very pretty speeches, and may *rail* against Ministers in good round sentences; but, if he produce no effect; if he merely obtain the applause of the unthinking; if the *System* be wholly *unshaken* by him, his efforts will be as useless, and nearly as ridiculous, as a dog's baying the moon.

I should very much like to have from you, Sir, an answer to this plain question: *Do you wish the interest to continue to be paid to the full to the fundholders?* If I had your answer to this question, I should, at once, be able to say, whether any hope can be entertained of you, or not. You may

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say, that is a question to be *hereafter* discussed. By no means. It is the preliminary question. Without coming to a decision on that, it is nonsense to talk about a Reform of the Parliament; because this latter never can take place as long as, by no matter what means, that interest shall be paid to the full. If I was a fundholder, and had my interest duly paid me, and had to depend on this for my living at my ease, would I listen to any proposition for *changing the managers* of the nation's affairs? I believe not indeed! There are about three hundred thousand fundholders. These, or the far greater part of them, hate the Sinecure and Pension Gentry as much as I do; but, they are embarked in the same boat: they must swim along with those they hate, or sink: and, therefore, they are strenuously opposed to *any change* in the system. The *Seat-owners* would, doubtless, give up their mere *power* with reluctance. But, do you think, that they never look at their *estates*, and consider how far they are *pledged* for the payment of the *Debt*? The fundholders have frequently reminded them, that these estates are so pledged. It is easy to see; nay, every body *now* says it, that the interest of the Debt cannot be much longer paid without a resort to *extraordinary* means; and one man has actually proposed to take away the sixth part of every man's real property. Under such circumstances, is it likely, that you and Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Robert Wilson and young Mr. Whitbread will be able, by *soft persuasion*, to prevail in the great families to make a Reform that would *put their estates into the hands of men, chosen by the people at large*?

You take a wrong view of the matter, if you proceed upon the notion, that *public opinion* has now its former weight. Since 1816, this has been gradually becoming of less and less consequence with those who have the management of the system. A military force, co-operating with a magistracy armed with new and extraordinary powers, and the whole more completely organized than almost any thing in the world ever was; these have divested the rulers of all *care* about any thing, except the *Debt*, its appendages and consequences. These, therefore, are the grounds to work on; and, if well worked on *in parliament*, a prodigious effect would be produced in a very short time. While, with regard to *Reform*, the old story, without

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a new fact, and without a single petition to back you, what can be done?

There must arise, and, perhaps, during this next session of parliament, this question: *Whether the land-owners shall give up part of their estates to the Fundholders;* or, *whether the latter shall be ruined; while the former retain all their possessions.* Indeed, this question has been *mooted* already, even in the House. I beg you to believe, Sir, that this *mighty* question *must* be discussed, and that, too, at no distant day. I had *my* project, which, if I had not been opposed by cut-throats, at Coventry, I should have offered to the parliament in four days after its meeting. Mine was a very *extensive* project, at any rate. I must now be a mere spectator; but, this great question *between the land and the funds* must come to be discussed; and, whenever it shall come to be discussed, you will, unless you duly and diligently consider the matter beforehand, find yourself in greater difficulty than you have ever yet experienced. The thing will end in a Reform of the Parliament; but, *your* future character and fate will depend, not upon any talk about Reform, but upon the part that you shall take as to this great question. The fact is, that the estates of the great families as well as of every body else, are, as the common notion is, pledged to pay the interest due to the fundholders: or, in other words, are *mortgaged* to the fundholders. There is a great arrear of interest; or, at least, the interest can no longer be duly paid, without producing an unbearable weight of national misery, and causing a degree of national feebleness which wholly disables the nation from daring to think of war, however just and necessary. This is the state of the case; and the question is, shall this load be shaken off, or not? Shall the mortgage bond be literally *enforced;* shall the mortgagees *enter*, and send the present occupiers on their travels; or, shall the occupiers be *protected against the mortgagees*, and leave these latter to live on air? This is the true and only question now to be discussed. Until it be settled, it is quite useless to make speeches against the *corruptions at Grampound.* Never, until this question be settled, will there be any Reform of Parliament. In short, the question is not "how long "the *Borough* system will last, "but how long the *Funding* system "will last"; and, therefore, those who appear anxious about the

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former, and say and do nothing at all about the latter, must, in my view of the matter, be wanting either in sincerity or understanding.

I can draw no very favourable conclusion from your *silence*, during the spring session of 1819, when, after repeated discussions, the parliament adopted a measure which has produced, and is producing, calamities so great as not to be described. They did not *mean* to do this. It is impossible to believe, that the Ministers *like* to see people miserable. They would have *listened* to you, if you had made a stand against that measure. It was the fairest and finest opportunity that ever presented itself of doing good; or, at least, of showing a disposition to do good. If you had spoken frequently, seriously, and ably (as you always can), upon that occasion; if you had, in a strain of seriousness and of generous sacrifice of all personal dislikes, besought the Ministers to desist from their pursuit, with what advantage would you *now* have come before the parliament! With what weight of character; with what confidence from your friends; and with what awe in your enemies! *Reform* is, and will be, by many, considered as a matter of *theory*, and as nothing more. But, the *money-question*; that which comes home to the heart and soul of every person of property, be his property, of what nature it may, awakens thought and feeling in the most stupid and the most selfish. On this subject, you would have been attended to by the whole nation. It was *here* that you might have commanded the attention even of those, whom you call "the *Gentlemen of England*"; and who will never, for one single moment, listen to you on the subject of Reform, until the money-matter be brought to a crisis.

The matter was so *plain*, too; it was so *clear*, that the present sum of taxes never could be collected from a quantity of circulating medium, which would be small enough to enable the Bank to resume cash-payments. And the absurdity of collecting such a sum from a circulating medium of gold and silver was so palpable, that one wonders how you could let pass the occasion of making a great figure in an assembly, where you must desire to make such a figure. It was evident to me, that the ministers were *forced* into that measure. Their language clearly shewed, that they did not approve of it. Lord CASTLEREAGH spoke

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of it in a very equivocal way; Mr. Canning said, it was a subject *he did not understand*; and, Mr. Peel, though he spoke with great ability, as he always does, spoke in a way, that showed him to have nothing better than *faint hopes* of success. This, therefore, was the great occasion for *you* to interpose; and yet, not a single word did you say upon the all-important subject.

You do not, Sir, appear to me to have any thing like a correct notion of the real state of the country, taking into view all the consequences that we may expect to see come to pass. It is not only the *misery of the people* that you ought to look at. These are not all; there are the *resources* of the country, the basis of its *power*, its means of defence; these are *passing away!* And, passing away, too, so manifestly as to be seen even by vulgar eyes. The nation is sinking faster, and a hundred times faster, than ever it rose. If this system could last for 10 years, this country would be the scorn of the world. She is, at this very moment, literally fulfilling a prediction, which the Abbe Raynal put into print more than thirty years ago. Every nation is fast rising above her. In much less than ten years, if this system could continue, she would not be a match, *on the ocean*, for the United States of America single-handed. France will either undergo another Revolution, or will remain tranquil under her present not very bad government. In either case she will *recover* fast. Spain, in all human probability, will be on the *rise*. While, under the present system, it is *impossible* that this country should not *go on declining*. This country cannot hold a *middle course*. She cannot be *moderately* powerful. She must be *great* or *nothing*. She cannot quietly and silently enjoy mediocrity. She cannot be independent by permission. She must exist in *defiance* or *not exist at all*.

In this state of the country, what is the part that *you* ought to act? Why, cast aside, root completely from your mind, every feeling of private pique against every man engaged in public matters. Bend all your talent, weight and influence to assist in tearing off the load that presses your country downwards. There must be *sacrifices*, and very *great sacrifices*, not on the part of the middle

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classes and the labourers, for they have sacrificed all; but, on the part of the *high* and *rich;* and who so well and effectually as you could preach the precept and *set the example?* It is not, Sir, by *electioneering* and *dinnering*, and obtaining little paltry triumphs over such poor things as Mr. LAMB and Mr. MELLISH, that you can assist in saving England. A coalition with *the Whigs*, who, God knows, are a strange *sort* even of Whigs! A getting together of a little band to squabble and special plead against the Ministers is a thing that you ought to despise. You have been long enough in public affairs to understand well the state of the country; and, if you were, during the short time, that will, perhaps, be allowed you, to come forward, looking for support to no one, standing on your own character, and propose in a tone and manner of which you are complete master, some *great* measure of salvation for the country, accompanied with a *solemn warning* to the parliament and the people, you would go to your prison, if it should, contrary to all our wishes, be finally determined to send you thither, accompanied with universal gratitude and with most earnest prayers for your health and your restoration to liberty.

But, I must reluctantly confess, that your *praises* of the *ministry of Mr. Fox*, as you called it, in your speech at LEICESTER, gave me but little hope as to your future conduct. You know, Sir, as well as I do, that Mr. Fox was not "at the *head*" of that ministry. You know well, that he had *no real power* in it. You know, too, that the acts of that ministry were even *more odious* (considering the length of time) than those of any other ministry that had preceded it; and you know, too, that "the Whigs," to a coalition with whom this compliment of yours was but too palpable an overture, have been, and are, as strongly opposed to Reform as their political opponents are. These circumstances, connected with your uncommon activity in supporting Mr. WHITBREAD, an object, in my opinion,

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wholly unworthy of your attention, have gone far towards convincing me, that nothing *great* is intended by you; while I am certain, that nothing in the old, declamatory style will have the smallest tendency to produce good to the country.

The course which I think will be pursued is this: the people are *put down*. There is a body of horsemen in each county, called yeomanry, who are, at all times, ready to come forth. There is a regular army, very judiciously distributed all over the kingdom, with the deposits of arms, ammunition and artillery. And, observe, that the *ragings* of actual starvation are provided against in England in the *poor-rates*. Hence it is, that we hear of never-ending fightings in Ireland, while we hear of none in England. In time men learn to *live upon little*, and that little very bad food. The lascars at Saint Helena eat *rats* and *mice* with their rice; and seem, I am told, very well contented. Therefore, all is perfectly safe on the score of the multitude, especially with the present laws in force.

But, *tranquillity* is not prosperity. Tranquillity will not pay rents and taxes. Tranquillity will not prevent the fatal effects of unproductiveness in labour. Tranquillity will not prevent the pressure of taxation from sapping the foundations of wealth and power. "The *repose*" of agriculture is death to it as completely as the repose of the sap is death to a plant or tree. All is suffering and perishing under this pressure. This is now acknowledged on all hands. Some propose to lessen the pressure by lopping off a part of the debt: others to make the land share in the lopping off: others, to lessen the pressure by again augmenting the quantity of the Paper-money, and, thereby, lessening the real amount of the taxes.

To resort to the last of these schemes, would, as an *expedient*, be the *easiest*; but, then, it would

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be attended with so much *shame* in the beginning, and with ruin so certain in the end, that I can hardly think it will be attempted unless in a case of great emergency and even of alarm. To lop off a part of the debt, and to come to a compromise of some sort with the land, will, I think, be attempted. But here, as in all the late projects, there will, I dare say, be so much of *indecision*; and the *degree* will be so inadequate to the necessity of the case, that the measure, while it will cause a great and general alarm, will be attended with no very beneficial consequences.

But, the moment such measures are suspected to be entertained by the Ministers, an enormous *emigration of capital* will instantly take place. And *here* it is that we see one of the greatest of the many great evils of a FUNDING SYSTEM. It would seem at first glance, that a country really loses none of its riches, or means of being powerful, by a man's selling his stock in the funds, and getting off to another country. But, let us see how the thing works. I have, suppose, a thousand pounds in the Funds; I sell them to some one for Bank notes; I buy gold with the Bank notes in London; and off I go *with the gold*. Thus, then, I get gold for the stock; the stock, which is, intrinsically worth nothing, I leave in England, and *I carry the gold out of England*. So that, by my removal, England's real riches and means of being powerful, are diminished in proportion to the amount of my late stake in the Funds. Take another mode of doing it. Instead of buying gold with my Bank notes, I buy *cloth* and take it out of the country. I sell it *abroad*, where I employ the money in trade or agriculture, or I lend it out. Nothing *returns* to *England* in lieu of the cloth. The cloth, which made part of the wealth of England, is *gone from her for ever!* And thus, by the operation, England is rendered poor and

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feeble in proportion to the amount of my late property in the funds.

Therefore, the moment it was known, that the Ministers favoured any project for lowering the interest of the debt, a prodigious emigration of capital would take place, and the nation would, without great precaution previously taken, receive a blow that would actually make her stagger! Observe, too, that, in proportion to England's loss, would be the gain of some *rival;* and who that rival would principally be it is unnecessary for me to state. To be sure natural causes would, in a limited time, put an end to this transfer of capital; but, it is by no means beyond the compass of probability, that *two hundred millions* would thus be wafted from English to foreign shores; and that, too, in a very short space of time, producing misery and decrepitude here, and prosperity and power in rival states. There is a certain portion of the fundholders, who are, as it were, *tied to the stake*, and must abide the peltings of the storm, be they what they may. But, many of them are not; and they will remove their capital. Nor is the removal of capital to be effected only in the case of funded property. One, who owns a farm, sells it to a fundholder for Bank notes; and away goes *the value* of the farm, never to come back again. The farm remains, to be sure; and all the farms and houses, all the mines and canals must remain; but the things which make them *valuable* may be removed, and, in a great measure, would, in the above supposed case, be removed for ever.

Now, is not *this* an object, before the terrific magnitude of which the getting of Mr. Whitbread elected and the ousting of poor boggling Mellish ought to sink out of sight? What is this young man likely to do? What is he calculated to do, in

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order to prevent a catastrophe such as is above contemplated, and which, with great exertion and a mind made up to great sacrifices, such as your country has a claim on you for, you might do much, at any rate, towards preventing? At such a time as this; with dangers such as these hanging over the country; with clouds, charged with destruction, lowering over its head: at such a time as this, it is mortifying enough to see the Ministers employed in contriving traps and trammels for political writers; but it is still more mortifying to see you, with a parcel of brawling partizans, marching to Brentford, at the head of a goodly collection of "*free "and independent voters*," riding in a *boat* drawn along the turnpike-road, in order to hasten the progress of the cause of Reform! When one sees these things, one can have little hope from your exertions. But, still, we have a right to call upon you for exertions.

In the letter, for the writing and publishing of which you have been prosecuted, you observe, that gentlemen's estates are a *retaining fee* for their exertions in defence of the rights and liberties of the country. Though the figure savours too much of special-pleading, the sentiment is just. You, Sir, hold, then, a pretty *large fee* in this cause; of course, *great exertions* may be justly demanded at your hands; and, great and efficient exertions we must have, or, I for one, shall make heavy complaints against you. I am aware, that, in the present moment of electioneering triumphs while the *loud huzzas* are yet vibrating on your ear, you may be little disposed to attend to what any one may offer in the way of advice; but, after the noisy flattery has made way for stillness and reflection, the people who

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think at all, will wait with some impatience for the *fruit* of their successful exertions in your behalf. They will see subjects of the utmost importance brought forward; they will expect to see *you*, above all men, taking a part in the discussion of those subjects; they will, when the question is, whether the land-owners shall or shall not yield up a part of their possessions, be eager to hear what *you* have to say; what proposition you have to make what *sacrifice* you have to offer; and, give me leave to assure you, that, though you may still continue to receive from some persons, that species of adulation, which the known possession of great wealth never fails to procure for the possessor, your weight, as a public man, will be nothing, unless you be thoroughly prepared for great exertions and *great sacrifices*.

Many are the years that have passed over our heads since I endeavoured to prevail on you to grapple with the *Funding Monster*. It has, ever since I began to write the Register, eighteen years ago, been my opinion, that the fate of the country depended on what should be done with this system. This is *now* manifest to every one. There is no man, be his general politics what they may, who does not now think, that a *breaking up* of some sort must take place. *This*, therefore, is the *great subject*; and, if you be silent or inefficient here, the triumph of your election is an empty triumph; and, indeed, it will, in the end, only tend to sink you into insignificance. If you act the part that you are able to act, though your time in parliament may be short, you may make every honest man in the kingdom follow you to your prison with admiration and gratitude; which prison may then be envied by those who inhabit pa-

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laces. But, if you remain inert, or, if nothing specific, great and efficient mark even the short period that you may have for exertion, your prison will be merely a retreat from that public insignificance, which, to you, ought to be less tolerable than dungeons and manacles.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

THE EARL OF AYLSFORD.

London, 29 March, 1820.

MY LORD,

I shall not take any particular pains to characterize you or your conduct. A plain narrative will do what I want to do, which is merely to show what *you are*, and *to what a state of degradation the people of England are reduced.*

On the 15th of March I went from Coventry to the Bull-head Inn at the village of MERIDEN (which is five miles from Coventry) in the hope that a change of air would restore to me the use of my voice, which I had almost wholly lost by a cold, caught before I entered Coventry. I arrived there on the *Wednesday* afternoon. On the Thursday, the Landlord, Mr. HETHERINGTON, told me, that, while I was out on a walk, *you* had called to ask, whether I was in the house, and that, being told that I was, you told the landlord, that, you supposed, he did not expect to have *any connection with the gentlemen in the neighbourhood.* The landlord, when he told me of this, appeared rather *alarmed*; but he was somewhat rouzed and fortified, and appeared to feel that he was not quite destitute of a *soul*, when I spoke of you and your interference in terms of merited reprobation and contempt.

The next day, while I was out on another walk, the *Adjutant of the Warwickshire Yeomanry Ca-*

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valry, of which, I am told, you are the *Colonel*, came, as the landlord told me, and, in true military style, demanded my *expulsion* from the Inn. The fellow, whose name is, they say, SMITH, was lately, I am told, a *Serjeant* in some Regiment of *regular Dragoons*. This hero *swore* in grand style, and threatened tremendously. I could not hear this account without calling to mind the description, which FORTESQUE gives of the manner, in which the *French Soldiers* used to treat *the people*! it was so much like the manner of soldiers towards a people, who could call nothing their own; that I could hardly refrain from treating the landlord as a slave, when I heard, that he had not kicked the "*Adjutant*" out of his house. And, when he told me the story about *your* interference, I said to my son, "if he "had interfered thus with an "*American* inn-keeper, how the "latter would have sent him "across the road *from the toe of* "*his shoe!*"

When I came in from a walk, on the Saturday, the landlord came to me with an account of new complaints, and told me, that he had now been assailed by several persons, and had, at last, been threatened, that, unless he *put me out of his house*, he should have *his licence taken away*. That is to say, unless he would commit *a gross violation of the law of the land*, he should have taken from him the *means of gaining his livelihood*.

Having ordered dinner, the waiter informed us, that his master *could not provide us with any thing more!* Upon this I sent for the landlord, and told him in plain terms, that, if he was a slave, I was not; and, that, unless he supplied me with what I wanted, I would, in the first place, not pay him his bill, and, that, in the next place, I would bring an action against him. The poor man was exceedingly

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distressed; but at last, we got some dinner. We returned to Coventry, according to my intention, in the evening, and, for that time heard no more of the matter.

The Landlord is a very civil and well-behaved man. He, probably, would have acted upon the word of command given by your Adjutant; but, he saw that there was danger to be apprehended from my *resentment*. I left MERIDEN feeling sorrow at seeing an ENGLISHMAN reduced to a state of such complete slavery; but, not without feeling some pride, that my bare presence near your dwelling had been capable of inspiring you with fear. *You* may come and reside at the Inn at *Botley*, and not a soul in the country will either know or care when you come or when you go away; or will ever hear who, or what, you are. What a poor thing, in the creation, *you are*, when compared to *me*! What an insignificant thing!

While this verbal altercation was going on at MERIDEN, there was, it seems, something in the *documentary* way preparing, and we have it in the following article, which I copy from a Coventry News-paper:

COBBETT AT MERIDEN.

We, the under-signed Inhabitants of Meriden and its Neighbourhood, in order to manifest our *abhorrence and detestation of the Principles of Cobbett* and his Adherents, do hereby publicly express our *astonishment and disgust* at the conduct of the Proprietors of the Bull's Head Inn, *in having entertained him for so long a time, contrary to our general feelings and loyal spirit;* and further declare that we neither have had nor will have any *connection* with Cobbett.

Aylesford
E. Finch
W. Somerville
Thomas Smith
Joseph Gibbs
John Beaufoy
Robert Bunney

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William Zachary
Humphrey Harper
Thomas Johnson
Benjamin Lees
John Sabin
J. Alsager
H. B. Bellisson
W. Sabin
William Repton
John Dodwell
Samuel Thompson, sen.
Samuel Thompson, jun.
Thomas Phillips
John Loveitt
Thomas Oldham
George Proctor
John Downing
S. Large
Elizabeth Wiggin
Thomas Shuttleworth
William Gibson
John Guise
John Perks
William Taylor, Constable
Robert Taylor.

Meriden, March 8, 1820.

Thus do you stand enrolled with your Dragoon Serjeant, with tailors, shoemakers, pot-house people, the constable of the village, and with a parcel of the basest of mankind, renting English farmers. But, to talk to you of *meanness* is to throw words away. Here is a goodly group to disclaim all *connection* with me! You might have stopped till you had been *asked* to form such a *connection*, of which I should never have thought, unless I had been reduced to a state to "say unto Corruption, thou art "my father; and, to the Worm, "thou art my mother and my "sister."

There can be no doubt, that *you* drew up this paper, and sent your Adjutant with the word of command to obtain the signatures; and that the sole object, or, at least, the main object of the paper, thus *published*, was to cause the *ruin* of the man, who, only in *obedience to the law*, had given me my *right* to lodging and entertainment. Since, however, you state, that your object is, to "express

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"your *abhorrence* and *detestation* "*of the principles* of Cobbett," it may not be amiss, not to ask *you* what those principles are, but shortly to state them for the information of the poor, slavish curs, whom you got to join you in your impudent, silly, and yet malignant manifesto.

My principles, then, are as follows.—I hold, that it is the duty of us all to do our utmost to uphold a government in king, lords, and commons. That, as to religion, opinions ought to be left as God has made them in our minds, perfectly free, and that persecution on account of religious opinions is of the worst and most wicked kind. That no man ought to be taxed but by his own consent, agreeably to the law of the land. That elections ought to be free, and that drunkenness, bribery, corruption, and perjury are great and odious sins. That the affairs of the nation ought to be so managed, that every sober and industrious and healthy man ought, out of his own wages, to be able to support himself, wife and family in a comfortable and decent manner. That the law of nature, as well as the law of the land, give every soul in the community *a right* to a sufficiency of food and raiment; and that, those who possess the land, are justly called upon to give good support to all, who are unable to labour, or who, being able, cannot obtain employment; and that this support is not a thing *given*, but a *right* to be demanded in the name of the law. I hold, further, that a false, or paper-money, not convertible into gold and silver on demand made on the issuer of the paper, is one of the greatest scourges ever inflicted upon a nation. I hold, that it is the weight of taxes, which produces all the miseries, which this nation now suffers, and that these taxes go, in part, to keep sinecure placemen and placewomen, pensioners and grantees, of whose public services I can find

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no trace. I hold, that the Debt and other fixed expences are a mortgage (in the present operation) on the *labour* of every man, woman and child in the country, capable of labour: that, thus, in part, the food and raiment are necessarily taken from those who labour and given to those who do not labour; and this is the cause of great suffering amongst the people. I hold, that, unless a *great change speedily take place*, this nation will become feeble and contemptible as well as enslaved; and that its capital will be conveyed away to enrich and to give power to rival nations.

Now, these are amongst *my principles*, of which you express your *abhorrence* and *detestation!* But, are you sure, that you were quite *sincere?* Did you tell the poor curs, who barked at your nod, that your real ground of anger against me was, that I had pointed out *your uncle*, EDWARD FINCH (who signs the paper) as A GROOM OF THE BED CHAMBER at *five hundred pounds a year*; while, at the same time, he enjoys the emoluments as the *Colonel of a Regiment* in the standing army in time of peace? Are you quite sure, that my account of Mrs. ARABELLA WALKER HENEAGE, who is *Chief Proclamator* in the Court of Common Pleas, at a *hundred pounds a year*; and *Chief Usher* in the Exchequer, at a *hundred and thirty seven pounds a year*: are you quite sure, that my statement of, and my laughing at, these facts, relating to a most *high-blooded*, and, doubtless, delicate, personage: are you quite sure, that all this had nothing to do in setting in motion the noble gall of you, *Heneage* Finch, Earl of Aylsford? If you decline to answer this question, it is very likely, that the poor curs of Meriden *may answer it for you*, in whispers to one another, at any rate. They will not (*at present*) dare to *speak*

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out; but, you must be even more foolish than this act of yours would seem to indicate, if you suppose, that you have any thing on your side, in this case, except what is extorted by *fear of your power to do mischief to the poor slavish creatures*. Let them find, one of these days, that they no longer need entertain that *fear*; and they will soon make you know the extent of their respect and affection.

I have, for my own part, no reason to be displeased with you. You have done all that lay in your pitiful power to add to my fame, consequence, and weight of character. You have shewn, that you were *afraid* that I should *be*, merely *be*, within miles of your dwelling; and few men are such fools as not to perceive the *grounds* of that fear. My bare existence near you was a cause of trouble to your mind! What a sort of life to lead! I would not live under such apprehensions for ten such estates as yours. You would do well, I believe, to shift your fears from me to the *Fundholders*, who, if I mistake not, will soon let you see, that there is something in the world more dangerous to you than "the *principles of Cobbett*." If my principles had been acted upon, instead of the principles of my bitter foes, you would, at this day, have had no cause to fear that which is to come. My principles, long ago upon record, would have effectually prevented all the present dangers. But you "*abhor* and *detest*" those principles: take, therefore, the *consequences*, while I stand by and *laugh*. Good bye. Look after your hares and pheasants; and wait for the visit of the Fundholders.

WM. COBBETT.

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MR. CANNING'S MANIFESTO.

The next Register will contain *An Answer to Mr. Canning's Speech*, made, after his election, at Liverpool. This is a set *Manifesto against the reformers*. It has been published in *three successive numbers of* the COURIER! It is a very elaborate composition, and shall receive an elaborate answer. The Right Honourable Gentleman has done his best to defend his conduct and that of his colleagues; and he certainly has dealt *the Whigs* some good sound blows, warranted fully by truth and justice; but his Manifesto must have an answer from *me;* for, indeed, he and his colleagues and their system have *no other real opponent*. The contest, as far as arguments go, is simply between *the system* and *me;* and, what is pleasing in the extreme to me, is, that the contest must *very soon be decided*. I shall, in a short time, see whole descriptions of persons that have cordially joined in uttering execrations against me, divided, ranged against each other, and ready to tear each other to pieces. The *land* and the *funds* must come to an open rupture in the end. However, I am anticipating. I must touch upon this in my answer to the *Manifesto*.

Mr. HUNT'S TRIAL.

Mr. HUNT, Mr. JOHNSON, and three others have been convicted, at York. They were indicted for a *conspiracy;* but, the verdict appears to have been given in the following words: "*Guilty* of assembling, "with unlawful banners, an "unlawful meeting, for the

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" purpose of exciting discon-
" tent and disaffection in the
" minds of the liege subjects of
" our Sovereign Lord the King,
" against the Government and
" Constitution of this Realm as
" by law established, and of at-
" tending at the said meeting."
—To make *remarks* upon this affair is much *too delicate* a task for me. The JUDGE (Bailey) reproved Mr. Hunt more than once, for *culogizing* him. I will take good care not to expose myself to reproof *on the same ground*. Some of the papers talked of a new trial. I do not know on *what ground*. I am far, thank God, from being a lawyer; but, I know, that the place of trial was the place *chosen by the defendants*: that *the verdict was in consonance with the Judge's charge*: and that the conduct of the Judge has been *praised to the skies* by Mr. Hunt (if the newspapers speak truth) and by all the public prints. However, there may be other grounds for a new trial; and, at any rate, I hope, that I may, without exposing myself to the chance of banishment, express my deep *sorrow for the result of this trial*.

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THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION.

SPANISH CONSTITUTION.

We told our readers, that the *Taxeating crew* were ready to cut the throats of the Spaniards! Their rage has been swelling within them for several weeks; but, at least, it has *bursted out* from their mouth, the COURIER of Tuesday night.—He gives a sketch of the Constitution of Spain, which he prefaces by a set of remarks of his own. We will insert the remarks, and afterwards make some observations on them.

"The late news from Spain has been received with very general exultation in this country by all descriptions of persons, *from an erroneous supposition that the Government of Ferdinand has been superseded by a moderate limited Monarchy, modelled very much upon our Constitution.* But this is *very far from being the case.* The code formed at Cadiz in 1811, 1812, and now *forced upon the King*, is only *nominally Monarchical*; it is in reality *almost purely republican*; and it would have been well, if, in these times, its *real merits* and *tendencies* had been *duly considered*, before we had ventured to praise its supporters, or admire its imaginary excellence. The basis of the system of representation is *Universal Suffrage and Biennial Parliaments*, together with all the other *wild theories of Radical Reform.*"

Oh, oh! We must not, then, like this Spanish form of Government, because it is *not like ours!* Indeed! What, must we like nothing that does not contain a provision for *rotten-bo-*

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roughs? We must not like it, because there is no room for *seat selling*. We must suspect, that it will end badly, because it will not permit of long lists of Sinecure Placemen and Placewomen! The COURIER exclaims: "this constitution is very *far from being like ours*." Aye, is it? It is only "*nominally monarchical*." Indeed! It is almost "*purely republican*." Bless us! It is "*universal suffrage* and *two-year Parliaments*." Worse and worse!—It is "*Radical Reform*." The devil it is!—Will this thing, call it what you please, give the people a belly full of food in exchange for their labour? Will it prevent a National Debt amounting to a thousand millions? Will it prevent a Paper-money from cursing the land? Will it prevent the people from dying with hunger in the streets, and others from being harnessed like horses to draw gravel carts? Will it prevent salt (worth a shilling) from being paid for by the labourer at *twenty-shillings?* Will it prevent the people from petitioning to be transported, in order to save themselves from actual starvation? Will it prevent thundering standing armies in time of peace? Will it prevent the passing of Dungeon Bills and Gagging Bills and Disarming Bills and Binding Over Bills and Banishment Bills? Because, if it will do these things, or almost any one of them, we hail its adoption with all our hearts and souls! Faith it is a *choaker* for all the despots in Europe, and all who may wish to be despots. It is a *sickener* to them. It will *creep about*, and will do the more good because it makes *little noise*.—We are happy to perceive, that the COURIER does not recommend *a war* against this *new republic*, though it has, as he says, "been *forced* upon "the king." Oh, no! Our government (bless it!) is *too modest* to think *of interfering* in the internal affairs of other nations!

"Big John Bull, of *paper empty*,
"Though in midst of peace and plenty,
"Is modest grown as worn-out sinner."

The *French* Prime Minister is said to have railed, some days ago, against

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the Spanish Revolution, because *effected by soldiers!* Well done, Monsieur! But, *who* was it that restored the Bourbons, Monsieur! Had *soldiers* nothing to do with that, Monsieur! Aye, Monsieur, and *foreign soldiers* too! And who was it brought about our "Glorious Revolution?" Had *soldiers* nothing to do with that Monsieur? Did not our "*deliverer*," William, Prince of Orange (*Orange Boven*) come over with a *Dutch Army*, Monsieur?—Take care how you gabble, Monsieur, against *soldiers* making changes in governments. But, gabbling Monsieur, remember, that the thing has been done in Spain, not by English, Prussians, Austrians, Russians and Dutchmen, but by soldiers, *natives of Spain*, who thought, as all soldiers ought to think, that their first duty was to defend the liberties of their country. Adieu, Monsieur! Bear these things in mind, and then you will have a guard on your tongue, and the COURIER will not be able to give us such silly extracts from your gabble to the *Chambers*. Adieu, Monsieur; use the French well; make no attempt to restore the feudal claims and the tythes, and then you need not be afraid of the effects of this glorious change in Spain. — We have not yet heard how this event has affected the Borough gentlemen in the score of *religion*, a matter, with regard to which they are always peculiarly alive. They do, indeed, when an extension of liberty to the Catholics of Ireland is prayed for, exclaim "*no popery*," and remind us of the *fires in Smithfield*: yet, we could venture to bet a trifle, that they will cry aloud against the "*sacrilegious*" act of putting down the Inquisition and extinguishing its *holy* fires. We remember well how they cried out "*sacrilege*," when the gormandizing and debauched Monks of France were ousted from their dormitories. The old PAPA of Rome, whom the parson of the parish, when we were boys, used to call *Anti-Christ*, has been a great favourite of late years; and yet it is very odd, that we will not admit of his spiritual power being exercised in *Ireland*? This is a very odd

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thing. We could explain the mystery, we think; but, it is hardly worth while. — Let the *Tax-eaters* rail on. The work of Reform will proceed in spite of their railing. Again and again we say, that there is no money now to be spent to carry on war against other nations because they choose to change the form of their governments. *France* will derive great benefit from the Spanish Revolution; and every country in Europe will hail the event with heart-felt joy.

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COBBETT's
WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LETTER I.

TO MR. CANNING,

On his Manifesto, issued at Liverpool, after his late Election.

London, 4 April, 1820.

Sir,

I find, in the Courier newspaper, a publication, entitled, "The Speech of Mr. Canning, "at the Liverpool Dinner, given "in celebration of his Election." It has been published in three several numbers of that paper; * and, there can be no doubt, that it is looked upon as an official *Manifesto* against the cause of Reform generally, and against the conduct of particular bodies of Reformers.

Secure as you are from all annoyance, while shielded, as a parliamentary speaker; exposed, as every man now must be to fine, imprisonment and banishment, who should venture to answer what you might put forth in the House, this act of yours, this stepping forth in print, and putting yourself on a legal level with us, is *manly*, at least. It is a *fair challenge*, and, in accepting the challenge, I mean to treat you fairly.

It is impossible to view the Manifesto, as a whole, without receiving the impression, that you, with all your boldness and all your daring, have some qualms, some serious doubts and fears hanging about your mind. You broadly protest against the necessity of *any change*; and yet, we clearly perceive, that you do not think, that things can go on in their present way, and that you see that a *crisis* of some sort or other is at hand. In the outset of the Manifesto you *congratulate* your audience on the complete restoration of order, confidence, reverence for the laws, and a just sense of the legitimate authority of the parliament. And yet, you conclude with an earnest and solemn invocation to that same audience to "see that the *time is* "*come*, at which their *decision* "*must be taken, for*, or *against*" "the *institutions of the British* "*Monarchy!*". The struggle, then, is not over, it seems! There is yet, even in your

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* It is *now* published in a *pamphlet*, and *placarded* most unmercifully. It is unquestionably a *Treasury Favourite*.

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opinion, a trial of strength to be made; a *crisis* to arrive.

I shall, by-and-by, have occasion to speak fully of the real state of the question, as it now stands, between the Borough-system and the Reformers; but, I will, as nearly as I can, follow the Manifesto according to the order in which it lies before me.

You begin by observing, that it is your duty, as the *representative* of Liverpool, to render an *account of your parliamentary conduct*. I may observe, that you were not standing before the poor creatures, whose *votes* had sent you to parliament, but before the *masters* of those poor creatures. However, as these had, in fact, caused you to have the votes, you might reasonably enough consider them as your constituents. But, when you were to perform your *duty*, in giving an account of your *parliamentary conduct*, how came you wholly to omit to notice the most material part of it? You appear to have been so eager to obtain the praise due to your share of the honour attached to the measures of the *last short session*, that you seem to have forgotten, that there had been *another* session, since your previous election; and a session, too, during which measures were adopted, which, if not hateful in themselves, were of ten thousand times more importance to your hearers, and to every man of property in the country, than the measures of the last session. We shall by-and-bye, see that you had *good reasons* for being silent upon the subject of those measures; but, I will first notice what you say on the subject of the measures, adopted during the last session.

Your words, as to the effect of those measures, are these: "I "would appeal to the recollec- "tion of every man who now "hears me, of any, the most care- "less estimator, if public senti- "ment, or the most indifferent "spectator of public events, "whether any country, in any "two epochs, however distant, of "its history, ever presented such "a contrast with itself as this "country in November, 1819, "and this country in January, "1820? What was the situation "of the country in November, "1819?—Do I exaggerate when "I say, that there was not a man "of property who did not trem- "ble for his possessions? that "there was not a man of retired "and peaceable habits who did "not tremble for the tranquillity "and security of his home? that

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"there was not a man of orderly "and religious principles who "did not fear that those prin- "ciples were about to be cut "from under the feet of succeed- "ing generations? Was there "any man who did not appre- "hend the Crown to be in dan- "ger? Was there any man at- "tached to the other branches of "the constitution who did not "contemplate, with anxiety and "dismay, the rapid and, ap- "parently, irresistible diffusion "of doctrines hostile to the very "existence of Parliament as "at present constituted, and "calculated to excite not hatred "and contempt merely, but open "and audacious force, especially "against the House of Com- "mons?—What is, in these re- "spects, the situation of the "country now? Is there a man "of property who does not feel "the tenure by which he holds "his possessions to have been "strengthened? Is there a man "of peace who does not feel his "domestic tranquillity to have "been secured? Is there a man "of moral and religious prin- "ciples who does not look for- "ward with better hope to see "his children educated in those "principles? who does not hail "with renewed confidence the "revival and re-establishment of "that *moral* and *religious sense* "which had been attempted to "be obliterated from the hearts "of mankind?"

It is always a proof of con- scious weakness in his cause, when an advocate resorts to mis- representation, exaggeration, and especially when he resorts to *cant*; and if the close of this paragraph be not *cant* and *low* cant too, I know nothing of what cant is. The leaders of the Re- formers have, by you in particu- lar, been represented as a *despi- cable* crew, wholly unworthy of any confidence, and having no weight, except with the mere ignorant rabble. How, then, was it possible, that *their* efforts should endanger the *morals* and the *re- ligion* of the people, and especi- ally of people of property. And, how could the cramping of their operations, the silencing of their tongues and the putting a stop to the movements of *their* pens, cause a "*revival* of the *moral* and *religious sense*"? And how great do you make *them* ap- pear, when you suppose them to have had the power, if they had been suffered to proceed, to *obli- terate this sense from the hearts of mankind?*

I do not know, that you do ex-

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aggerate, when you say, that there was not, in November, a man of property, who did not *tremble* for his possessions, because every man may well tremble for them now: but I think that you talk insufferable nonsense, when you say, that there was "not a man of moral and "religious principles, who did "not fear, that those principles "*were about to be cut from under* "*the feet* of succeeding genera-"tions"! This is, however, nothing more than the old alarmist doctrine. It is precisely what was said by "the *Pilot*" and his jolly crew at the beginning of the late war against France. The nation was called upon to fight for "their *king* and their *God*," which was much more *blasphemous* than any thing ever published by MR. CARLILE, or ever even ascribed to any of the Reformers.

To hear you talk, one would imagine, that *morality* and *religion* were substances, of which men might be *robbed*, as they may of their shoes or coats; something that might be literally *cut away*; and that the Reformers had sharp instruments wherewith to perform the felonious operation. Fertile as your mind is, you have been compelled to resort to plagiarism here; for you have merely repeated the ten-thousand-times told tale of JOHN BOWLES and GEORGE ROSE, the latter of whom, in enumerating the items of *value received* by the nation in return for its sacrifices during the war, put at the head, and indeed, it was the main item, the preservation of those "*Blessed Comforts* "*of Religion*," of which the French, had it not been for the war, *would assuredly have deprived us!* Your greater talent has enabled you to wrap the sentiment up and administer it with more art than these bunglers; but, the sentiment is precisely the same. They told us, that, unless we spent our money freely to carry on the war, we should be deprived of our *morals* and *religion*; the French would *make us Atheists*; we should "lose our "*king* and our *God*." You tell us, that, in order to avoid this same calamity, it was necessary to pass the *six laws*; that it was necessary, amongst other things, to expose every writer in the kingdom to be *banished*.

A *love of religion* has been the pretext for committing the most wicked acts that the world has ever witnessed. The Irish Massacre, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the horrors attending the repeal of the Edict of Nants,

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the Fires of Smithfield, the Spanish Inquisition, the murdering of the Quakers in New England; in short, what has there ever been done to harrow up the very souls of men, which has not been done under the pretext of a *love of religion?* It has been the great stalking horse of tyranny in all ages; and, it would have been wonderful indeed, if it had been left unresorted to on the present occasion.

But, observe what a reflection you cast on *religion itself;* how you really bring its nature and efficacy into question by asserting, that, by means so contemptible, it was about to be *cut from under the feet of future generations!* Or, in your other, and rather plainer words, to be *obliterated from the hearts of mankind!* Now, suppose a man to say, "Here is a book, which you say "is the *word of God;* this word, "you say, he has caused to be "sent forth for the instruction "and salvation of all mankind; "there are, in this kingdom, "twenty thousand regular preach-"ers of this word, and, at least, "thirty thousand more of irre-"gular preachers, that is to say, "one preacher to about every "250 souls, and one to about "every 120 grown persons.— "This word is, you say, true upon "the very face of it, and carries "within it all the proofs of di-"vine origin. The preachers of "it are, you say, the most learn-"ed, wise, discreet and zealous "men, called to the ministry by "Divine Inspiration, and are "acting under the direction of "Divine influence, in the preach-"ing of this his word, a belief in "which is necessary to the salva-"tion of man. This is what you "say. Now, I say, that in spite "of all this, two or three, or, at "most, four or five, *little pamphl* "*lets*, written by men of no in-"fluence in themselves, and who "have scarcely ever been at "school, are able to *cut the ever-*"*ing effect of the word of God* "*from under the feet of future* "*generations*, and to *obliterate* "*the word itself from the hearts* "*of mankind.*"

Now, suppose a man were to say this. Would he not be thought a most impudent, a most daring wretch. Suppose him to say, in fewer words, "I will, "with two or three little pamph-"lets, 'obliterate religion from "'the hearts of mankind,' and "thus counteract, not only the "labours of all the Divines in "the world, but the will of God "himself." Suppose a man to

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say this; would not you, and would not a Judge, call this a most audacious insult offered unto God himself; most *horrid blasphemy?* Yet, this would be saying no more than you, Sir, have yourself said; for you have said, that the pamphlets of the Reformers were *about to* "*cut* "*religion from under the feet of* "*future generations*;" and, again, "*to obliterate it from the* "*hearts of mankind.*"

In your anxiety to show the *necessity* of the *Six Acts*, you overlooked the extent to which your assertions went. In bringing forward the *dangers* to religion, you did not see, that to assert the existence of *danger* to a thing necessarily implies some degree of *weakness* in the thing itself, or in the ordinary means by which it is upheld. A man once, at Philadelphia, went to swear the *peace* against another, whose name was STREET. He did not know, that he must swear, that he was in *bodily fear* of Street. So, when the oath was read to him by the Mayor, he said, he was in no *bodily fear*; for that he could beat ten such fellows as Street; and therefore, he would not take the oath. When SHIMMEI was cursing David, one of the followers of the latter exclaimed: "let me slay him: for, shall this "*dead dog* curse my Lord? And, "David said: *let him curse on!*" I have always admired this answer of David. It was becoming of a great man, who *felt strong* in his own character and cause. And, you have done much to dishonour and defame religion in this Manifesto, by asserting it to have been upon the point of being *totally destroyed* by the Reformers, whom you have, a hundred times over, represented as more *despicable*, if possible, even than "dead "dogs."

But, you had the *Six Acts* to defend on the ground of *necessity*; that necessity could be found only in some great and pressing *danger*; the danger to *rotten-boroughs*, to *sinecure places*, to *high salaries*, or a mighty *Civil List*, would not have suited your purpose. The danger to *religion* was, therefore, chosen; but, in your eagerness to prove the *danger* to religion, you wholly forgot, that you were doing all that you were able to do to prove the *weakness* of the thing that you professed to have so anxiously desired to *defend*. I, for my part, say, that none of the acts were necessary, if measures of *relief* had been adopted. I say, that the *miseries*, which produced the discontents, might have been prevented even by the last parlia-

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ment. And, as to religion, TRUTH never can be in *danger*, as long as *discussion is free*. I say, that the "*word of God*" can never be rooted out of men's minds, and that the "*will of God*" can never be thwarted by two-penny pamphlets, be they written by Reformers or whomsoever else. I say, that it is to slander our fifty thousand preachers and to insult God himself to assert, as you have asserted, that a few little pamphlets, sent forth by obscure individuals, were capable of thwarting the great scheme of salvation "decreed by God before the "foundations of the world were "laid." These are my assertions on the subject, and, I think, that every candid man will say, that they are more consonant with a belief in the truth of Christianity than yours are.

I am for relying on the power of religion itself, unaided by the temporal arm. I am for leaving the *word* to make its way, unassisted by the *sword*. I am for leaving *truth* to triumph, without any *sharer* in the triumph. And, I pray, who shows the most confidence in the power of religion, you or I? If what you assert be true, how *humiliated* is religion? Its own intrinsic value and power, are, according to you, little or nothing. It is a thing, in your view of the matter, that might be "cut from under our feet," or "obliterated from our hearts" by a few pamphlets, while, at the same time, *millions of pamphlets were sent forth for its preservation and propagation*. Besides the exertions of fifty thousand preachers, there were those of the Bible Societies and Tract Societies. Perhaps two hundred, or three hundred, thousand pounds are expended in Bibles and Tracts every year, in this kingdom. Subscriptions for this purpose descend so low as to extract weekly pennies from servant girls. The subject is presented to the people in all the most *enticing* and *amusing* forms. I have sometimes been half tempted to laugh at the ingenuity displayed in the titles of the "Tracts," by which titles the unwary sinner is entrapped into reading, in somewhat the way that is so ably practised by the gentlemen, who send forth invitations to the unfortunate to repair their fortunes by availing themselves of the pecuniary aid offered by the State Lotteries.

Now, supported by all these means, including many millions a year coming in through tythes and other real property, what can

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religion have to fear, have or had to fear, from about half a dozen "*illiterate pamphlets*," the most able of which contains, according to the opinion of the BISHOP OF LANDAFF, "*nothing like argument?*" What *danger* could a religion, "founded on the word of God, and breathing truth in every line," have to *fear* from such miserable assailants? And, was it possible, that, as a defence against such "*dead dogs*" of enemies, religion stood in need of the *Six Acts*, for the necessity of which you were so strenuously contending?

I wonder, that, when you were making this representation of the *dangers* you had no *misgivings* in your mind as to the *efficacy* of the *remedy*; since you had only to look back to the days of Bowles and Rose to see, that the former remedy, for the very same alledged evil, had *not succeeded*. If a five and twenty years' war against republicans and irreligion, including seven years of unlimited power of imprisonment; if these had not effected a lasting cure, how could you hope, that the banishment Bill and its associates would produce such cure? True, the country is *tranquil*; but, does that argue that it is *contented*? Men are *silent*: indeed, they hardly venture to speak freely *even* in *private*; but, is this a sign of general content or of lasting internal peace? Tranquil as the country is, it is not yet so *tranquil* as *Spain* was only in that very month of November last of which you speak.

What has been stated as the *immediate cause* of the discontents, and of the progress of what you call sedition and blasphemy? What have you and your colleagues, in your own speeches and in speeches from the throne, declared the *cause* to be? Why, the *misery* of the people. This misery, you have said, and you have truly said, disposed the people to listen to those, who traced the misery to *the want of a Reform in the Parliament*. Nothing can be more true than this. It was in vain, that I, during the years from 1804 to 1816, laboured to convince the people, that *misery must, at last, fall upon them*, unless a total change of the system took place. I could obtain no believers, though I had many readers. When I anticipated the consequences of the war, so unnecessarily and so unjustly waged against the United States, even the *Reformers* scouted what I said. My forebodings, when the *peace* took place, were,

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not *unpopular*; that is not enough; they were *despised*. But, in 1816, with the shameful defeats of our armies and fleets by the Americans fresh in recollection, and with a diminished quantity of paper-money afloat, with ruin and misery stalking all over the land, I, at once obtained a patient and attentive hearing. Our heads are clear, when our stomachs are empty; and those, who, with full bellies, turned a deaf ear to every warning, listened with both ears and stared with both eyes, in 1816.

Now, granting, for argument's sake, all you say about the dangers existing in November to be true, it is, as stated by yourselves, not less true, that those dangers arose out of the *miseries* of the country. Are those miseries *removed*? Are they in the *way of removal*? Can they be *removed*, without a *great change of system*? If they cannot, what have your *Six Acts* done? The manufacturers say that they must be ruined; so say the merchants and traders; and the farmers, when you meet, are ready to tell you, that they *are* ruined? Who, then, can say, that he thinks his property *safer* than he thought it in November last? I do not say, or suppose, that you and your colleagues have yet adopted the scheme of paying off the debt by a confiscation of real and personal property to the amount of one sixth; but, the scheme is afloat; it has been mentioned, as a fit proposition, in parliament; the Ministers expressed no disapprobation; and I am persuaded, that a vast majority of the persons most attached to the government, and approving most decidedly of the *Six Acts*, approve of this scheme. And yet, it is in this state of things, and when every man you meet says, that *something of this sort must be done*, that you congratulate your Liverpool friends on the complete restoration of order, *confidence*, *reverence for the laws*, and a just sense of the parliament's *legitimate authority*!

"Well Gentlemen," you exclaim, "and what has intervened "between the two periods? A "meeting of that degraded Par- "liament, a meeting of that scof- "fed at and derided House of "Commons, a concurrence of "those three branches of an im- "perfect constitution, not one "of which, if we are to believe "the Radical Reformers, *lived in* "*the hearts*, or swayed the feel- "ings, or commanded the respect "of the nation; but which, des- "pised as they were while in a

"state of separation and inaction, "did, by a co-operation of four "short weeks, *restore order*, *con-* "*fidence*, a *reverence for the laws*, "and a *just sense* of their own "legitimate authority."

You might have said as much for Ferdinand, when he returned to Spain; or, he might, as indeed *he did*, say as much, or more for himself. He, in less than two short months, annulled the Constitution, re-established the Inquisition, and plunged into *dungeons*, or *banished*, all those who had distinguished themselves in *asserting the right of the people to be represented*. Having done this he *congratulated* the nation on the complete "restoration of or- "der, of confidence, of *reverence* "*for the laws*, and a just sense of "his *legitimate* authority." He made use of the word *paternal* instead of *legitimate*: otherwise his proclamation was almost in the very words of this part of your Manifesto. If men had the courage to write or speak against his deeds, he laid them by the heels in dungeons, he banished them, or put them to death; and having by these means reduced the discontented to *silence*, he assumed that silence was *content*. This is precisely the process that you have adopted in your Manifesto. You assist in the passing of acts, which produce stillness, and then you congratulate your hearers on the excellent *disposition* of the people to be still! You compel us to hold our tongues; and then you boast of the power of your *persuasion* to produce silence. You pass laws, under the existence of which, nobody, not on your side, can attend at a public meeting but at the hazard of his life; and, then, you exclaim: "See how *quiet* all "is; see what a *reverence for the* "*laws*, the parliament has in- "*spired!*" You boast of having assisted in making a law to punish with fine, imprisonment, and banishment, any man, who shall write, or publish, any thing TENDING to bring the parliament into *contempt*; and, when this law has made men afraid to speak of the parliament at all, you congratulate your hearers, on "the *just sense* of the parliament's "*legitimate* authority" that now prevails, and cite the silence of the trembling press as a proof, that the Reformers were *slanderers*, when they said, that the parliament "*did not live in the hearts* "*of the people!*" Harry the Eighth, "in his *princely grace*," condescended to bring LAMBERT to a public controversy with him; but, the king was both *disputant*

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and *judge*. LAMBERT was *burnt*, and the king cited his condemnation and punishment as an indubitable proof of his having been in error; and, which is curious enough, the tyrant *congratulated* his people, and put up public *thanksgiving to God*, that *the nation rejected with abhorrence the heresy of Lambert!*

I now come to a part of your Manifesto, which is perfectly *theatrical*. What would I give to have *seen you*, while you were delivering it, and to have seen the looks of your empty-skulled audience! I allude to your eulogy on the late king, in the following words:

"Another event, indeed, has "intervened, in itself of a most "painful nature, but powerful in "aiding and confirming the im- "pressions which the assembling "and the proceedings of Parlia- "ment were calculated to pro- "duce. I mean the loss which "the nation has sustained by the "death of a Sovereign, with "whose person *all that is vener- "able in Monarchy* has been iden- "tified in the eyes of successive "generations of his subjects; a "Sovereign whose *goodness*, "whose *years*, whose *sorrows*, "and *sufferings*, must have sof- "tened the hearts of the *most fe- "rocious enemies of the kingly "power*;—whose active virtues, "and the memory of whose virtues, "when it pleased Divine Provi- "dence that they should be ac- "tive no more, have been the "guide and guardian of his peo- "ple through many a weary and "many a stormy pilgrimage;— "scarce *less a guide*, and quite as "*much a guardian*, in the cloud "of his evening darkness as in the "brightness of his meridian day. "—That such a loss, and the re- "collections and reflections natu- "rally arising from it, must have "had a tendency to revive and "refresh the *attachment to Mo- "narchy*, and to root that attach- "ment deeper in the hearts of the "people might *easily be shown by "reasoning*; but a feeling truer "than all reasoning anticipates "the result, and renders the pro- "cess of argument unnecessary. "So far, therefore, has this great "calamity brought with it its own "compensation, and conspired, "to the restoration of peace "throughout the country, with "the measures adopted by Parlia- "ment."

This is a strong instance of *shame* having no weight on a man's conduct, when he has a great point to carry, and when he knows, that detection and exposure are not near at hand, and especially

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when he is speaking to persons, for whose understandings he has the most hearty contempt. To descant in praise of any thing, which the party knows, that no one will dare to condemn, or even to *criticise*, is always mean. It is giving a challenge to fight, to one who has his hands tied. In a case like this, it is an insult to the whole of the people. But, what impudent trash, to say, that the *age*, the *sorrows* and the *sufferings* of the king were calculated to change the opinions of any one with regard to the nature and tendency of *kingly power*! What had that age or those sufferings to do with the general question? What, then, does it make part of the feelings of *loyalty* to be in love with age and bodily affliction? Must we, who would have no confidence in a Judge or a General, under such circumstances, be enamoured with these circumstances, when they meet in the person of a king? We are compelled to hear, in silence, now-a-days, many monstrous propositions, but to be told thus impudently, that the late king afflicted as he, unhappily was, was, even in his last years, a *guide* and a *guardian* of his people, is an affront to our understandings, to express a due degree of resentment at which it is impossible to find words.

One of the arguments, and, indeed, one of the best, against *hereditary* power, whether in the Chief or in any inferior Personages of a government, is, and always has been, the possibility of the power falling into *incompetent* hands, and even falling into the hands of persons afflicted with the *peculiar malady*, with which the late king was afflicted, and which malady, according to the laws and practice of all nations, reduces the afflicted party to a state of complete nothingness in the eye of the law, every thing that he does being considered as if not done at all. This *objection* to hereditary power may, perhaps, be successfully combatted by argument: it may, perhaps, be proved to the satisfaction of some, that there are *benefits* in the hereditary system, which outweigh this *evil*; but, I venture to say, that you, Sir, are the first man that ever dared openly to contend, that the thing was *not an evil*, but was in itself a *benefit*; and, that the knowledge, amongst the people, of its long actual existence, had a natural tendency, on the termination of the calamity by death, to *revive*

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and *refresh* their "*attachment to Monarchy.*" If this were really true, what a thoughtless, what a silly and fondling, what a drivelling and idiotic race the people of this kingdom must be; and how well must they merit the scorn and contempt of the rest of the world!

But, really, you could not hazard such a shocking insult and mockery, if you yourself were not blind to what is passing in the world. You could not, even to such men as were *dining you* at Liverpool, have talked in this strain, if you had had much more knowledge of what is passing from month to month in England, than of what is passing in the moon. While you are flourishing away in this style, and looking upon the "*people of property*" as a set of fond, believing, gulls, ready to lay even their bodies down to be trampled under foot out of pure devotion to the system you eulogize, those same people of property are busily engaged in contriving the means of escaping from the consequences of the wreck that they see approaching! It is very curious, but, not more curious than true, and not more true in fact, than natural in motive, that many and many thousands of those, who appear to be, and who really are, amongst the most zealous and most active in upholding the present system, are amongst the foremost in resolution and preparation to flee from its inevitable consequences. They are like the man, who had been building a wall, and who set his workmen to *hold it up*, while he went to receive and get off with the money.

Do you think, that men, whose all is at stake, who have families to provide for, and who see their means diminishing every day, are to be *won* to their total ruin by high-flying eulogiums such as this of yours? Do you think that you can *enchant* them, as the snake does the silly hedge-sparrow? Do you think, that you can make them in love with poverty? Do you think that, by threatening them with loss of *morals* and *religion*, you can frighten them out of their "*last shilling*?" If you do, you are very much deceived.

Having, by these preliminary tricks, prepared your audience for what was to follow, you proceed to a defence of the *Six Acts*, as you pretend; but, you content yourself with what you deem a defence of *one out of the six*; namely, the act to *put an end to public meetings*. And, how do

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you *defend* this act? Why, by denying, that such Meetings as those held last summer and autumn were *legal!* If they were not *legal*, why pass a law to prevent them in future? You had another object here; and that was to give *your* aid to what might be done, or attempted, with regard to those who had taken a leading part at those meetings; and, give me leave to say, that the motive was any thing but fair and manly.

But, on what *ground* was the meeting, at Manchester, for instance, unlawful? Every thing is lawful, which the law does not *forbid*. And, what law forbade that meeting, or any meeting resembling it? The law is a restraint upon man, and *prevents* him from doing certain things. It consists of a set of restraints, not of permissions. No law says positively, that a man shall have liberty to plough his own field; but, he has a right to do it, and the law will protect him in doing it, because there is *no law to forbid him* from ploughing his field. All the people, assembled on the 16th of August, had a right *to be* on the roads and in the square at Manchester, because there was *no law to forbid* their being there. When assembled the legality, or illegality of their *conduct* was a thing to be ascertained; but, if the *purpose* was not unlawful, and if no unlawful *act* was done after the people were assembled, what was to make the meeting unlawful?

Custom, in numerous cases is, and must be law. The terms are, "*whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary.*" And, what can be more wise and just than this? The thing having been so, and been so *without interruption*, for so long a time, it is to be presumed, that it is right, and the maxim further supposes, to be sure, that if not right, men ought to have been *informed of it before*, and not have been suffered to proceed in an error, that might be injurious to them. Suppose I build a house upon a spot, which I can conveniently go from to a town by a foot-path across my neighbour's park, and which foot-path saves me some miles in going to the town. I shall receive great damage by the shutting me out of this foot-path; and, therefore, if I prove the *custom*, my neighbour cannot shut me out, nor is it right that he should; for, I have built my house upon the knowledge of the long custom, and I have, of course, presumed that the custom gave me a right of passing.

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Now, as to public meetings, or *assemblies of the people*, they have *always* been customary, in all ages of the country. Not only has *no law ever forbidden them*, but, by fair inference, *the law has allowed them*, not in positive terms, for that was not necessary, but by *forbidding unlawful assemblies*, or *riots*, for the dispersion of which the law has provided. By this very provision the law really allows of assemblies that are not unlawful; and, to constitute an unlawful assembly, before the *Six Acts* were passed, there must have been *some unlawful act committed after the assembly took place.*

You say, that *such* assemblies have never been declared unlawful *before*; because no *such* assemblies ever before took place. What, do you mean, that assemblies *so numerous* never before took place? This would be worth nothing, if true; but, many and many assemblies equally numerous have taken place at various periods; and especially during the reigns of Charles the Second and of Queen Anne. Nay, down to August last, no man in England appears to have dreamed, that any assembly, however numerous, could be called unlawful, unless it committed some unlawful act. So far from it, that, in 1817, when so keen upon the scent of sedition, the parliament passed an act to give *a check* to public meetings. No meeting was to be held, unless after *notice given by seven house-holders*. But, not a word was said about *numbers*, or about the *place of residence* of the persons attending the meetings. The fair presumption to be drawn from this act alone is enough to authorize the opinion, that the Manchester Meeting was, in itself, a legal meeting; for this act had *expired*, and the people were at liberty to do whatever they might lawfully do before this act was passed.

To pretend, therefore, that the new act, which confines meetings to parishes, excludes out-livers, puts them under the absolute controul of persons appointed by the Crown, or its Ministers, and deals fine, imprisonment, and death so largely about in all directions; to pretend, that this is *no alteration* in the laws of the land, and that Englishmen are as *free* as they were before the new act was passed, is what could have been done by no men, not wholly regardless of the opinions of the good and discerning part of the nation.

In order to shew, that these

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large meetings must be intended for *mischief*, you endeavour to show, that they could not be intended for *good*. And, why, because *being so large*, scarcely a hundredth part of the persons assembled could *hear*; and, of course, discussion and deliberation were wholly out of the question. As a question of expediency or of policy you may be right here; but, if inexpedient and impolitic, it does not follow, that *mischief* must be the motive of the meeting. Thousands, however, may put their trust in a few, and may, by their hands held up, give their assent very properly and reasonably to what they do not distinctly understand. We have often seen addresses, approving, not of what the Ministers had done, but of what they *might* do! And, it is very well known, that the far greater part of those, who presented such loyal addresses against the works of PAINE, had never read those works. So that, the assembly being too large for the main part of the persons actually to hear what is proposed for their adoption is neither so foolish, nor so unprecedented as you wish to make it appear to be.

But, that *this* objection to *large* Meetings was not very sincere, we have full proof in another part of the same Bill, to which part you did not think proper even to allude. The Bill allows of Meetings, however large, in *a house*. But, under what restrictions. *No money* is to be paid by those who go to the Meeting *for the use of the house, or room!* Or, if there be, then the keeper of the house must have a *licence*, granted by a Justice, and this may be taken away at the pleasure of the Justice! So that it is clear, that there can be no meeting even *in a house*, unless the parties are on the side of the Government; for, in any other case, no license will, of course, be granted.

Now, if *discussion* and *deliberation* were desired by you and your colleagues and the Whigs (for it is, in this respect, all one), why forbid us to pay for the use of a room to meet in? Our paying would not hurt you; it would not hurt the government; the money would not become seditious and blasphemous. When you talk of the great meetings, you raise a thousand horrid images of tearing down houses and burning towns. None of these have ever happened. But, you say, they *might* have happened. The thing was possible;

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and, as there could be no *deliberation*, there could be no *good*. But, *in a room*, Sir? In a room, there could not possibly arise any pulling down of houses or burning of towns; and there naturally would have been *deliberation*. And yet you will not let us hire rooms to meet in; or, in other words, you will not let us meet even in the rooms!

Away, then, with all your hypocritical, your scandalous pretexts about the danger of large public meetings and their *inutility* for want of a capacity to *deliberate*. The part of the Bill that I have now referred to, and to which you did not choose to allude, clearly shows, that the blow was stricken at all assemblages of the people not under the absolute controul of some one appointed by the Ministers; and it is clear, that your own particular enmity is directed against all free discussion, all free deliberation, all free communication of thought, all free intercourse of mind between man and man; and that, for your part, if you have not openly urged the necessity of adopting a *Censorship*, it is only because you think the same end can be effected by other means.

In looking at your origin, rise, progress, and especially in contemplating your great talents, one is astonished at your want of shame in seeming to delight in the success of means so unfair and so truly cowardly. Of the things, which indicate baseness of heart, none is so odious as the employment of tyranny; and of all the kinds of tyranny none is so odious, so truly detestable, as that which compels an opponent in dispute *to hold his tongue*, while the tyrant keeps on speaking, and especially when he keeps up a pretended *discussion* of the point in dispute. If those, who have the power in their hands, say to their opponents, "*hold your tongue: you shall* "*say no more on pain of banish-*"*ment.*" There, at any rate, they ought to stop. They themselves ought also to be silent. The world ought to be left to judge from what has already been said on both sides. But you, seeing us reduced to silence by the arm of power, go on with the dispute, and argue as if all was left open to free discussion as before.

However, the world is not to be deceived in this way, and the world is in no humour to be deceived. A war, which has reduced this country to ruin, has not done any thing towards final-

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ly enslaving the world. The whole of the civilized world was, as some hoped, to be reduced to abject slavery for fear that the *example of freedom*, enjoyed in other countries, *should operate to the danger of the Borough System.* —The project has *failed.* That system has, by the late war, been deprived of its power of interference against freedom in other countries; and freedom is again rising its head without any enemy to fear. Who would have believed, five years ago, that so soon as this, the Spaniards, in England, would be crowding to the Spanish Ambassador's house in London, to *swear allegiance to a Constitution very nearly republican*, leaving all mention of the *King* wholly out of the question? Who would have believed, that, in London, there would have been a public celebration of a complete revolution in Spain?—Yet, these things we now behold; and, that man must be infatuated, who can believe, that revolution will confine itself to the territory of Spain. The *Holy Alliance* does not attempt to stir in defence of one of its Members, who has fallen like a leaf in autumn. Let this revolution take only *one step* beyond the boundaries of Spain, and all the work of the twenty-five years war is to begin again!

Still you persevere! Still, you will allow of *no Reform*! Experience has been wholly lost upon you; and, even the present terrific aspect of things has no weight with you. You talk about "the *con-*" *stitution*," as if nothing had been done to it during the last thirty years. You know, that we may now be ruined and banished, and even hanged, for doing things which we might *lawfully* have done only a very few years ago; and yet you will have "no *innovation*." Whatever has been done in this way you do not call "*innovation*." According to you, nothing is innovation, except what it is wished to have done for the relief and protection of the people.

Your argument against a Reform of the Parliament, or, rather, of the House of Commons, amounts to this: first, *that the Reform, which we demand, would take away the real power of the Lords, and, in effect, reduce the parliament to one assembly: and, second, that the parliament, as it is, is good, and that its goodness is proved by its measures and by their effects.*

As to the first, there is a petition now lying before the House of Commons, presented 27 years ago by *Mr. Gray*, stating that a

majority of that House is returned by the Peers and their families; and this petition has never been called up for discussion, and its statements never contradicted. Now, then, according to your mode of arguing, there is, in effect, but *one assembly* at present: and yet you assert, that this is the best possible kind of parliament!

I, for my part, do not see, why the Lords should not retain and exercise their full share of power, and the people have *their House* too. But, if either one or the other must be without legislative power, surely a whole people have a better right to possess the whole of the power than a few families have! You talk of the various modes of election, the various qualifications, and the variety of interests that now exist. But, what are all these better than a show to amuse, if after all, a *majority* of members be sent to the House by the Peers and their immediate connections? And, while this is the case, is it not a *mockery* to talk of *checks* and *balances*, and of "the *democratic part* of the Constitution?" If you were to tell us, indeed, as the late Bishop of Rochester did, that the people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them. That the word *representative* was used merely to flatter fools. That BLACKSTONE, when he says, that the law supposes *every man* to be *present in parliament* and to give his assent to laws *by himself* or by some *one chosen to represent him*; and, that, on *this ground* and *no other*, is he *justly amenable to any law*: if you were to say, that BLACKSTONE, when he said this, uttered a falshood, or was drunk, or mad. If you were to tell us this, it would be plain dealing; but, to talk about the *laws of the country*, to talk of these as something to be respected and *reverenced*, and, at the same time to tell us, that they are a mere mockery, is to abuse and insult us.

At another meeting, at Liverpool, during this last trip to that great scene of folly and servility; namely, a meeting of a mass of slaves, calling themselves "the *Back-bone Club*," and who mean, I suppose, that they are "*loya to the back-bone*:" at this meeting you illustrated your doctrine of virtual representation by comparing the whole of the Club to the whole of the people, and by saying that the *members present* were a *fair representation* of the whole of the Club. But, observe, the whole of the Club have *voluntarily and expressly* entered into

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the association. Observe, too, that every member of the Club may be *present if he will*, and speak and vote as he pleases. And then observe, that, if the members present do any thing which is contrary to the principles of the Club, the absent members are not bound by it. So that, here is no analogy at all, and your illustration is a piece of miserable sophistry, which you would not have ventured to employ in the hearing of any body, for whose understanding you had not entertained the utmost contempt.

If any one of the Club had had only a very little sense and spirit, he would have answered and said: "Now, Sir, suppose, "this Club, *self chosen as it is*, "consisting, as it does, of a set "of at once *greedy and foolish* "*men*, who have not the smallest "regard *for right or justice*, "and whose sole object is to "look big and live at their ease "*on the fruit of the labour of* "*others*, and who pretend to "*back-bone loyalty*, that being "the safest mask for them to "wear; suppose this Club, thus "constituted and thus animated, "were to assert, that its members "were the *true and fair repre-* "*sentatives* of the whole of the "people of Liverpool; and sup- "pose, that, proceeding upon "the ground of this assertion, "they were to borrow money on "a mortgage on all the houses "in the town, and were to send "round to the people ordering "them to pay them, daily, large "sums of money to defray the "present expences of the Club, "and also to pay the interest on "the mortgages; suppose such a "thing as this, do you believe, "that the people would be sa- "tisfied with these proceedings; "or, do you not believe, that "the bones of the '*back-bone* "*Club*' would soon be pretty "fairly broken?"

If some one had had the sense and spirit to speak thus, what a *stare* there would have been from the gaping crew. You knew your *hearers*, and you knew who your *readers* would be. You relied on their ignorance and on their willingness to be deceived.

Your main object is to instil the notion, that the Reform, contemplated by the Radical Reformers, that is to say, real *personal representation*, a representation of the *people's will*, would *destroy all property*, that is, all the *laws of property*. You say, too, that it would change the nature of the government; but,

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this is not an object of terror, on the effect of which you so much rely. The *destruction of property* is the bugbear, on which you place your chief reliance for terrifying. Now, while there is no reason, and while, at any rate, you have *given no reason*, why so unnatural and so monstrous a thing should agree with the *will* of a whole people, we have the grand example of America to prove, that the desire to destroy the laws of property would *not exist*. In America there are thousands of men, worth from a hundred thousand to a million dollars each in property, some real and some personal. These men have no power in elections beyond that of so many day-labourers or journeymen. Yet, in what country upon earth is *property* better protected? And, what is singularly unfortunate for your alarmist argument, is, that the *Common Law* is the same in America as it is here; and that, through all *political* changes, through all the new modelling of *constitutions*, this law has remained. *Why*, then, are we to believe, that *restoring* to the people *their* own House of parliament, would produce a complete oversetting of *all the laws of property*?

Nay, even if you will have us look to the *revolution of France*, you will find nothing to bear you out in your alarming assertion. You will have it, that Reform means *republican revolution*. We deny it; we prove that it does not; your's is *bare assertion*. But, for argument's sake, let us admit it; and, to give you every advantage, suppose it to be republican revolution on the French plan. Now, did that *destroy the laws of property*? Not in the smallest degree. It seized on that species of *public* property, which had been applied to the support of Monks, Nuns, and Parish Priests; and it seized hold of the property of men, who had *quitted the country*, and who were at *war against it*, or who refused to return to it within a limited time. But, what were these latter measures more than the safety of the nation required? And, as to what was called *Church-property*, it was *public* property, and as such it has always been considered, and has always been *dealt with* by the Parliament in this country. As to property *generally*, and as to the laws protecting property, they were never destroyed nor enfeebled, during the whole of the revolution, and were held as sacred under the

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republic as under the *emperor*. And, which is perfectly notorious, property of every description became *more valuable* and was *better attended* to and held in higher estimation by the people at large, after the fall of the feudal despots and the clergy than it was before. A base and false paper-money almost instantly gave way to gold and silver, agriculture revived, individual comfort and happiness were, after a lapse of centuries, restored to that fine country; and benefits were gained by the people at large, which *never can be lost*, notwithstanding all attempts that may be made to take them away.

What fools, then, must these be, who can be made to believe by your harangues, that to obtain a *real representation of the will of the people* in *one* of the Houses of Parliament, is to ensure the *destruction of the laws of property!*

While, too, you are holding up this bug bear relative to the *danger to property* from a Reform of the House of Commons, you overlook the dangers that assail *property* from the measures of a House, constituted as the present House is; and yet, I venture to say, that this danger is greater than any that can possibly arise from a Reform. You forget, that a considerable portion of people's real estates were *actually taken away* by what was called the "*redemption of the land tax*." And, that, as to the Church Property, a portion of it was then taken away and transferred into lay hands, *without a possibility of its return to the Church*. This, you will say, was a case of *necessity*; but, may not the *whole* of the Church Property be taken away upon the same plea? Aye, *may* it; and he is a bold man, who shall assert, that it *will not*, before this grand financial struggle come to a close.

Talk, indeed, of *danger to property* from a Reform, when without a Reform we have seen an Order in Council annul all the laws of property, relative to the countless millions owed by the Bank, and when we have seen those who issued and who dared to act upon that Order *protected by a bill of indemnity*, but (which, indeed, swallows up every other consideration as to safety to property), is not *all property mortgaged* by the late Parliaments to pay the interest of money borrowed by them, or under their authority? And are there not *now*, at this moment, schemes before the public, and schemes coming from "*loyal Back-Bones*,"

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too, to seize on a *sixth part* of every man's estate, personal as well as real, in order *to pay off the Debt, contracted by former Parliaments?* And is not this measure represented as *necessary to save the nation from actual ruin and general starvation?* A Reformed Parliament might, possibly, have some schemes of a *wildish* nature; but could they really *do* any thing *more* dangerous to property, to the safe and quiet enjoyment of property, than what has *been done* by unreformed Parliaments? It appears to me, that, in this respect, we are in this happy situation, that, let the change be what it may, it *cannot be for the worse.* And this, without going a step further, is I think, a pretty good answer to your assertion, that the present mode of constituting the Parliament ought to be regarded as good, because its *fruits have been so excellent!*

However, there are *other fruits*, which in answer to your assertion as to the goodness of the present system, ought to be noticed. When we are speaking of the *power* of a nation, we ought to speak, in the first place, of power likely to be *permanent*: and, in the next place, we ought to speak of it in *relation* to the power of rival nations. Our power, such as it was at the close of the war against the French nation, is apparently, *gone already.* It appears to have been purely the effect of a *money operation.* It was obtained by *loans*: and, not only have the loans ceased; but the repayment is pressed for in vain, and to pay the interest produces confusion and misery. The power, therefore, was nothing more than an *illusion.* There was nothing real in it: it is gone: and the measures used to obtain it for the moment, have left the seeds of feebleness and death behind them.

But, has there arisen no *new power*, elsewhere, out of those self-destroying efforts of England? Can you see ground for alarm in half-a-dozen two-penny pamphlets, and no ground for alarm in the power of the *American States?* Perhaps it is for *our* good, because for the good of mankind, that you and your colleagues and the parliament should be and continue *blind* as to this object. You imagine, perhaps, that the last war against that country was no fair trial of strength. Indeed it was not; for the advantages were all on *your side.* You were prepared; you had immense fleets ready fitted out you had armies on foot; all were

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flushed with victory, and all, whether justly or unjustly, covered with renown. The ground of the war had *ceased of itself*: the enemy *sued for peace*; if ever that enemy *could fear*, he feared then; his finances were embarrassed, and a spirit of party prevailed, and took a very dangerous direction. Yet, after spending about *seventy millions of money*, you retired from that war, making peace upon the very terms that the enemy himself had proposed long before; and you retired with *defeated armies*, and what was a great deal more portentous, with *defeated fleets*. The shouts of victory which had been heard on the banks of the *Serpentine River*, were answered by the Republican cannon on the lakes, on the ocean, in Canada, and at New Orleans.

Now, it is this *new maritime power* that I wish the English nation to look at, if you will not look at it. It is a power very different indeed from any in Europe. It is a power singularly constituted, and arising out of means, with the full extent of which you all seem to be wholly unacquainted. It is attendant upon *great ambition*: but, ambition, too, of a singular cast, never under the guidance of *passion*, and wholly inaccessible to the influence of intrigue.

This power has been created by the *unreformed parliament* of this kingdom; and, what ought never to be forgotten, it arose, it had its *very birth*, in a contest for the *right of representation*. It was the refusal of that right to the Americans; it was the insisting upon the right *to tax them without their consent*; it was this that first made them think of a separation. So that from this root *all* our evils have sprung; and yet you cherish this root with as much care and zeal as if it were the obvious and only means of our salvation.

You conclude by saying, that *you* will not deceive us; that you will give us *no real reform*; that, if you disfranchise Grampound, it is to *save Old Sarum*; and that the Whigs are of the same opinion. This is frank; and, with like frankness, I tell you, that I care not a straw about the disfranchisement of Grampound; or, about any thing, relating to any reform, short of what we have contended for. So that, here we are, completely at issue: you refuse every part, and I ask for the whole.

The question, therefore, now is, *how long* you will continue in this tone of bold defiance. Your *words* are, I am convinced, bolder than

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your *thoughts*. Nor are you the *only* man, even amongst the Ministers, who has any thing to say, as to this great question; and, as to the things, which are finally to influence the decision, they are, as most men begin to think, and as I well know, much more of a *financial* than of a *political* character. Indeed, you, in the midst of your confident assertions and bold defiances, betray your *doubts* and *fears*. All would seem smooth before you; the jails are full of writers and publishers; the press is at your feet; scarcely a man seems to *wish* to oppose you, or even to complain of you. A docility and a tameness prevail such as never were witnessed in this country before; and yet you are far from being free from *apprehension*! Indeed your apprehensions seem to be greater than they were, or were ever thought to be, *at any former period*! For, in your speech at "the *Canning* "*Club*," which speech makes a part of your *Manifesto*, you make the following alarmist appeal to your hearers:

"Gentlemen, the times when I "first came amongst you were times "*portentous and awful*, and big "with the fate not only of Eng"land, but of the world. But "the dangers and the difficulties "of those times created in us an "*animating spirit*, which nerved "our arms and steeled our hearts "to oppose and overcome them. "The *dangers and the difficulties* "*of the present times* are of a dif"ferent character; and, whilst "they *threaten the existence of* "*all that is dear to us*, the strug"gle which we have to sustain is "one in which there is not the "*same wholesome animation*, be"cause it is with antagonists *who* "*dare not face the day*; and the "victory, when achieved, is void "of exultation, because it is over "those who ought never to have "been other than our friends.— "But, gentlemen, it is against the "*same spirit*, though exhibited in "different forms, though wielding "different weapons,—it is against "the same spirit that we contend"ed abroad for our own safety "and that of Europe, and *are* "*contending now for our political* "*existence at home*; a spirit then "as now adverse to rational free"dom; a spirit then as now hos"tile to national tranquillity; a "spirit then as now seeking to "subvert society itself, by sepa"rating the elements of which it "it is composed and setting them "in array against each other; "and to undermine the founda"tions of man's happiness in this

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"world, *by destroying his hopes* "*of an hereafter.*—Were I to have "*my choice*, I confess I would "*rather have to contend with this* "*spirit embodied and armed—I* "*would rather cross the sea to* "*combat it, whether on the plains* "*of the Peninsula, or on the field* "*of Waterloo*, than have to guard "against it here, in the various "disguises of *affected philanthro-* "*py* and *fanatical reform*, in which "it is to be found every day at "*our elbows* and by *our firesides.*"

This last is a very *high flight* indeed! What! you are to be the "*young Burke*" I suppose! You will not indulge even philanthropy! You will have no schools even. You will have us go back even to the law of *soccage* and that of *escuage*. What a pity that the *Curfew* should have been abolished; that excellent institution of "*Social Order!*" The French peasant is, alas! no longer bound to watch all night in the neighbouring marshes, to keep the frogs silent, during the time of the lying-in of the Lord of the Manor's wife! Ah! Sir, these are sad times! This reading and this writing will be the total ruin of "*So-* "*cial Order:*" they will make the "Lower Orders" think, that even Lords have no more than two eyes in their head, and that they have only eight fingers and two thumbs. Oh! that Harry the Eighth, who brought the pegs and wires of the Monks and exposed them at Charing Cross! It was he who *began* the mischief. Had it not been for him, we might still have been crawling upon our hands and knees round the shrine of Thomas a Becket, and might have been giving up our dinners to stuff the wallets of the holy mumpers that would have taught us the true principles of "*Social* "*Order.*"

However, what wise men generally do, is, to yield to the *force of events*, as sailors, in contrary winds, shift their sails and change their course. If what you say *be true*, nothing more need be said by us, not a single word more, in favour of *reform*, or, at least, of some *great change of system*; for, if, after fighting twenty-five years against "THIS SAME SPIRIT," and contracting our terrible Debt in order to carry on the fight; if, after all this, we are still, by this same spirit, "*threatened with the* "*total loss of all that is dear to* "*us*;" if we have still to "*strug-* "*gle for our political existence*;" if these assertions be *true*, is it not fair to presume, that you have pursued a wrong course, or, that the thing, fought against, is not a

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thing to be subdued by any means that you have the power of putting in motion?

It is a little too impudent to declare, with the *six acts* before our eyes, that your "*antagonists dare not face the day.*" Poor fellows! they *cannot;* for, as to the greater part of them, they are already literally shut completely away from the rays of the sun. But, I allow, and it is with joy that I feel, that you and your adherents have not the *animating motives* that you had *during the war.* There was then *gain* at every step. There were *loans, contracts, promotions* and every other sort of inducement to sally forth against "*this same spirit.*" All these "*animating*" inducements are now wanting. It is very true, that the struggle you and your adherents have now to sustain has not this same "*wholesome* animation"; because, as you truly say, "the *victory,* when achieved, is *void of exultation;*" not, however, "because it is over those who "*ought, on your terms, never to have been other than your friends*"; but because, it is over those, *whose friends, on their terms, you ought always to have been;* whose friends, consistently with honour, and with fidelity to the king, you *always might have been;* and whom you have not had the honesty and courage *fairly to meet as foes.*

You almost make me laugh, when you say, that you would rather "*cross the sea to combat this spirit in the Peninsula, or on the field of Waterloo.*" I dare say you would, indeed! Another war for "*Social Order,*" and another *Embassy to Portugal,* would not be unpleasant things But, how often must you be told, that another war would demand *another thousand millions of money;* and that these are not to be had? Oh! no! That game is over. That dragon has had his teeth knocked out. The Public will not fail to observe, that, you do not talk about *crossing the Atlantic* to combat "*this same spirit*"; and, yet, all your Herculean labours would be vain, unless you defeated it *there.* It is that country that is the signal of encouragement and the anchor of hope to all those whom you wish to destroy. It is that country which enables us to laugh at Holy Alliances and all sorts of machinations against the liberties of mankind. It is that country, which (as I once before observed) is the ring in the nose, the gravel in the teeth, the thorn in the side

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the whip on the back, the bridle in the jaws, the terror, the hatred, of every despot, or would-be despot in the world. This you know well; and yet you say not a word of crossing the *Atlantic* to "combat this same spirit." However, if you really be so eager for a corporal contest, the "*Peninsula*" does, just at this time, present a scene that must awaken your "*animating*" desires and views! Better go and try your luck there, since you find things so hopeless here. You will hardly succeed in getting back the *Curfew*; whereas you may possibly help to restore the Inquisition, that most famous of all the "*ancient* and *venerable* institutions of *Social Order*."

The *consolation* that you draw from the dangers which you state to exist is curious enough: it is, that all men will, at once, *take their sides*, for or against, the dangerous principles of which you have been speaking; and that there will be *no neutrality*. What a talk of *struggling* is here at the end of a five and twenty years war against these same principles! One would wonder what could fill you with such *alarm*. One would wonder what could leave any thing like *doubt*, in your mind, as to the issue of a contest, which seems to be decided, the combatants on one side being all laid by the heels, or gagged, and, those on the other side, having nothing in the world to do but to receive the thanks of the rich and the loyal! What is there, then to *alarm* you? Where is the *danger*, where the *difficulties*, to which you are everlastingly recurring?

Why, the truth is, that you know of dangers and difficulties, of which you have not the courage to speak, and the very thought of which, if it occur during dinner, spoils your appetite; and to think of which chears us in moments of the deepest gloom. The Debt; the Debt! The Taxes! The question between the *Land and the Funds!* This it is that fills you with alarm. You must know, a man almost an ideot, or, which is nearly the same thing, sublimated up into an attachment to the *Curfew*, and to the *Frog-law* of France; even such a man, placed where you are placed, must know, that this question *between the Land and the Funds* must be agitated, discussed, and settled. I, for my part, though very eager for a *Radical Reform*, have always relied for success upon the inevitable effects of the agitation of this question. I will here cite

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a passage from the Register of 28th of October, 1815. The war was, at that time, just closed by that memorable act, the sending of Napoleon to St. HELENA. Oh! what exultation! I, about that time, concluded an address to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in these words. "Thus "will *the depression be felt* "*through all the veins of the* "*community*; and thus will you "experience a degree of embar- "rassment, which that bold bo- "therer PITT, never had to en- "counter. He got over the stop- "page of cash-payments at the "Bank by reports of committees, "subscribing combinations, false "alarms, and divers other devices, "calculated to deceive a people "full of fear of the enemy, and "easily duped, from their natural "credulity. But, your's is a case "that can receive no aid from "*trick* and *contrivance*. It is not "now a question of *jacobin or* "*anti-jacobin*: it is *no question* of "*alarm*: no question about re- "ligion or government; no Yeo- "manry Cavalry, Loyal Associ- "ations, or Volunteer Corps will "now avail. No appeals from "the forum or the pulpit will be "of any use. It is not a matter "of seditious and treasonable "practices. It is not a question "of *passion* but of *money*. The "means that would put down a "thousand market mobs will now "avail nothing. Majorities and "minorities are here out of the "question. No acts of parlia- "ment or proclamations; no So- "cieties for the Suppression of "Vice; no Lancaster Schools, "no Bible Associations, will do "any good."

And, is not this really the case? The *Six Acts* are passed. The press is nearly silent, except as far as *praise* goes. We cannot meet freely to speak to each other, *even in a room*. If we say that which may TEND to bring the parliament into contempt, we may be *banished* for life. Soldiers are every where on foot. All seems complete; and yet you have *apprehensions!* Yet you talk of a *struggle for all that is dear to us*! Yet you think the combat more full of horrors than a five-and-twenty year's war! The only real struggle is that which is to take place between the Land and the Funds, with which I hope that no reformer will ever meddle, any further than just to see *fair play!*

You talk in a very gothic style about the *venerable* attributes of the kingly and lordly powers. You seem to shudder at the idea

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of any thing having a *levelling* tendency. You are shocked at the progress of reform and even at that of philanthropy. It is strange, that so profound a political philosopher should have overlooked the progress of the notions of *'Change Alley!* My opinion is that the kingly, and especially the *lordly*, part of the constitution has more to dread from the long use and the now complete adoption, of the phrases: "*National-Debt; Public-Debt; Public-Creditor; Funded-Property; National-Mortgage; Public-Faith;*" my real opinion is, that the nobility have more to dread from these phrases, and from the reasonings naturally proceeding from them, than they would have to dread from the full execution of even the *wishes* of the most Radical of the Radical Reformers.

It is whimsical enough to hear your rabble-rousing harangues about the *poison* diffused through half a dozen two-penny pamphlets, and these now suppressed; and talking of the loss of comfort in this world and of salvation in the next, from a cause so contemptible; to hear you, in a tone so solemn cry out against this paper-war in miniature against all that is sacred in the Monarchy and all this noble and venerable in the aristocracy, while you wholly overlook the dry and cool calculations of those who are for crying *snacks* in the Parks and the Chases. These gentlemen have sitten down with pen, ink and paper on the table; have calculated the worth, in *fee simple*, of all the lands, fisheries, mines, canals, purlieus, outlets, easements, waters, and water-courses; and of all the houses and all the live stock and moveable goods. Having made their valuation of the whole, they next ascertain the sum they want for the fundholders, and taking this as a *divisor*, to work they go, very likely upon a slate, in order to save paper. The matter appears, indeed, to be quite settled; and, in a few months, we may expect to see the *surveyors*, with their chains, and the *valuers* of houses and goods, tramping about from one nobleman's estate to another. All this you can see going on, without any apparent alarm at all; and yet you are frightened out of your life, or, at least, out of your senses, at the thought of danger to Old Sarum!

Talk of *levelling notions*, indeed! What do you think of the notion of every man, who holds a bit of scrip, that he has a *mortgage* upon every lord's estate? Yet this is a general notion, and, according

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to the language of your colleagues, it is a *just* notion. Nay, it really seems to be time to take this side of the question. The other side is unpopular, and the Reformers would be fools indeed to hazard becoming unpopular for the sake of their oppressors.

And, Sir, whence has all this danger arisen? Not from any thing done by the Reformers; but from a war, carried on for twenty-five years for the purpose of *preventing Reform*. That was the cause of the Debt, the Debt is the cause of the danger. I grant, that to go to war, in 1793, was a good way to prevent reform at that time. It was effectual for its purpose. But, then, the war produced the cause of that misery, which must produce the reform at last. The question of reform had to be resumed, as soon as peace was made, and resumed, too, under circumstances, a thousand times more disadvantageous to the Borough-holders, who had then the Debt hanging about their necks, while the reformers stared them in the face.

Liverpool has long been the favourite theatre of your half-official publications. In 1814, when the combined armies, paid by England, had overcome Napoleon, you made a grand display of this same kind, at that same town, and the task of answering you then, as now, fell upon me. You then, in the hour of military victory, and fancied permanent triumph over freedom, cited the success of the Russians as a proof that a country stood in no need of political freedom in order to insure her defence against invaders and to insure the attachment of a people to their government. I then reminded you, that you *had not yet seen* the effects of the taxes raised and the loans made, in England, to prevent political liberty. I then told you, that the war had ended abroad; but, that the cost of it had *to be settled for at home*. In short, you and your colleagues and all those who hold the Boroughs, thought, in 1814, that all was at an end as to reform. That question you thought was *set at rest for ever*. You thought, that your great object was secured, and you gave yourselves little trouble about the Debt, the Taxes, or any thing else. There was only *one* thing that remained to be done; and that was, to *root out freedom in America*; and though we know, and we reformers rejoice, that the enterprize failed in its object, I cannot con-

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clude this letter, long, and much too long as it already is, without particularly adverting to the circumstances, under which, and the obvious view with which, that enterprise was undertaken.

The only subject of dispute between America and us was the impressment of seamen on board her merchant ships by our ships of war. These acts could take place only when we were *at war with some third power*. Therefore, when Napoleon had been put down, and we had made peace with France, the Americans, who had always been eager to make peace, renewed their applications for this purpose, but, were *put off* from time to time, with one excuse and another. During this time of apparent dilatoriness, we, however, were preparing all the means of a furious attack upon the most valuable ports of America. At last, out came a sort of *Declaration from the Lords of the Admiralty to the Fleet*. Quite a novelty in point of title, and very clear in its object. In this curious document, very much in the style of Napoleon when addressing his army, the sailors are told, that some of them are still wanted to carry on the war against the Americans, and, in the conclusion, that their Lordships do not doubt that they, in co-operation with the army, will soon bring the war to a conclusion, that will be "*conducive to the* "LASTING REPOSE OF THE "CIVILIZED WORLD."

This was very uncommon language for the Government to address *to sailors*, who, indeed, had never addressed sailors or soldiers before. This declaration, issued under the names by the Lords of the Admiralty, was dated *on the 30th of April*, 1814. It was put forth *in May*; and, on the *2d of June* SIR JOSEPH YORKE, then one of those *very Lords* of the Admiralty, said, in his place, in the House of Commons, that, "although *one* great enemy of "this country, Bonaparté, had "been *deposed*, there was another "gentleman, whose *deposition* "*also was necessary to our inte-*"*rest*; and, *with a view to that* "*deposition*, a considerable naval "force must be kept up, espe-"cially in the Atlantic." I noticed and re-published this speech at the time. I, in all sorts of ways, called for a contradiction of it, if not correct. But none ever appeared.

In the meanwhile the ministe-

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rial news-papers urged the absolute necessity of carrying on the war, "until we had destroyed "*the only remaining successful* "*example of democratic rebel-* "*lion.*" And, they said, that unless this were effected, *no legitimate government could ever exist in safety*. Therefore, there can be no doubt in the mind of any rational man, that the intention was *to destroy the American Government;* to throw that country into *confusion;* and, if possible, to split it up, and, perhaps, conquer and hold a part of it.

History has a claim to these important facts. Our grand-children should read them, that they may rejoice at the failure of the enterprize, and that they may honour the brave people, who thus preserved expiring freedom. —If *that* enterprize had succeeded, you would, indeed, Sir, never again have been troubled with the subject of Reform. The whole of the civilized world would have sunk, for ages, perhaps, beneath the hoof of despotism. The rebuff, the defeat, that you received beyond the Atlantic, kept the head of freedom up in Europe. There was still a spot left for free men to inhabit. There was still an asylum for the oppressed. There was still in existence a most enchanting example of successful resistance of oppression. The Reformers in England got time to breathe. The peace soon discovered the evil consequences of the war. Misery began her howl before the shouts of glory had ceased. The stunned nation began to recover its senses, to open its eyes, to rouse itself, to look into the causes of its sufferings, to see that these proceeded from heavy taxation, that that proceeded from a lavish expenditure, *and that that had arisen from a want of reform*. Back, at once, it came to the old question again; this question was revived under circumstances peculiarly disadvantageous to our enemies; they were beaten out of the field of argument, and they

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resorted to those means of defence of themselves and of punishment of us, against which means truth and talent and virtue are wholly unavailing. Thus stands the matter at this moment. The reformers are not in motion; but they are not subdued. You know they cannot stir; but yet you dare not say that you have gained a victory over them. *Time* must be the arbiter; they do not fear this arbiter, and you do. There is, I hope and think, yet room for *conciliation*, but, as you expressly declare, that *you* will not yield an inch, and, as you probably speak with authority, to time and events the question must be left.

I now, Sir, take my leave, with just observing, that though you have been amongst the foremost to decry, and to impute bad motives to, those who have taken pains, by *placards* and other means, to cause their productions to be widely circulated, it has been remarked, that no author ever employed these means with more liberality than you, have in the promulgation of the *Manifesto*, to which I have here endeavoured to furnish a suitable answer.

With high admiration of your great talents, but with sorrow at seeing them so zealously exerted in so bad a cause, and with mortification and shame at seeing *you* justify cowardly barbarity under the hypocritical pretext of anxiety for "*morals* and *religion*,"

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Sir, in the above Letter, long as it is, I have left wholly untouched some of the most interesting topics. I shall, therefore, address a *Second Letter* to you, relating more particularly to those, who promised to *spend their last shilling* and to *die in the last ditch*, and at the head of whom you now appear to have placed yourself.

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PAPER AGAINST GOLD,

Or, The history and mystery of the *Bank*, the *Funds*, the *Debt*, the *Taxes*, the *Pauperism*, the *Poverty*, and the *Miseries* of England.—A new edition (the *Ninth*) of this work is just published, and, though a large Octavo Book, is, owing to its having been Stereotyped, sold for 5s. neatly bound in boards.—This work has two characters, historical and prophetic. In the former it is complete as to facts and, in the latter, events have, up to this time, verified all its predictions, as far as these were applicable to the nature and degree of the measures that have been adopted.—This book is the A B, C, of English Finance. Without being acquainted with the facts and principles set forth in it, no one can be a competent judge of the merits of any of the *Plans of Deliverance* which are now about to be brought forward. —It will be sold where the Register is sold, and can be sent to the country in the same way that the Register is sent.

A new edition (the third) of "COBBETT'S YEAR'S RESIDENCE, "IN THE UNITED STATES OF "AMERICA" This work contains, as the author believes, the best information of any work extant, for those who wish to go and settle in America. It is in *Three Parts*, 4s. each, in Boards; or 10s. the Three Parts bound up together in One Volume; and is to be had at No. 269, Strand, London.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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Letter II.

TO MR. CANNING,

On his Speeches recently delivered at Liverpool; on the necessity of conciliating the Reformers; and on the recent events in Scotland, France, and Spain.

London, 10 *April*, 1820.

Sir,

So rapidly do events succeed each other; so decided is the character of those events; that, I cannot get through a commentary on your Speech, without being interrupted by the noise of occurrences, which make a change, a great change, in the actual situation of some nations, and in the prospects of other nations. While you were speaking: even at the very moment when you were declaring that there should be no reform in England, the *Reformers of Spain* were changing the system of government in that country; nay, they were actually putting the finishing stroke to that change. And, at the moment when I was *answering* you, and was endeavouring to shew, that the putting down of *public meetings*, and that the *binding* and *banishing* acts, had not produced that perfect *content*, which you boasted that they had produced; at that very moment (as it now appears) expresses were coming up to inform the government, that there was what the Courier calls "*a rebellion*" in Scotland!

Will you still hold out? Will you still insist, that measures of *defiance* of *scorn*, and *of chastisement*, are the only measures to pursue? Will you still refuse to listen to those who recommend *conciliation*? But I will put these questions to you again, when I have adverted to matters, which were passed over in my last letter.

When we are speaking of the System, which you are making such strenuous efforts to defend, we must always take into view the *late wars*, the origin of them, and the consequences they have produced. Because, if we take it for granted, that those wars were *just* and *necessary*, we have really nothing to find fault with;

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for all the evils that we now experience are the natural consequences of the measures; without the adoption of which these wars could not have been carried on. It was impossible to carry on the wars without creating the Debt; and it is the Debt, which now causes the ruin and the misery, and the *whole* of the ruin and the misery too; because, if there were no Debt, no standing army at home would be wanted, and the Army and the Debt constitute almost all the expence. The army is necessary to insure the collection of the money to pay the interest of the Debt; and thus, the Debt constitutes the whole of the evil.

Therefore, the "glorious wars" have produced a miserable peace: temporary triumph has produced permanent dejection and humiliation. Hence, we are naturally induced to *look back* to the origin of the late wars. That they were undertaken and renewed and pursued for the purpose of preventing a reform of the parliament you now plainly acknowledge; for you say, that we were, during the wars, contending against the "*same spirit*" abroad, which we *have now to contend against at home*. You say, that this *spirit* is now come to *elbow* us at our *fire-sides*; and, that you would rather, for your part, again cross the sea, and combat this spirit "on the plains of the "peninsula", or on the "field "of Waterloo." Strange idea! Talk of the "wild and visionary projects" of the Reformers, indeed! Have any of them ever uttered any thing a thousandth part so wild as this?

However, reform was prevented for the time. But, then, *the Debt was contracted*; and this Debt has now to be paid. You might be asked, in passing, whether "*this same spirit*" was at work in *America*, and whether the seventy millions, which we have yet to pay for the war against *that* country, were necessary to be expended, in order to prevent *irreligion* from finding its way from *that* country to England? But let this go. The plain state of the case is this: we have *forty millions a year to pay* FOR EVER, mind, on account of wars, carried on, according to your own confession, for the purpose of keeping

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down "*that same spirit*," which is now, as you say, *more active and dangerous than ever*. And you, even to this day, applaud the conduct of PITT, in beginning and carrying on these wars.

Are you aware, that reform, or any thing else that the mind of man can imagine, could do a *greater* harm to a country, than a mortgage on the land and labour to the amount of a great deal more than the worth of the land in fee? If the reformers had actually made a republic, even like that of America, would they have done *greater* harm to the country than to load it with such a mortgage? They never designed any such thing, and they do not now; but, could even the execution of such a design have done the country greater harm? But, even if this enormous evil had been attended with the desired effect, there would have been something to say in defence of the wars. If you were now to say: "we are *ruined*: the coun- "try is bankrupt: it can never "make another effort: but, we "have secured for ever our po- "litical and religious institu- "tions." If you were now to say this; then, indeed, you might consistently praise PITT and the wars. But, in the same breath, that you bestow this praise, you acknowledge, that the wars, which have caused the mortgage, have been *wholly unavailing*; for you say, that "*the same spirit*" is, at this moment, more vigorous and dangerous than ever, and that you have now to combat it on our own shores.

Let us do justice here to the memory of Mr. FOX, who, at the outset of the war against France, warned PITT and the nation of the consequences. He said (as you now confess), that it was a war *against principles*. That it would not succeed in rooting out the principles; and, that it would leave behind it a load of Debt and Taxes, under which the nation *must sink*, unless it relieved itself by means that would *bring all the dreaded principles into fearful activity*.

Now, is not this precisely the case? Is not this prediction fulfilled to the very letter? If Mr. FOX had not, by yielding to his hungry partisans, coalesced, at last, with the PITT-

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System, how great a man he would have died! The war, as you now confess, was a war against principles; you say the principles are still in fearful activity; and you know, that the war has left a load of Debt and Taxes, which every one says must sink the nation into nothingness, except it be gotten *rid off*; and yet, as you also well know, that no man ventures to propose any effectual way of getting rid of it. This is all undeniable; and yet you still insist on the *justice* and *necessity* of the wars, and applaud the main author and prosecutor of them.

At the beginning of these wars, and during their persecution, there were thousands to pledge themselves to spend *their last shilling* and to *die in the last ditch*. These gentlemen, or, at least, those of them, who may be still alive, ought now to come forward and offer up their all. Before a general *valuation of lands* take place, they ought, it seems to me, to redeem their vaunting pledge. But, let us look a little at the folly and insincerity of this pledge. The French nation had risen on the noblesse and the clergy; had put them down; had abolished the institutions; had even put their king to death; had formed a republican government. One half of this, indeed, they had not done, when we assumed a hostile attitude against them. But, suppose it *all done*. What was it to the English nation? It disturbed us not. It took nothing from us. It attacked us in no way whatever. The danger was, therefore, *feigned*, and especially the *danger to religion*.

The pretext about *religion* was, perhaps, the most ridiculous, as well as base, that ever was put forward in the world. We can never too often remind the world of its baseness; because, not only is the same pretext now in *high vogue*; but, we are now tasting the bitter fruits of the war, which was carried on under that pretext. Plainly, then, how stood the case? The French had just got rid of a king, whom we had always been taught to regard as the worst of *despots*, and of a clergy, whom we had always been taught to regard as the supporters and agents of *Anti-*

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Christ. Ought this to have been a subject of anger with us against the French? Ought this to have *alarmed* us on the score of *religion*? Now, speak frankly, ought we to have been *alarmed* for *our religion*, because *Anti-Christ* had received a blow? I should like to have you answer to this question. The French might, perhaps, have then become Deists, or even Atheists; but, could they be *worse* than the followers of *Anti-Christ*? And, if they were not, before the revolution, followers of Anti-Christ and the "Whore of Babylon," that "Scarlet Whore, drunk with the blood of the Saints;" if they were not this, *before their revolution*, our teachers had, for ages, been the most gross, impudent, and base deceivers. Let those, who were alarmed for our religion, take their choice. No longer back than the year 1745, when the PRETENDER, with the aid of the French Despot, was endeavouring to place himself on the English throne, we were told, that, if we suffered him to succeed a *government* and a *religion like those of France* would be established; and, that we should be *slaves* and *idolaters*. How different the tone in 1793! Then, we were to fight for our *liberty* and *religion*; both these were in danger, because the government and religion of France had been overthrown. And, those, who pushed the nation on to the war, pledged their *last shilling*, and said they would die in the *last ditch*, in a war against those, whom they called by all sorts of vile names for having put down that very government and religion, which, in 1745, we had been told to fight against as if fighting for the salvation of our very souls!

The pretence about *religion* was, therefore, the most hypocritical that ever was put forward. The real object of the war was kept carefully out of sight. *Religion* was made the stalking horse. And this is the way, in which, age after age, by government after government, mankind have been deceived, and nation set against nation, and one part of a nation against another. Curious, indeed, is it, that, after twenty five years of war against irreligion, and,

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after that war has terminated in a way that has not only been called *successful* but *glorious* beyond all example; curious, that, after all this, it should be now alleged, that, in spite of all warnings, all experience, *infidelity* and *blasphemy* should now be *more common than ever!*

Ah! Sir, this *religion*, as the word is now but too frequently applied, is a very odd sort of thing. It is generally coupled with *loyalty*. At Coventry, my opponents took "*loyalty and religion*" to themselves, and allotted to me "*sedition and blasphemy.*" And it was curious enough to behold on their side a numerous band of wretches, whose mouths foamed with uttering curses and execrations, who were raving mad with drink, and who attacked and broke into houses, and stabbed and otherwise assaulted scores of defenceless persons; while, on my side, and amongst my adherents, all was sobriety, inoffensiveness and peace. Almost the whole of those who voted against me, came swearing and drunk to the poll; while, amongst the whole of those who voted for me, I saw but one single man that was intoxicated, and I expressed my wish, that he might not be permitted to vote. Such, then, at Coventry, at least, were the evidences of the effect of what are called "*loyalty and religion.*" And, indeed, it is notorious, that the "*Church and King mobs*" have invariably consisted of the most profligate and abandoned part of the community. Profligacy is always to be hated, but it is most worthy of hatred, when it is carried on under a pretended regard for religion; and yet, we do see the most *notorious profligates;* those whom all the world knows to be the worst, the most base, cruel and cowardly of husbands; the most abandoned drunkards and gamblers; the most faithless as well as the most beastly of men; we do see, that, when these men happen to be possessed of the power of conferring great favours, there are thousands upon thousands to cry them up *as patterns for the imitation of mankind!* Can any degree of *infidelity;* can any contempt of religious ceremonies and

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creeds; can any thing that is called *blasphemy*, be a thousandth part so *criminal*, or so mischievous to morals, as the hypocricy of these abominable parisites? To praise a profligate man in power; to extol his virtues, when nothing but his vices stare you in the face; to hold him up as an object of love and admiration, while his life and conversation exhibit an unbroken series of meannesses, fooleries, cruelties, acts of beastliness and, indeed, of downright roguery: to bestow praise on such a man, to extol such a man as virtuous, is a crime far greater than theft or robbery, and deserves a far heavier punishment. And yet those, who are the greatest persecutors on the score of religion, those who make the greatest noise about what they call blasphemous publications, are the very persons, who are most adicted to this odious and detestable crime. My long observation of this fact has made me shun a *canter* as I would shun a rattle-snake. The moment I hear a man crying out against, or even expressing his disapprobation of, what are *are called* blasphemous publications, I begin to hate him if he have talent, and to despise him if he have none.

However, though this *cant*, this *stalking-horse*, may have been, and certainly has been, very powerful in the upholding of misrule in former times, and even until within these twenty or thirty years, it has *now* lost the greater part of its power. The effectual blows, which have been given to it within that time, have changed the face of affairs; and the unnatural efforts, which have been made, and which are now making, to restore its influence, have only tended to hasten its total inefficiency. These efforts have been so numerous, so various in their nature, of a character so low and despicable, that *ridicule*, instead of *awe*, has been excited by them. When we hear the same persons, who are everlastingly stunning us with their out-cries against "*blasphemous publications*;" when we hear the same persons, in the very next column, *praising notorious profligates*; and when, in a third column, we hear them express their *morti-*

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fication at the *fall of the Inquisition*: when we hear this, we are in no danger of being deceived by their *cant*.

If I were in a suitable situation, I would *force* from you a *full* and *plain* declaration on the score of *religion*. I would make you say what it is *you really mean* by it. I would put you to the *test*. You should not shelter yourself behind loose and general terms. You should tell me what it is you mean by the word *religion*; and, whether you do, or do not, think, that those, who now are teachers of the Gospel, ought to obey *the commands* of Jesus Christ and ought to follow the *example of his Apostles*. I am not in a situation to *force* this declaration from you. I may be, perhaps, one of these days; and, in the mean while, I will put a few questions to you, to which, if you wish to be looked upon as a fair antagonist, you will give an explicit answer, in the next edition of the pamphlet, containing your Liverpool Manifesto.

1. You have taken the *test* as a Church-of-England man; of course, you regard a belief in the Trinity as *absolutely necessary to salvation*. You know, however, that a law has lately been passed to allow men to preach the contrary of this; to allow them openly to preach against the doctrine of the Trinity; openly to deny its truth; openly to deny the Divinity of Jesus Christ. You know, that they do thus preach; and, what I wish to ask you, is, whether you do, or do not, regard such teaching and such denial and disbelief as *blasphemy?*

2. By *religion* do you mean a mere outward obedience to certain rules and regulations of an ecclesiastical nature? Do you mean a something of a political kind? Do you mean a sort of inward light? Or, do you mean the practice of virtue? Do you mean an influence, which prevents men from committing extortionate, cruel, and tyrannical acts; that will not suffer them to oppress the poor, to persecute the feeble, to imprison or kill men on false charges, or under false pretences? An influence, that will not suffer men to be pa-

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risites of the profligate, the drunkard, the glutton, the debauchee; and that forbids the indulgence of luxury, while millions are starving around?

3. You, who talk so much about *religion*, must *know* something of its *origin*. You must know, that Christ strictly enjoined on his apostles to go forth, teaching all nations, and to take with them neither *staff* nor *scrip*. You must know, that he told them "*freely to give*, as *they had* " freely received." You must know, that he told them, that their kingdom was not of *this world*. You must know, that St. PAUL told the Preachers to *work* with their own hands. You must know, that, of all the qualities insisted on in a teacher of the the word, the quality most strongly insisted on was *humility*, both in *conversation* and in *manner of living*. Let me ask you, then, do you think, that, in order to propagate and uphold this religion, it is necessary, that its teachers should be *extremely opulent*; and that some of them should receive from *twenty to thirty thousand pounds a-year each*? That they should have *palaces* to reside in, and should have *splendid equipages* and *numerous retinues of servants*? If this be your opinion, pray, in your next edition, give us the *reasons*, on which your opinion is founded. We, or, at least I, want enlightening upon this subject. I know very well, that the *law* sanctions this opulence in the Priesthood; but, I may, surely, *wish* that it did not: I may, surely, wish to see the teachers of the Christian religion, living in the humble way that the Apostles lived: I may, surely, *wish* this, without incurring the charge of *blasphemy*.

4. You include *morals* with *religion*; and, you are, in this respect, very right; for *faith*, without *works*, is a good for nothing tree. Now, certainly, the QUAKERS are the *most moral* sect that the world ever saw. Sober, industrious, frugal, friendly, kind, charitable, merciful, unostentatious, punctual, simple in

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their dress, manners and language, and honest in all their dealings. These are the *fruits* of religion in them. And yet, they have *neither priest nor minister*; and, they never pay one single farthing to any one for *religious teaching*. Those who teach, amongst them, receive neither reward nor distinction. Pray, now, is not this a pretty strong proof, that *religion* receives very little benefit from a Priesthood being highly paid? And, is it *blasphemy* in me, or any one else, to *wish* that no Priesthood should be highly paid? Is it *blasphemy* for us to wish, that all the people in the world were as moral as the Quakers are?

5. You are aware, that all the Priests of the Church of England do, at their ordination, solemnly declare, that they *verily believe themselves to be called by the Holy Ghost* to be ministers of Christ's word; and, that they solemnly promise to be vigilant in watching over the souls committed to their care.—Now, tell me, do you happen to know of any Priests, who have *two livings* each? Do you happen to know of any who have livings, and who *do not reside near those livings?* And, if you do, will you be so good as to tell us, how this system of pluralities and non-residence is likely to conduce to the propagation and the upholding of the religion, which these Priests teach?

6. You know very well, that the clergy of the Church of England receive a tenth part of the produce of the earth, together with the rents of immense quantities of property in house, land, manors, and other things. You know, that ARTHUR YOUNG, the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, has estimated the tithes alone at *five millions a-year*, in England and Wales only. You know, that numerous Priests have *two livings* each. Will you tell me, how it has happened, that, under such circumstances, the parliament has granted, *out of the ordinary taxes, raised upon the people at large, a hundred thousand pounds a-year*, for several

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years past, for the *relief* of the *Poor Clergy of the Church of England?* You must know the cause; I do not; and, especially at this moment of *distress*, and of *financial difficulty*, I humbly hope, that it is not *blasphemous* to ask you this civil question. One thing, however, I will say; and that is, that I am pretty sure, that, a *reformed* House of Commons would not have granted these sums for this purpose; and, therefore, if such grants be proper, just and necessary, there ought to be no reform of the Parliament.

I could add several other questions; but, I will first have an answer to these; and, if you decline to give it, all your loose talk about *morality and religion* being attacked by the Reformers, will pass for nothing. It will be seen, that you dare not come to the point. That you have made a noise to *frighten the foolish*; but, that you dare not encounter truth, and make an appeal to men of virtue and of sense.

Having now done with you on the subject of *religion*, let me go back, and take up the topics, which I omitted in my last letter.

You professed to give your audience an account of the *quieting measures* of the last short Session. But, though there were *six acts*, you spoke of *one* only. How you misrepresented that one, I shewed in my last letter. How you, in speaking of the great danger to be apprehended from *immense multitudes*, assembled in the squares of towns, forgot to say, that the same law had, in effect, put an end to all meetings, *even in a house*, held for *political discussion*, I then pointed out; but, I had not room to notice another objection, which you found out to large public meetings. It was this, that there was no *responsibility*, no *legal responsibility*, attached to them; and that you *disliked all irresponsible power*.

Now, in the first place, "*the king can do no wrong.*" In the next place, *when was any Minister punished for doing wrong?* Were Pitt and his colleagues, when they ordered the Bank to refuse to obey the law? Was Pitt, when he lent the public money to loan-jobbers? In

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short, have not Ministers, upon all occasions, when they have violated the law, been *protected against the consequences*, by that unreformed parliament, of the excellence and all-sufficiency of which you boast? And yet, you have a great dislike to *irresponsible power!* And you say, it is *tyranny*, be it lodged where it may.

Besides, you might have stopped, 'till some meeting of *Reformers* had committed some act of violence; some little act of violence on person or on property! And, you were singularly unfortunate in citing the conduct of Lord George Gordon's mob, in 1780; for that was a *religious mob;* so was the mob that *pulled down and burnt at Birmingham;* and another mob that *did the same at Manchester was a Church and King mob.* These two latter you did not notice. The *Anti-Jacobin* mobs have pulled down, or gutted, or burnt, more, perhaps, than *five hundred houses in England:* the Reformers have never pulled down, or, in anywise injured, *one single house!* Whenever mobs have assembled on account of *dearth of provisions*, on *account of machinery*, or on any account *other* than that of *Reform*, acts of violence have been committed; but, by an assembly of *Reformers*, never one such act.

No, Sir, it was not their *arms*, but their *principles*, that were the object of your dread. The danger was in their *speeches*, their communication of feeling and of thought; and this is fully proved by that provision of the act, which forbids the *taking of money* for the admission to any house or room, where any *debates* or *discussions* on political or public matters should be held; and, without which taking of money it was manifest, that no room could be had for such purpose. This provision makes the motive of the whole so plain, that no man of common sense can mistake it. Men met in a room could not *alarm* the "*peaceful people.*" Men met in a room could not "*overawe* his Majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects." Men met in a room could not *sally forth* to set fire and make war. Ah! sly dogs! but, their *sentiments* might sally forth! What some of them

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said might make an impression on others. Some of them might know more than the rest, and, thus, knowledge would be communicated and spread about. Those who learnt something in a room, might carry it out of the room, and teach it to others; and, thus, *by the extension of knowledge*, harm might arise, and "*social order*" be endangered! This, though very true, has nothing of novelty in it; for the Monks said the same thing, and acted upon the same principle, for many, many ages; and they do so to this hour, wherever their power is left in existence.

Why *you* slipped over the other *five acts*, I cannot imagine; for your audience must have been delighted to hear of all the ingenious contrivances, which had been put in practice to lessen the quantity of *reading* on the subjects connected with *Church and State*. How cleverly you had contrived to shut out the light of the *Two-penny* candles; how neatly you had *bound up* the printers and publishers, *before* as well as *after* imputed crime; what care you had taken of the safety of Englishmen's "*castles*" by authorizing the seizing of arms in them by *force*, and to enter the famous "*castles*," on *suspicion*, by night as well as by day; nay, even to take the arms from the lord of the "*Castle's*" person, when he might be going along the high-way; and, which was the best of all, how completely you had proved the peoples' *love* and *veneration* for the House of Commons, by providing, that any man might be *banished for life*, for writing or publishing any thing, that might even TEND to bring that so much loved and revered House into *contempt!*

I wonder you omitted so fine an opportunity of giving instances of the talent, the utility, and the wisdom of the parliament, and of its great care to preserve the liberties of the people. However, to say the truth, you had but a dismal story to tell, if you had *told the whole*. You put on a bold front, while your knees knocked together. And, even at this moment, while the COURIER is boasting, in one column of what it calls the "*Triumph of the Laws*," it seldom fails to give

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in the very next, some proof, that it is, at the best, a triumph over the *body* only, and not in the least, a triumph over the *mind*. You have succeeded in alarming the people of property; but that is all you have done. What wants doing, is, to *conciliate* the *discontented*; unless, indeed, you still regard *discontent* as a *crime*, as you appear hitherto to have done.

However, it is of the *necessity* of conciliation that I have to speak to you now; and though *you* may be disposed to treat the idea with scorn, there are others, I am inclined to think, who will not. I mean *conciliation of the Reformers*: for, Sir, calling us *Radicals, Revolutionists, Rebels, Assassins*, and the like, neither exterminates us nor makes us cease to think, to wish, and to hope. Abuse never yet enfeebled the party abused, while it never fails, in the end, to enfeeble, or to hurt, in some way or other, the abusing party. We see, and all men see, our country in a most wretched state. We give *reasons* for believing, that this calamity has come upon us for want of a Reform in the House of Commons. We have before us the predictions of many statesmen, especially, the Great Lord Chatham, the late Duke of Richmond, Fox, and Pitt, that such calamities would be produced *by the want of a Reform*. We have the Duke of Richmond's plan of Reform, which he brought into the parliament in the shape of a bill. And, all that we do is, to *pray* that a Reform on that plan may take place; that is to say, that, as the *Nobility have one house to themselves*, we, the commons, or people, may have a house, chosen, not by the nobility, but by us; and that every man, who pays taxes and is liable to be called upon to bear arms, may have a vote in choosing those who are to make laws to govern the country, in defence of which he pays taxes and is liable to be called on to hazard his life. We ask this, too, with the more confidence, because we read in the expositor of the laws, that every subject of the king is amenable to the laws, only because the law supposes him to have been present in parliament, *in his own person or by his representative*, to give his assent to the laws, to which he is amenable.

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Now, Sir, disfigure it how you will, this is the sum and substance of our case. You may call us by what *names* you please; this is our case; and to this, I, for my part, mean to stand. What ground is there, then, for calling us *levellers, republicans, destroyers, seditiers*, and *blasphemers?* Do we *blaspheme*, because we ask, for a reform not only consonant with the whole spirit of the laws, but in form, what a great nobleman himself proposed? Do we *blaspheme*, because we ask for a reform, when you know as well as we, that both Pitt and Fox declared reform was absolutely necessary to save this nation from destruction? Do we *blaspheme*, because we ask for a reform, which would of necessity put an end to the crying sins of bribery and corruption at elections?

I know well, that, by cramping our poor part of the press, and by giving an unbounded loose to your own part. I know well, that, by setting in motion every pen and every tongue connected with the system; and by employing all the resources of the most profound hypocrisy, united with great knowledge of mankind and great talent into the bargain. I know well, that, by the use of all these means, great dread of "*the Radicals*" has been excited in the minds of the *rich* and the *timid*. But, after all, *truth* will prevail. Do what you will, she will prevail at last. *Time* alone would give us a complete triumph. But, we have other aids. *Actions* speak, if men are compelled to hold their tongues.

Let us suppose, now, that we and you were standing before a judge, perfectly disinterested, and perfectly impartial. We, the Radicals, stand back, and you step forward, and tell your own story, without suffering us to speak. What do you say? Let us hear what would naturally be the dialogue between you and such a Judge, in such a case.

JUDGE.—What complaint have you to make, Mr. CANNING, against these men, whom I see there, behind you, looking so thin and pale, clothed in rags, and having pad-locks on their mouths and thumb-screws on their hands.

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Mr. CANNING.—Oh! Don't you know them? I thought all the world knew them! They are the *Radicals*.

JUDGE.—The Radicals, Sir? What does that name mean?

Mr. CANNING.—Mean! [What a fool the man must be—*aside*] Mean! Why, it means every thing that is bad.

JUDGE.—Indeed! But, as I am to *judge* between you, I wish to know what they have done, or, what they have *endeavoured* to do, or, at least, what they *profess their wish to do*: because, by their *deeds* they must be judged, unless we would violate the fundamental principles of all righteous law.

Mr. CANNING.—Done! Oh, they are cunning dogs: they have done nothing yet; and as to endeavours they have disguised them also; and for *professions*, they take care not to profess that which they wish to do.

JUDGE.—Well, then, Sir, what do you *think*: what do you think, that they wish to do, and that they would do, if they could?

Mr. CANNING.—Think! I do not think any thing at all about the matter. I *know* that they wish, and intend, "*to destroy the throne*," to *abolish the House of Lords*," to "*destroy all property*," to "*obliterate morals and religion from the hearts of mankind*," and.....

JUDGE.—Stop! Stop, Sir. Pray go no further; for, you have only to *prove* the first of your allegations, and, as the crime is high treason, you will soon be delivered of "*the Radicals*."

Mr. CANNING.—*Prove*, indeed! Why, I told you, just now, that they were such *sly dogs*, and disguised their views and intentions so well, that there was no getting at *positive* evidence of their traiterous and diabolical intentions.

JUDGE.—Likely enough, Mr. Canning. But, if they really have such intentions; and if you *know* it, you can, surely, produce some *circumstantial* evidence of an intention, entertained by so many men in such various situations in life.

Mr. CANNING.—Oh, yes! Circumstances enough, faith! why, Sir, their evil intentions

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are so manifest, that it has been found necessary to pass *six acts* for the purpose of defeating their intentions. In the first place, they have been forbidden to meet out of doors, except in distinct parishes, and these meetings, were they to take place, are put under the supervision and controul of the magistrates, who may *disperse the meetings at their pleasure;* and to prevent any resistance of the will of the magistrate, fine, imprisonment, transportation, or death, may, according to the degree of the offence, be inflicted on any persons attending the meetings. Then, this same law provides, that there shall be no meeting, *even in a room,* to debate or discuss matters of Church or State, if *money be paid for admittance,* unless the room be *licenced* by a magistrate; and then he may attend, and, if he please, *take away the licence.*

JUDGE.—Did I rightly understand you, Sir? That Englishmen may not now meet even in a room to hear speeches, or lectures, on government or political economy, for instance, and *pay for their admission,* without offending against the laws? In other words, that it is now *a crime,* for an Englishman to take admission money to a lecture on LOCKE, MONTESQUIE, or BLACKSTONE?

Mr. CANNING.—Yes, you have precisely my meaning and the fact. And this, I say, shows what a nest of rebellious and impious villains these Radicals are. This is, I think, *circumstantial proof enough* of their wicked designs. But, if you want more, look at the laws for *binding* printers and publishers, for abolishing *cheap* publications, for *banishing* the villains, when they put forth any thing even *tending* to bring the parliament into contempt. Look at these, and then doubt of their guilt if you can.

JUDGE.—Excuse me, Sir, if I am not yet convinced of the guilt of these men. If, indeed I am to take the laws, passed against the Radicals as proof of their guilt, I must decide that they are guilty. But, as I have now heard you with patience, you will have no objection, I suppose, to my ordering the padlocks to be taken from the lips of those ragged, lean men, who seem very impatient

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to speak in their own defence, as they, surely, have a right to do.

Mr. CANNING.—What! Take off the padlocks! Suffer them to tell their lies about gentlemen and ladies, who, to uphold a constitution, which is, "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world," condescend to take certain sums, under the names of sinecures and pensions! Suffer them to rail against rotten boroughs and against all that is ancient and venerable! Suffer them to "cut morals and religion from under the feet of future generations!" Suffer them—

JUDGE.—Gently, Sir. You said something about *rotten boroughs*. Pray, what are those?

Mr. CANNING.—Why (what an old fool it is—*aside*) they are the "*soundest part* of the Constitution."

JUDGE.—What! Can *rotten* boroughs be the *soundest* part of the Constitution, which is "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world"?

Mr. CANNING.—(*Aside.*—The fellow is a Radical himself.) Yes, they may, and they are, and the rottener they are the better they are and the better I like them; and, as to unlocking the jaws of the traitors, who cry out against them, I will consent to no such a thing.

JUDGE.—Well, Sir, my decision, then, is this: I have heard all that you have to say against those poor men, who have misery painted on their very countenances. They have evinced a great desire to be heard in their defence. You cannot be afraid of their arms, for you are more than sufficiently protected, and they are still bound in the hands. I conclude, therefore, that you are *afraid* of the impression, which their defence would make upon me; and, as you are sure, that I, having no private interest to thwart the dictates of my mind, should decide according to *truth*, your fear must arise from a consciousness, that the Radicals, though so heavily charged and so outrageously abused, *have truth, reason, and justice on their side.*

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Now, this is no more than a picture of what is passing in the mind of every impartial man in this country and in every country where our present disputes, discontents and troubles are heard of. Thousands upon thousands of men, who partake in the *alarm*, come to the same conclusion that this supposed judge comes to. They are alarmed at the *danger;* but, they do not join in applauding the language of *defiance* and *contempt* that *you* have chosen to adopt at Liverpool. If there be *danger*, such men cannot but know, that *the Radicals* have not been in *possession of political power*. Men of property see the danger to property; they see that all the ruin and misery arise from the Wars, the Debt, and the Taxes. And they must know, that, at any rate, *the Radicals* have been the cause of none of these. They see, besides, that the dangers are not removed, and that they are not likely to be removed, by any measures of *severity*. What they want is, not the triumph of rotten boroughs, but the triumph of *peace* and *content*. You may glory in holding forth *defiance* to Radicals; but, men of property have no glory to acquire in that way. Radicals, or not, they are the men, amongst whom all men of property must *live*, and, therefore, they wish to live in *peace* with them. Men of property are alarmed; but the chief cause of their alarm, is, that they see no chance of *an end* to the struggle; and certainly, without a *yielding* on the part of those, who now refuse all concession, no man can have the smallest hope of such end.

With all the *experience* that you have before you, it appears wonderful, that you should persist in saying, and that, too, more positively that ever, that you will not yield any thing to the Reformers. It was this same sort of obstinacy, that lost America; it was this same sort of obstinacy that finally cost Louis the 16th his life; it was the same sort of obstinacy that cost one Stuart his life and another his throne; it was the same sort of obstinacy that caused the South American Insurrection. It is *a refusal to yield in time;* and, in the mean-

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while, a system of stern persecution of those who ask for reform. There is no instance, in the history of the world, of a people being *reduced to lasting obedience by coercive means*. And your Liverpool Philosophy was overset by *events*, which, though you did not know it, were going on, or preparing, at the very moment that you were speaking!

One would think, that the events in *Scotland*, the accounts of which I shall insert at the end of this letter, were sufficient to make the most obstinate of Anti-Radicals begin to doubt of the "*wholesome effects*" of perseverance in refusing reform. You revelled in your triumph over the Radicals. You exulted in the "restoration of order, peace, and reverence for the laws." You gloried in the unquestionable *efficacy* of the measure of the *short session*, your share in the honour of which measures you failed not to claim. And, before you had got your speech out, in the shape of a pamphlet, up comes the news, that the state of things was *worse than ever* in that part of the kingdom, which has always been justly famed for the *good* sense and the *morals* of its inhabitants! You will say, that the discontented are *Radicals*. Very true; but they are *Scotsmen* as well as Radicals. They have *pikes*, and they are in "*open rebellion*," says the COURIER. So much the worse; but they are *Scotsmen*. They make a part of the people of Scotland. To this point we always come back at last. And, if there be men, who can exult in any defeat of Radicals, of what stuff must such men be made?

The Scots Radicals issued, if we are told truth, *an Address*, or *Manifesto*, amounting to an open declaration of war for the purpose of obtaining a Reform. I insert this document with the comments of the COURIER and the COUNTER-PROCLAMATION of the Magistrates. Here is a scene! As to the statement of facts, the reasonings and the sentiments of the Manifesto it is unnecessary to say any thing about them. I shall give the thing to the public as the COURIER has given it, and even with his interpretation and commenting. But, there are

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circumstances belonging to the thing, that are well worthy of the notice, and of the serious consideration too, of those who wish to see peace restored to this distracted kingdom.

This Manifesto is a piece of writing, which discovers *great ability*; and, the little grammatical error or two, that it contains, only serve to show, that it is the product of *natural talent*. You, Sir, who have been a Secretary of State for foreign affairs, can say whether *you* ever saw a better written paper of the kind. I *never did*; and, if I were a minister, or a Borough-monger, this circumstance would have no small weight with me. I should say, "if "this be a *Radical* Manifesto; "if this be a specimen of *Radical literature*; I would rather have the Radicals for "my friends than for my foes."

Another circumstance is, that there was somebody found to *print* this paper, this "open "declaration of war," as the COURIER calls it. And, what is much worse, there was somebody found to *publish* it. Nay, there must have been *fifty* or a *hundred* publishers! For, it was, it seems, *posted up all over Glasgow and Paisley and Twelve Miles round them in one night!* And, as we are told, its injunctions, &c. on the people, not to work, were instantly obeyed. The *result*, whatever it may be, can make no change in the weight of these circumstances. Here is a complete proof, that men can and will print and publish what they like to print and publish, in spite of all laws that can be passed. This is a mode of going to work that sets even a *Censorship* at defiance; and this, of course, is the way, that the French will go to work.

For a *remedy* of this evil, what does your faithful echo, the COURIER propose? Why, further laws *against the press*, to be sure! "The military force "stationed in Glasgow," says he, "is formidable, and so far, "a successful insurrection may "not be anticipated. But the "sword will not eradicate cor-"rupt principles. *Blood may* "*flow*; but it will *not wash out* "*sedition from the heart*. We "must, as we have always con-"tended, cure the disease by "operating in *another quarter*. "We must effectually and

"*sternly silence the rank seditious* "*press.*" That is to say, of course, the part of the press, that the Radicals have been accustomed to attend to. But, how came the COURIER not to perceive, that, in exact measure with the increase of the operations against the press, has been the increase of the spirit of Radicalism? However, if this fact escaped him, how could he overlook the fact which was then staring him in the face; that is, that even a *Censorship* could not "*sternly* silence" the press; but, that, on the contrary, it would, in all human probability, set it completely free in a short time; for that, in defiance of any law that could possibly exist, the Manifesto would have been published! The man, who wrote that Manifesto, the man who printed, and the man who published it, knew very well *what it was.* They were well aware of the nature of the punishment attached to the several acts, in case of detection. Yet the thing *was published,* and most extensively published. And, what the COURIER seems wholly to have overlooked, he himself was, out of pure *kindness* to the Radicals, I suppose, actually *republishing* that very Manifesto, and sending into every part of the kingdom, a paper calculated to produce more immediate effect upon the minds intended to be worked on, than all the papers that ever issued from the Radical Press. And yet, even at the very moment that he is doing this, he calls aloud for *more laws* against the Seditious Press!

So did you, Sir, you were for "extinguishing the torch of accursed discord *for ever.*" And *how*? Why by binding up the printers and publishers and writers and by banishing them in case of misconduct. But, here you see, that writing and publishing can take place in *defiance of all laws.* There is a mode of eluding all your traps and trammels and contrivances. Never was there a publication like this sent forth before, in this country; and never did one have so wide a circulation. I do not see how it is possible to go further in the *law-way* without a Bourbon-Censorship; and the Scots Radicals have shown beforehand, that *they,*

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for their part, do not care a straw for that. If there were a Censorship, it would be truly curious to see how the thing would work. The streets, in the morning, would be *whitened* with papers flung about them in the night. A guard at every man's door would not prevent this; and the beauty of the thing would be, that every man would then put his *real thoughts* upon paper. Nay, printed papers of this description would still be *sold*. Men would seal them up; sell them to friends; they would be handed about; and, as the matter would be what *men thought*, and not what they dared publish under the dread of punishment, things would very soon come to a crisis. My real opinion is, that the people would hear a thousand times *more truth* with a Censorship than without one. And, I think, that the establishing of a Censorship in France is the foolishest thing that the Bourbons could have done. It will not prolong their sway one single hour.

A Censorship has this good in it. It removes all the *sham* of liberty of the press, which is the best, the very best, ally of real tyranny. This is the enemy that freedom has most to dread. Thoughtless men see "writers *on both sides*," not perceiving, that those on one side have a sharp curb in their mouths, while those on the other side are wholly without a bridle! Not perceiving that the former go to bed and awake, frightened by dreams of dungeons and halters; while the latter snore away the night, and grow rich sleeping and waking. It is this *sham* liberty of the press; this one-sided goddess that I hate and detest. A Censorship is, at least, a matter of plain-dealing. It is an act of despotism; but it is an *open* and *undisguised* act. It says plainly, you shall read what the government chooses to let you read, and you shall read nothing more. And the motive for this is so plain, it is so clear, so evident to even fools, that it cannot be called foul-dealing. The *Morning Chronicle* stated, and, indeed, it was stated in parliament, that a Censorship was *under discussion* amongst *certain persons*, before the last Session. It was, probably, wished for by

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some of the *Curfew* and *Pigtail* politicians. But, the *present thing* appears to have been, upon the whole, thought to be better; and, I verily believe, that, as far as the press is concerned, the nation would receive no injury at all from a Censorship. Every thing that men *thought* would then be published; and the communication between the great towns and even the hamlets is so quick, and all men talk so much in these times of suffering, that *thought* would pass from mind to mind swift as the wind. The *licensed* trash would be wholly unattended to, and the hand-bill publications would be read with an avidity not to be described.

What will the COURIER recommend, then? What *more* "stern" than the present system will he have? Will he make seditious libel *death*. That will do. That will silence all but the "*loyal*" press; that is to say, *by day*. Seditious libel is even now punished with *transportation* according to the *Scotch law*. But, still, the Radicals have put forth their Manifesto. And, what would the effect of making seditious libel *death* be? Why, to be sure, it would have precisely the effect of the law against robbery. It would prevent men from writing and publishing *openly*, and they would do it *privately*. If I am told, that there is a *heavy penalty* on the man who prints any thing without putting his name to it. I say, the heavier penalty of death would make him laugh at this. He would only have to take care not to be *caught*; and the disposition to favour, to screen, and to aid him would be so general, that he would have very little to fear. In short, the thing is *overdone* already. Men are placed in too great peril to give free scope to their statements and reasonings. This naturally fills their hearts with bitterness. The people are either prevented from reading, or they read these stifled thoughts. They imbibe all the feelings of the writers, and participate in their resentment. And thus are the principles more firmly fixed in men's minds by the very means taken to eradicate them.

What, then, are you to do?

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Conciliate. Put the press where it was in 1792, and make a reform of the House of Commons, such as the Duke of Richmond proposed. This is the way, and, in my opinion, the *only way*, to put an end to all the dangers and difficulties of the country, accompanied, however, with a *great change* in the management of the *money-affairs* of the nation; for, without this, nothing can be of any real use. It is better to listen, Sir, than to treat this with contempt and scorn. The Radicals are not to be *destroyed.* Always remember that. They cannot be *destroyed.* And, instead of the COURIER's *flippant exultation* at the "*defeat*" of them by the *yeomanry and light horse* at KILSYTH, and the pompous detail of *killed, wounded* and *prisoners*, he would, if he had had one grain of *real loyalty* in his composition, have mourned over that detail.

Since the *government* has thought proper to issue a BULLETIN, relating to this battle, I will insert it here. It may, probably, become a *memorable document.* The formality of the manner, the military pomposity of the style, and the evident signs of gladness at the result are all worthy of remark, and it will become those who ought to look to such publications to think well, and *betimes*, of the consequences, which, in the end, may possibly arise.

"HOME DEPARTMENT,

Sunday, April 9th, 1820.

"Intelligence, of which the "following is the substance, has "this morning been received "from Scotland :—

"About seven *a. m.* on Wed- "nesday, April 5th, one of the "Stirlingshire yeomanry in pro- "ceeding to join his troop at "Falkirk, was stopped on the "high road, within a few miles "of Kilsyth, by a party of armed "Radicals, who refused to let "him pass. He turned back, "and on his return, met an or- "derly of the Kilsyth troop of "Yeomanry, who was on his "march in the same direction "with dispatches. The two "Yeomen went to Kilsyth, and "reported what had happened.

"Lieut. Hodgson, of the 10th "Hussars, and Lieutenant David- "son, of the Stirlingshire Yeo- "manry, immediately marched "with a small party of each of "those corps in pursuit of the

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" radicals, and overtook them " near Bonny-bridge.

" The radicals, on observing " this, cheered, and advanced to a " wall, over which they commenced firing on the military. Several shots were fired by the soldiers in return, and, after some " time, the cavalry passed through " an opening in the wall, and " attacked the radicals, who resisted until they were overpowered by the troops. Four " were wounded, and one of them " was left on the field. Nineteen were taken prisoners, and " lodged in Stirling Castle. Five " muskets, two pistols, eighteen " pikes, and about 100 rounds of " ball-cartridges were taken.

" In this encounter, Lieutenant " Hodgson received a pike wound " through the right hand; and a " Serjeant of the Hussars was " severely wounded by a shot in " the side, and by a pike. Three " horses were also wounded.— " Lieut. Hodgson has reported to " Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Bradford, that no troops could behave " better than the whole party " under his command; and a general order has been issued, " *highly complimentary to the* " *Yeomanry* engaged on this occasion.

" The following garrison order " was issued by Sir T. Bradford, " on the 6th inst.—

" O. O.

" *Glasgow, April 6.*

" Two Orderlies having been " intercepted by an armed band " of men between Kilsyth and " Stirling, on the morning of the " 5th of April, Lieut. Hodgson, " 10th Hussars, and Lieut. Davidson of the Kilsyth Troop of " Yeomanry, with an equal number of men from each corps, by " *a rapid and judicious movement* " of nine miles from Kilsyth, came " up with the offenders, and after " receiving their fire, cut down or " secured the whole of them, consisting of nineteen armed men.

" Sir Thos. Bradford requests " Lieuts. Hodgson and Davidson, " and the non-commissioned officers and privates employed, *will* " *accept his thanks* for the zealous " promptitude with which they " discharged their duty on this " occasion.

" The General cannot but notice as a circumstance *highly* " *creditable to the zeal of the* " *Kilsyth Troop*, that the Hussars " were mounted for the occasion, " on horses lent them by the " Yeomanry, in consequence of " their own having made a forced

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"march; and he will take care "that the owner of the horse "upon which Lieut. Hodgson rode, "which was killed, shall be in-"demnified for his loss."

Now, Sir, do you think, that publications of this kind, put forth by the government, and circulated all over the kingdom, are likely to produce and insure *peace?* A correspondent, tells the COURIER, that what he dislikes most, in the "*bad spirit* "of the times, is, that, though "the aim of the Radicals is "broken, the *inextinguishable* "*hate*, the *unconquerable will*, "remain." To be sure. The *killing of men* only adds fuel to the flame. What, do you expect them to keep silence, to be "*sternly* silenced," and to be *good-humoured* too? This writer, like you, still talks about the *deluded* and the *deluders*. And, who, do you think, could *delude* men, capable of drawing up such a paper as the Radical Manifesto? They are not deluded. They proceed upon their own thoughts and opinions. They are led on and urged on by nobody. Their movements are their own. And, as to the killing or ruining of *other men*, under the pretence of their being *demagogues*, it is the basest as well as the foolishest of proceedings.

While these things are going on in Scotland, we are told of brooding insurrections in *Yorkshire* and *Lancashire*, and a very pompous account is given of the *fortifications* round the Barracks at Manchester! If this were stated as mere matter of *intelligence*, it would be less worthy of notice; but, it always comes forth as matter of *boast*, as matter of *triumph* over the Radicals, who are thus *taunted* and *goaded*, and not suffered to remain quiet even if they would. No sooner were the *six acts* passed, than the Reformers were twitted with *cowardice*, because they, as was said, "*hung down their heads.*" They were asked why they did not *meet* to *petition* "*against the acts*," and this, too, after the conduct of the Manchester Magistrates had been approved of and after all that had passed at *Oldham!* When we think of these things, are we to wonder at "the *inextinguishable hate*, the *unconquerable will?*"

One of the ways in which

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governments are overthrown, is, by the tongues and pens of its *flatterers*, while at the very same time, the flatterers, in private, censure the acts which they praise in public. Every body, who was living in America, during the first war in that country knows, that it was the false reports of the *royalists*, which caused this country to lose that. But they *gained* by their false reports, and that was enough for them. Just the same game is now playing here. The government is continually told, from all quarters, that the Reformers are *nothing at all*; that they are "*poor deluded wretches*;" that they are of no consequence. But, every month or two, out bursts an alarm as to their formidable means and designs. A hubbub takes place, some men get into jail, they are abused in the foulest manner before trial. And, for a while, there is *quiet*, in appearance, though discontent and revenge are busily at work in the mind. This is just the way in which *civil wars* are engendered.

No man will say openly, that he wishes for a civil war. No man is monster enough for that; and yet, do those not labour to produce a civil war, who are doing all that they are able to do to prevent *conciliation*, to prevent even a *small concession* on the part of the government? It is very clear, I think, that the ill-will never can have an end, that peace and harmony never can be restored, until there be *a yielding*, in some degree, at least, to the Reformers. Why not *yield now*, therefore? Ministers may be changed; many other changes may happen; there may be another revolution in France; that of Spain may lead to consequences that we cannot foresee; the money-system may receive a shock: but *the Reformers will never change*. All the young men are growing up in their principles; the aged are dropping off; and the cause, day by day, becomes dearer to the people. If you could have doubted of the quick communication of principles, that passage in the Radical Manifesto, which speaks of the Spaniards, must, I think, have removed the doubt. There is not a labourer nor artisan in this whole kingdom, who has not felt exultation at the revolution in Spain. And, if kings and priests form themselves into *Holy Alliances*, shall nations not have a fellow-feeling for each other? There is not a man in England of the "*Lower Orders*," who does not well know, that the people in Spain are now to be fully *represented* in the legislature; that the Spanish parliament is to sit but *two years*; and that the king is to have no power of doing harm to the country. You are deceived, Sir, if you think, that the Labouring

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Classes know nothing about such matters. They know *all* about them. Such subjects occupy their minds; and such subjects ought to occupy their minds, seeing that they are subjects closely connected with their happiness.

And, is this a time to say, that you will not *concede an inch*; that you will do *nothing* to conciliate the Reformers; and that if you do disfranchise GRAMPOUND, it shall be to *preserve* OLD SARUM? You see one nation in full possession of a government wholly representative, giving the whole world a most enchanting example of freedom and happiness; you see France, after all the affected triumph of loyalty, maintaining the right of representation at the manifest risk of another revolution; you see Spain revolutionizing itself on the very same principle; you see all Germany on the eve of general commotion on the same ground; and, yet, you dare tell the people of England, that you will, at all hazards, *preserve* OLD SARUM!

I trust, that very few, even of your *colleagues*, are animated with this your spirit of obstinate hostility. If they be, miserable and disgraceful are the days that this once great and happy kingdom has to see; for, if your counsels prevail, she may bid adieu to domestic prosperity and harmony and to foreign power, whether by land or by sea. The mere waste attendant on a war against the Reformers will take from the country a considerable part of its means. *Uncertainty* as to what is to happen must continually prevail; and prudent men do not leave their property exposed to chances. Fear, on this score, will occasion a constant drain from the capital of the country. The Debt must be *dealt with* in some new way. Every difficulty of the government, is, in such a state of things, an advantage to the Reformers; and thus we shall behold the unnatural spectacle of a people seeing, with delight, the embarrassment of that, which it ought to be their most anxious wish to cherish and support. There are various opinions as to the causes of the difficulties, in which the government now finds itself: but, all agree, that the difficulties exist; and all agree, that it will require uncommon wisdom and firmness in the government, united with cordial good will in the people, to afford the nation a chance of restoration to prosperity: and it is in this state of our affairs, that we hear you declare, that you will *preserve* OLD SARUM, and we see the Ministerial Journals exulting in the prospect of seeing Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hunt lodged in a jail, and in the killing and wounding and capturing, in battle, of a handful of Reformers in Scotland!

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However, let come what may, the *Reformers* cannot be *injured* by the change; and, they have always to say for themselves, that *they* have had no share whatever in the measures, which have brought the country into its present state. The *Pittites* and the *Foxites*; the *ins* and the *outs*; the "*gentlemen on this side*" and the "*gentlemen opposite*;" the *Tories* and the *Whigs*; however they may have hated each other, have always cordially joined in *upholding the System*, and in *abusing the Reformers*. The system is the joint concern of the two factions; and, that Reformer must have very little sense, who sees any thing to alarm *him*, in the perils which now surround that system. It seems, indeed, very evident, that terrible times are at hand; but, as you piously observed in one of your former Speeches at Liverpool, "the ways of Providence are *inscrutable*," and, perhaps, the day, which we are now looking forward to as a time of unparalleled suffering, may be the happy day of our *complete deliverance*.

I now, Sir, take my leave, not at all envying you the feelings, which you must have upon reflecting on the manner in which the assertions of your speech have been verified by the movements in Scotland, and leaving you to enjoy all the honour that will attend your perseverance in the gallant resolution to *preserve* OLD SARUM, let what will happen to OLD ENGLAND.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

THE NEXT REGISTER
Will contain a Letter to Lord Liverpool, on Mr. HEATHFIELD's plan for *paying off the National Debt*, which plan, or something like it, is, I think, likely to be adopted.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND

(From the Courier.)

The Magistrates of Glasgow issued a Proclamation on Sunday, in which they describe the Address above referred to, as being obviously "a direct declaration of immediately intended hostility to the Government and Constitution of this Country." They speak, also, of its "treasonable objects," and warn the people, "that all measures, in prosecution of such objects, will be regarded as an insurrection against the Government, and be instantly put down by the most *prompt* MILITARY EXECUTION." They further speak of information which they had received, of "the intention of those who issued the aforesaid Address to bring in bodies of men from the country in furtherance of their traitorous purposes." The language of this Proclamation is, indeed, of a most alarming character. We can only fervently hope, that the firm attitude assumed by the civil and military authorities will have the effect of intimidating the deluded men, from any attempt to accomplish their criminal designs. It is said, in an article from Edinburgh, that

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the signal for a rising was to be the non-arrival of the London Mail; but, by what means it was to be impeded, except by some expected co-operation on the part of the disaffected in the manufacturing districts of England is not mentioned,

Large reinforcements of military were marching upon Glasgow from Edinburgh and Stirling.

The latest intelligence received by Government, from Glasgow and Paisley, is down to three o'clock on Monday, at which time the streets were much crowded with the unemployed workmen of all descriptions, but no actual disturbance had taken place. The greatest fears, however, prevailed, that the night would not pass over tranquilly.

The following is a copy of the atrocious Address referred to above:—

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Friends and Countrymen,

Roused from that torpid state in which WE have been sunk for so many years, We are at length compelled, from the extremity of our sufferings, and the contempt heaped upon our Petitions for redress, to assert our RIGHTS, at the hazard of our lives; and pro claim to the world the real motives, which (if not misrepresented by designing men, would have united all ranks), have reduced us to take up ARMS for the redress of our *Common Grievances.*

The numerous Public Meetings held throughout the Country has demonstrated to you, that the interests of all Classes are the same. That the protection of the Life and Property of the *Rich Man*, is the interest of the *Poor Man*, and in return, it is the interest of the Rich, to protect the poor from the iron grasp of DESPOTISM; for, when its victims are exhausted in the lower circles, there is no assurance but that its ravages will be continued in the upper: For once set in motion, it will continue to move till a succession of Victims fall.

Our principles are few, and founded on the basis of our CONSTITUTION, which were purchased with the DEAREST BLOOD of our ANCESTORS, and which we swear to transmit to posterity unsullied, or PERISH in the Attempt. Equality of Rights (not of Property), is the object for which we contend; and which we consider as the only security for our LIBERTIES and LIVES.

Let us show to the world that we are not that Lawless, Sanguinary Rabble, which our Oppressors would persuade the higher circles we are—but a BRAVE and GENEROUS PEOPLE, determined to be FREE. LIBERTY or DEATH is our *Motto*, and We have sworn to return home in *triumph*—or return *no more!*

SOLDIERS,—Shall YOU, Countrymen, bound by the sacred obligation of an Oath, to defend your Country and your King from enemies, whether foreign or domestic, plunge your BAYONETS into the bosoms of Fathers and Brothers, and at once sacrifice at the *Shrine of Military Despotism*, to the unrelenting Orders of a Cruel Faction, those feelings which you hold in common with the rest of mankind? Soldiers, turn your

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eyes toward SPAIN, and there behold the happy effects resulting from the UNION of Soldiers and Citizens. Look to that quarter, and there behold the yoke of hated Despotism, broke by the unanimous wish of the People and the Soldiery, happily accomplished without bloodshed. And, shall YOU, who taught those Soldiers to fight the battles of LIBERTY, refuse to fight those of your own Country? Forbid it Heaven! Come, forward then at once, and Free your Country and your King, from the power of those that have held them *too, too* long in thraldom.

Friends and Countrymen,

The eventful period has now arrived, where the services of all will be required, for the forwarding of an object so universally wished, and so absolutely necessary, Come forward then, and assist those who have begun in the completion of so arduous a task, and support the laudable efforts, which we are about to make, to replace to Britons, those rights consecrated to them, by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and sweep from our shores that corruption which has degraded us below the dignity of Man.

Owing to the misrepresentations which have gone abroad with regard to our intentions, we think it indispensably necessary to DECLARE inviolable, all public and private property. And, We hereby call upon all Justices of the Peace, and all others to suppress Pillage and Plunder, of every description; and to endeavour to secure those guilty of such offences, that they may receive that punishment, which such violations of Justice demand.

In the present state of affairs, and during the continuation of so momentous a struggle, we earnestly request of all to desist from their labour from and after this day, the First of April; and attend wholly to the recovery of their Rights, and consider it as the duty of every man not to recommence until he is in possession of those Rights which distinguish the Freeman from the Slave; viz. That of giving consent to the laws by which he is to be governed. We, therefore, recommend to the proprietors of Public Works, and all others, to stop the one, and shut up the other, until order is restored, as we will be accountable for no damages which may be sustained; and which after this public intimation, they can have no claim to.

And We hereby give notice to all those who shall be found carrying arms against those who intend to regenerate their Country, and restore its Inhabitants to their Native Dignity; We shall consider them as Traitors to their Country, and Enemies to their King, and treat them as such.

By order of the Committee of Organization, for forming a

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Glasgow, 1st April, 1820.

Britons.—God.—Justice.—The wishes of all good men are with us.—Join together and make it one Cause, and the Nations of the Earth shall hail the day when the Standard of Liberty shall be raised on its *Native Soil.*

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Glasgow, April 3.

A STRIKE OF WORK IN GLASGOW.

We are extremely sorry to state that at no time since the beginning of Radicalism, has there been such a general apprehension of danger as within the last ten days in Glasgow and its neighbourhood. It was supposed that the new-fangled notions which dazzled some of our people had given way to the thinking sobermindedness of the Scotch character; but if appearances are to be trusted, this conclusion has been too hastily drawn. There has lately prevailed a system of intimidation not formerly attempted; and many well-disposed peaceable people in manufactories and work-shops have been obliged to enter the lists of the disaffected, from the terror of their lives. Indeed it is more among the operatives who have resisted the importunities and threats to join in those unlawful associations that the fear of danger exists, than among those in more elevated situations.

Between Saturday night and Sunday morning there was posted upon the walls in Glasgow, Paisley, and in all the manufacturing towns and villages for a dozen miles round, an Address to the People of England, Ireland, and Scotland, calling upon them to come forward instantly, and to effect, by force, if resisted, a revolution in the Government. This paper is supposed to have been printed in England; and we should suppose it of English composition, from its dwelling much upon Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, in which Scotland has no interest. It is probable then that this same Address has been circulated through the manufacturing districts of England; and the accounts of its effects there are looked for with much anxiety by both loyal and disloyal in this part of the country.

One of the injunctions contained in this Address was to abstain from all work after the 1st day of April, and we are extremely sorry to say that this order has been but too implicitly obeyed. All the weavers in Glasgow and its suburbs have struck work, and our streets are crowded with them walking about idle. The weavers in Paisley and its neighbourhood, have also, we understand, ceased to work, and it is not improbable that we may be favoured with a visit from some of them. The colliers in the country round, have likewise struck this morning, and we have unfortunately to increase our list with the cotton-spinners, and some of the machine-makers and founders. Most of the mills began work this morning, but threatening visits were immediately paid to them, and the workers did not return at breakfast time, or have since left their work. The demeanor of the people on the streets is at present perfectly peaceable, and though they are occasionally gathered into gloomy knots, still every thing bears more the marks of an attempt to intimidate by numbers, than to strike a blow. Indeed such a scheme could scarcely enter into the most visionary head, as our military force in this garrison is of the most formidable description, consisting of artillery, cavalry, a battalion of the

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Rifle Brigade and volunteers. The whole were under arms this morning before day-break; the regular garrison in their respective barracks; the recruiting parties in St. Vincent Street, where was also stationed the troop of Glasgow Light Horse; the Sharp Shooters, nearly 700 strong, in George's Square; and a party of the Armed Association in St. Enoch's Square. The Yeomanry of this and some adjoining counties are also on their march; and altogether we should think little is to be apprehended from open resistance, should unfortunately the ill-advised people attempt any such measure.

When this system of intimidation had been carried to such a length, and conducted so openly, there surely could be no difficulty in discovering and apprehending some of the intimidators, and thus let an attempt be made to give the true protection of the law to those who are entitled to it.

The Magistrates have issued the following proclamation:—

"*Proclamation—by the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city of Glasgow, the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and the Justices of the Peace for the lower ward of the said county.*

"Whereas, we have observed with much surprise and concern, a highly seditious and treasonable printed paper, posted up this morning, not only throughout the city, but in numerous places in the suburbs, denominated 'An Address to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland,' which is obviously a direct declaration of immediately intended hostility to the Government and Constitution of this country: We hereby once more give notice, that all attempts which shall be made to follow up the inflammatory spirit and treasonable objects of that Address, will be instantly resisted by the civil powers, aided by the strong military force placed at their disposal; and that all measures by assemblages of people in prosecution of such designs will be regarded as an insurrection against the Government, and be instantly put down by the most prompt military execution.

"And whereas, we have been informed that it is the intention of those who have issued the aforesaid Address, to bring in bodies of men from the country in furtherance of their traitorous purposes; we hereby warn all such persons to abstain from being so led away, to their own hazard, and the imminent danger of their lives. And we again warn the loyal and well-disposed inhabitants of this city and suburbs, in the event that any rising, as is threatened, shall take place, to keep themselves and their families within doors, and on no account to mingle with those who shall be actually violating the laws of the country.

"Glasgow, April 20, 1820."

STATE OF FRANCE.

The Bourbon Government has established a *Censorship* on the press. That is to say, certain men, called *Censors* have been appointed; and nothing can now be published, *until* one of them has *read it*, and *given leave* for it to be published. Thus, then, no

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one can publish any thing, which the government disapproves of. This is only the old *Bourbon law;* only this law will not do now, because men's *minds are changed.* The Bourbons are still the Bourbons, but the French are not still willing slaves. They will write and read in spite of all the laws that can be passed; and freedom, under a real representative government, will finally prevail. — The people of England, however, when they *now* read, in the English newspapers, any *French news,* or news from *French papers,* should always bear in mind, that they are reading only what the Bourbons and their Ministers *choose to have published!*—Let the people of England bear this in mind, and then all will be right as far as the French Press goes. — In the mean while, the *representatives of the people* in France are pretty good. This law and another law, something like our *imprisonment law of* 1817, have been passed after long debates and warm debates, and by *very small majorities.* But, then, the representatives in France are *really chosen by the people:* by people of some property, to be sure, but still they are chosen by the people, and *by ballot* too! Thus, even in such a state of things, here is *some security.* But, where the people do not choose their representatives, there can be no security at all.

STATE OF SPAIN.

Here is something for all mankind to exult in! Here is a *bloodless revolution,* and a fair prospect of happy days to a nation, once famed for their superior enterprise and bravery, but, of late, sunk in sloth and timidity under the barbarous scourge of tyranny and priestly craft and insolence. The French *licensed* papers tell us, that all is full of *dismay* in Spain! Dismay to tyranny, no doubt. This base *licensed* press; this Bourbon-press, told us, the other day, that the "revolution "had begun to *display* itself in "the *confiscation of the property* "*of the* INQUISITION." An excellent way, too, of *displaying* itself! I hope that it will *display* itself further in selling to individuals the Convents to make barns and stables and cattle-stalls of; and I am sure, that the walls ought, if they could speak, to glory in the change of inhabitants contained within them.— Oh, no! the *licensed* press of France and the *bail-bound* press of England may say what they will, the revolution in Spain is accomplished; the Constitution is accepted and sworn to by king and people; and, if the former break his oath, so much the *worse for him,* but, as for the *people,* they will hold to it whatever he may do. The *licensed* press of France, says, that *fears* were entertained, at Madrid, "for the *lives* of the *most august personages.*" Indeed! who are they, I wonder? The friends of the Inquisition, I suppose. A *people,* when they triumph, are always *merciful.* Nor do I wish to see the *Inquisitors* thrown into flames like those in which they burnt others; but, I do wish to see them made to *earn their bread;* I do wish to see them compelled to *work:* there is always some dirty work to do,

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and these men might work very well on the roads, or sweep the streets.—The same *licensed* press says, that none of the foreign Ambassadors at Madrid (except the *American* Ambassador) had been to *congratulate* the king on his acceptance of the Constitution; that they waited *for instructions from their several courts!* Well; and what of that? What do the Spaniards care for that? They have too much to do with their important affairs to think about such an idle ceremony? and they have too much sense to suppose, that the Members of the Holy Alliance do not wish their *Constitution* at the Devil.—This is a most glorious event. It presents another large spot for men, who dislike to be slaves to set their feet on. It is another great triumph of the *representative* principle. It is worthy of the admiration of all men, and especially of Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen.

Cobbett's Parliamentary Register.

The *First Number* of this Work will be published on the SECOND SATURDAY after the Meeting of Parliament. It is intended to publish one Number on every succeeding Saturday, during the Session; and to have the Volume complete in two weeks after the close of the Session. The measures of the next Session must necessarily be of extraordinary interest, involving as they probably may, the very fate of the country. To make a work of this kind as useful as the case admits of, the compiler must himself have a tolerable share of knowledge of the several matters discussed; and especially when present measures grow out of past measures, and have reference to facts, well known amongst those engaged in the discussion, but not familiar to the understandings, or recollection, of the public in general. This observation applies with particular propriety to discussions relating to questions of Finance, Paper-Money, and, indeed, all questions of great national importance. It is intended, therefore, to give explanations, in the way of NOTES, wherever it may be found necessary, in the course of this work; and thus to put it in the power of every reader fully to enter into the merits of every question, as to which men in general must naturally desire to be well informed, and on which they must wish to form a correct judgment. The price of each Number, containing *two sheets and a quarter*, will be SIX PENCE, and as it will always be published at the same time and place as the POLITICAL REGISTER, it may be conveniently obtained both in town and country. The Numbers, during the Session (probably twenty) will make a Volume of convenient size, the referring to the several matters in which will be rendered easy by a perspicuous arrangement and by every aid that can be afforded by Tables, Lists and Indexes.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO

THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,

On Mr. Heathfield's Plan for paying off the National Debt.

London, 18th April, 1820.

MY LORD,

Rather more than sixteen years ago, I, in a letter addressed to Mr. ADDINGTON, who then filled the office which you now fill, observed, that the "Fund-Monster would, if not "arrested in his course in time, "*totally destroy the liberties* of "this country, and, in the end, "*level all ranks in society.*" Whether any part of this prediction has been fulfilled already, I shall leave others to say, that being, "under existing circumstances," the safest course to pursue. Nor shall I say, whether the other part is in a fair way of fulfilment. But a plan having been *published* for *paying off the debt*, and this plan being very popular, and being likely to be acted upon, I beg leave to offer to your Lordship some remarks upon that plan.

The principles upon which Mr. HEATHFIELD proceeds is this: that the Fund-holder is to be viewed, in all respects, as a creditor in private life is viewed; that he has lent his money on *mortgage*; that he has a real lien, or tie, or hold, in the nature of a mortgage, which runs over all the property, real and personal, that is to be found in any and every part of the king's European dominions; and that, consequently, when a gentleman of this class rides from London to York, on the top of a stage coach, he, in looking over parks, manors and chaces, consistently and truly says, "I am part owner of all these, and my title is as good, and, perhaps, more clear, than the title of those who call these estates their own." And, further, that the mortgage of the Fundholder is better than that of any other person; that it has a claim prior to all other mortgages upon the same estate; that it is good against life-holds, as well as against possession in fee-simple; and that, in short, no man can,

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in strict propriety of language, call any thing *his own*, not even the shirt on his back, until this mortgage be paid off. Some have doubted whether "*public faith*" would compel the people to give up their wearing apparel; but as to house and land, and stock in trade, and household furniture, and cattle of all sorts, there appears to be no doubt at all; and, by common consent, the Fundholder seems to have a real mortgage on all these.

As to the *correctness* of these principles, I must confess, that I have always doubted, and my doubts still remain. But, this has nothing to do with the matter. It does not signify what I *think*, or *wish*. It is what is *likely to be done* that is now the interesting question; and, in order to come at something like a correct opinion as to what is likely to be done, it seems to me necessary to inquire a little into what *can* be done in the way of paying off the debt.

Mr. Heathfield, not appearing to doubt of the ready admission of the Fundholders' claim, proceeds to inquire, whether it be proper and convenient to pay it off, and, having settled the question in the affirmative, he next looks into the nature, extent, and *value of things mortgaged*. And, with the greatest fairness, and with a coolness which is quite admirable, he settles the rate or portion at which men's estates are to be taken from them, and sold *for the benefit of the mortgagees*.

I beg leave, here, to observe, that I am far from disapproving of this "*general contribution*," as Mr. Heathfield calls it. For, how does the case stand? It is well known that the late wars were undertaken and carried on for the preservation of *rank*, *property*, and *religion*. We are the most cheated nation on earth, if that was not the case. We know that the wars never could have been carried on but by the means of *borrowed money*. Therefore, those who lent that money have a right to say, that it was *they* who, in fact, preserved the *rank*, *property*, and *religion* of the country. Certainly, then, it would be injustice in the extreme, for the nobility, gentry, and clergy, and other people of property, to refuse to pay those who thus lent their money. This is *so clear*, that there can, I think,

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be no doubt upon the subject. I am aware that I may be told, that I formerly held opinions different from this. But, my lord, if time have not taught me wisdom, it has (as to this matter, at least) taught me something else, quite as useful, "in existing circumstances," as any wisdom in the world. I, therefore, admit the Freeholders' claim on the *lands*, at least; because, whatever else might be said about the matter, I do not see that the *people* would receive any injury at all from a part (and a large part it must be) of the land being placed in the hands of the Fundholders.

But, though I agree with Mr. Heathfield in the justice of the claim, and though I wish him success, with all my heart, in obtaining full satisfaction of the Debt due to the Fundholders, I must be allowed to say, that I think him greatly deceived as to the *amount of the means*. And yet this is a capital point; for, if the nation's property be *mortgaged for more than the worth*, what is then to become of a part of the claim? Indeed the Fundholders may take *all* the lands, houses, mines and canals, and that ought to satisfy them; but I am not sure that it would. However, imprisonment on the mortgage lands would be out of the question. The mortgagees must take the estates, and there would be an end of the matter.

Mr. Heathfield, in his estimate of the means, or *assets*, follows, or rather takes, that of Mr. (now *Doctor*) COLQUHOUN. How this great and able Thief-detecting Justice *came at* his grounds of estimate, your Lordship may possibly know. But whether he found them in the Bow-street Police-office, or in that of the Thames, I am quite sure that his estimate is as *false* as any of the thieves he ever had to deal with. His *thief-estimate*, which represented every *third* soul met in the streets of London as a *criminal* in the eye of the law, was a bold adventure enough; but, nothing compared with his estimate of the property of the kingdom. If the writing of two such books did not make a man worthy of having the title of *Doctor*, I do not know what would.

Upon the authority of this Police-Doctor Mr. Heathfield supposes the *property* of the kingdom to be *worth* 2,500 millions! The Doctor, indeed,

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says 2,740 millioos; but Mr. Heathfield likes *round* numbers, and very liberally throws off 240 millions. In this estimate *all* property is included, and the estimate was *made in* 1812, when, as every one well knows, property was worth nearly, if not quite, twice as much, nominally, as it is now. Wheat was almost double its present price, and almost all other things were in the same proportion. So that, in this respect, Mr. Heathfield has not dealt fairly either by the Police-Doctor or by the public. When the Doctor made his estimate the pound note was worth about 15 shillings, and it is now (as long as people will take it) worth nearly 20*s*. Rents have greatly fallen since the Doctor's estimate was made. So that, on this view of the matter, we cannot, even if we look upon the Doctor as having been correct, look upon the of the things mortgaged as exceeding 1,800 millions.

But, I dispute and disclaim and reject the Doctor's estimate, altogether, while I thank him for getting made a Doctor, as it spares me the trouble of writing his long and ugly name. He has *no grounds* for his estimate even of the value of the *houses* and the *lands*; and how is any man in his senses to believe it *possible* for any human being to make any thing like a correct estimate of the value of *stock in trade, house-hold goods, cattle, sheep, pigs, rabbits*, and all other manifold things which constitute the property of a whole people? I shall offer no such whimsical estimate; but shall produce some rational grounds for the estimate that I have to present upon the subject.

In 1804 an *account* of the *annual rental* of *England and Wales* was printed by order of the House of Commons. That rental, including all real property, houses, buildings of all kinds, lands of all kinds, mines and canals, amounted to *thirty-eight millions*. Taking Scotland and Ireland, according to the sum total of taxes that they yielded, the whole kingdom, at that time, would have yielded a *rental* of *forty-nine millions*. Now, looking at the average price of wheat for *seven* years previous to 1803, when the facts for making out this account were collected, and, comparing that average with the average of the seven years which have just now passed, we shall be

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able to form something like a *judgment* of what the real property of the whole kingdom *is now worth*.

The *rental*, as all the world knows, is the true criterion of value. It is not what an owner *fancies* a farm to be worth; nor what *he* thinks it worth; nor what value *he* puts upon it, but what it will *bring*. *Tythes*, of course, are included in the rental of the nation; that is to say, their annual worth. So that, when we know the real annual rack rent of all the houses, buildings, lands, mines, canals, and tythes, we can easily say what they are worth in the fee simple.

The rental of all these, in the whole kingdom, in 1804, or, rather, in 1803, amounted to *forty-nine millions*. But, in order to know what that rental is *now*, we must see what had, for seven years previous to 1803, been the *average price of wheat*, and what that average has been *for the last seven years*. During the seven years previous to 1803, the average price of wheat had been *fourteen shillings a bushel*. During the seven years which have just now passed, the average price of wheat has been *nine shillings*. So that, if the rental amounted to *forty-nine millions* in 1803, it now amounts to *thirty-one millions*. And, indeed, can any one believe, that it amounts to more, when we hear it declared, from various parts of England, that the *poor-rates exceed in amount the rack rent of the property assessed?* The fact is notorious, that the rents have, in reality, fallen nearly *one half* in many parts; and we estimate, therefore, very highly, if we take the whole rental at *thirty-one millions*.

Now, then, as to the *worth* of this property, that yields such a rental, what can it be? Houses and buildings are not worth *twelve years purchase*. Mines and canals may be worth as many years purchase as the houses. The land may be worth 26 years, supposing *perfect confidence to exist*; but it is not worth that at present. And, taking the whole together, it cannot be worth more than about *seventeen* or *eighteen* years purchase. However, allow it to be worth 18 years purchase, then the *capital*, or *fee-simple*, is worth *five hundred and fifty-eight millions*.

This is a result very different indeed from that on which Mr.

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Heathfield proceeds. He supposes the *real property* to be worth 1,250 millions, and he does not include the *tythes* that I can perceive! But, he really has no foundation on which to go; his is mere *guess*-work; and the *roughest* guess it is that ever was made by mortal man. As to the *other* property; I mean property other than *real property*, how is it possible to come at it? We shall, bye-and-bye see, what would be the difficulties in getting at the real property; but, as to the *personals*, who can invent a scheme of seizing hold of them, or even of *ascertaining* their value, were it only in one single parish?

Mr. Heathfield proposes first to make his *assessment*; then to tell each man how much he has to *give up*; then to take the amount from him by instalments; and, with the *money*, pay off the fund-holders. However, is it, my Lord, worth while to proceed? We will; but, first let us take a large view of the thing. Here is a nation with *all its property mortgaged*. No matter who are the mortgagees, though we are constantly told, that the mortgage is *no inconvenience* to us, because *some of* us are the mortgagees; that we owe the debt *to each other*, and that, therefore, the nation, upon the whole, is *neither richer nor poorer on account of the debt*. These were very pretty notions for about *ten years ago*; but, they are now grown out of vogue. We do now find, that, some how or other, the Debt is a *great inconvenience*; and that, unless it can be lessened, we cannot get on.

Here, then, we are inventing schemes to *pay off a mortgage*. And, why are we so eager to pay off this mortgage *now*? We went on contracting the mortgage; adding to its weight; increasing it, in all sorts of ways; and, what is more, those who expressed their alarm at this, were either laughed at as *fools*, or punished (in some way or other) as *disaffected* and *disloyal* persons. But, *now*, all of a sudden, we are frightened at the amount of the mortgage, and wish to *pay it off*? And *why*? Because, we are *reduced to misery by the payment of the interest!* We cannot pay the interest any longer, without *total ruin*, and without *real starvation* to millions. And, *therefore*, we propose to *pay off the principal!* What makes us unable to pay the interest? Why,

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our want of a sufficient income; our want of a sufficiency of means; our *poverty*, in short. And yet it is presumed, that we are *rich enough to pay off the principal!*

Suppose me (I wish it were nothing other than supposition) to have a mortgage upon my estate, which, owing to the diminution of the quantity of paper-money, and the consequent fall in prices, will not let for enough to pay the interest in full, and, that the mortgagee wants his interest duly paid up. What would any man think of me, if I were to talk of getting rid of my incumbrance by *paying off the principal* of the mortgage? He would think me *mad*, to be sure. He would seize the estate, and let me get on as I could.

Now, it is very certain, that, upon the principle of Mr. Heathfield; namely, that the fund-holders have a mortgage upon all the land and houses, and from which principle I by no means venture to dissent; upon this principle, my above-supposed situation, is the situation of every owner (or supposed owner) of real property in this kingdom; seeing that the whole of the real property is worth only about *five or six hundred millions*, and that the amount of the mortgage, which the fund-holders have on that property, is about *nine hundred millions*.

Your Lordship may possibly, and Mr. Heathfield will certainly, say: "How can this be: how "can the real property be worth "so little, when we see, that the "interest of the nine hundred "millions is *now duly paid*, "though with *difficulty*; and "we see, that the *Land-owners* "*live very well besides?*" Aye, but this interest is not now paid by them, who pay, indeed, but a very, very small part of it. It is paid chiefly, *now*, out of the *earnings of labour!* But, if we come to *pay off*, the assessors will find, that they have, in labour, *nothing to seize*. Labour lies in the bones, muscles, blood, and flesh and brains; and they cannot take part of these *away*. They cannot put these up to sale. They cannot exchange these for stock, either *threes* or *fives*, or *threes and a half*. Labour is the golden eggs, *not yet laid*. We know very well, that the present revenue, saved for eighteen years, would pay off

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the whole of the Debt; but, this revenue is *wanted yearly*; and, besides, it comes out of the earnings of labour, which are the true riches of a nation, and the sum of which is daily diminishing in this country.

Your Lordship will, therefore, dismiss, at once, all that tribe of projectors, who calculate the worth of the nation's real property upon the basis of the revenue, which has nothing at all to do with the worth of that property; or, at least, it is no basis, whereon to found a valuation of that property.

The case of a man, whose estate is mortgaged for more than it will now sell for, is little different from that of a man, in trade, who stands upon borrowed capital, and who cannot any longer pay the interest on the money that he has borrowed. The lender complains that the interest is not duly paid. And what would be thought of the borrower, if he were to talk of getting *rid of this difficulty* by *paying off the principal?* It may be said, that he may sell off his stock in trade to pay the money-lender with. But, what nonsense is this? He has no stock in hand. His stock does not belong *to him*. He must *owe some one for it*. He may, indeed, *give up* his stock; and the land-holder may give up his land; but this is the only way in which they can possibly pay off any part of their debts.

With this general view in our recollection, we will proceed to ask Mr. Heathfield how he would go to work to *get at* the personal property. In this is included every thing moveable. Household goods, stock in trade, ships, tools, machines, plate, jewels, books, and all other things inanimate; horses, mules, asses, cattle, sheep, hogs, dogs, poultry, rabbits, and, perhaps, hares, pheasants, and partridges. All these are included in the Police-Doctor's estimate, and this estimate is the basis of Mr. Heathfield's plan. Now, in the first place, who is to make the *assessment?* Who is to put a value on the various things in a *chandler's shop?* Who is to go and value the rags and kettles in the labourer's cottage? And yet, all these come into the estimate of the nation's property? Who is to go to a haberdasher's shop, or an ironmonger's, or any other shop, and *take stock* preparatory

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to an assessment? And yet, unless the stock be actually taken, how is an assessment to be made?

However, suppose this difficulty to be got over, what is next to be done? Why, to tell the haberdasher, for instance, that he is to pay the amount of a *sixth part* of his stock in trade. What! whether it be his own or not? Whether he, in fact, be *solvent*, or not? He owes for the stock, or for a great part of it, or, at least, for some of it. His property may, possibly, consist in part of money in his pocket; part of his savings may be in book-debts. He himself can hardly say what he has, and what he has not. How, then, will you assess him? And yet assess this man you must, or, you must give up all this species of property. Merchants have no *tangible* property; or, at least, very seldom. They *owe* and are *owed to*. They live on the little that remains on the gridiron after tossing immense sums through it. They can pay, yearly, taxes out of this; but, who is to ascertain what their *capital* is? They have it not in their hands. It is *always afloat*, and in a state not to be *grasped* even by themselves.

As to house-hold goods, they, for the greater part, are necessaries of life, nearly as much as the man's dinner is. There is, in this respect, very little difference between the leg of mutton and the pot that it is boiled in. And, observe, that the scheme is founded, not on the supposition of opulence and luxury being in fashion; but on the supposition of general ruin and want, from which the scheme is to relieve us.

It is said, that the proprietors of personal property may pay *in five years*; but five years' time can be no benefit; because to pay at all, they *must*, as a whole, *begin by selling!* Before they can *pay* a farthing to the Fundholder from their capital, they *must sell*; and if the whole be sellers, who are to be the *buyers?* It is nonsense to say, that they may *raise the money* in *some other* way. *A whole* therefore, cannot raise it any other way; and who is to *buy?* Nobody can, in the end, buy, except the Fundholders. So that, if such a scheme were practicable at all, the only possible mode of proceeding would be to take the goods from the owners, and compel the fund people to take them at the as-

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sessed value, and to give up stock to a like amount in exchange.

Thus, then, it is very clear, that, after all, the assessment must be confined to *real property*, to *the Funds themselves*, and to another sort of *property* that I shall take the liberty to mention bye-and-by.

As to the *Funds*, it would be merely a *lopping off*. It would be a paying of *one sixth less* to the Fundholders than was paid to them before. But, as to the *real* property, if the scheme really be to *pay off the debt*, the whole of it must be taken and conveyed to the Fundholders. However, let us suppose that *one sixth is to be taken first*. What way will Mr. Heathfield go to work? Here is a Yeomanry Cavalry man, MR. JOLT, who was formerly called Farmer Jolt; he has a snug farm, with some white pales opposite his house. He cannot do more, though the farm be his own, than barely make both ends meet. He has not a farthing to spare. For, if this be not the *general* situation of the country, then there can be no necessity for any desperate measure of *relief*. His farm is worth six thousand pounds, and you call upon him *for a thousand*. He is to have *ten years to pay it in*; but he is to pay *a hundred down*, and to pay interest for the other *nine hundred*, giving, of course, a mortgage to the government on his lands for the nine hundred.

Here is the Yeomanry Cavalry gentleman in a pretty state! He is as "*firmly held* and "*bounden* to our Sovereign "Lord the King, his heirs and "successors," as any printer or publisher in the realm, and has as good reason to rejoice at living under "a constitution that "is the envy of surrounding "nations, and the admiration "of the world." But how is he to get the hundred pounds? He *has them not*; mind that, my Lord. He must borrow them: and of whom? Of some Fundholder, to a certainty; and the mortgage for the nine hundred will go into the same hands. This *must* be the case; for, on any *other* supposition, the scheme is without a pretext to proceed upon.

Now, if this take place, and this is possible, it is certain, that, merely as a *farmer*, Jolt will *go on*; but he must work harder, and must work harder and live worse than he did be-

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fore, and the Fundholder will own a part of his land. He will own more than *a sixth* part; for the interest will run on, and every year JOLT must borrow the interest he will have to pay.

When this operation has been completed, the debt will stand thus: 150 millions will have been paid off by the deduction made from the Fundholders themselves. And, supposing the assessments on real property to be rigorously made, and the collections duly enforced, nearly another 100 millions will have been liquidated by the payments to the Fundholders out of the real property. This will leave the part of real property, which will *belong to the present proprietors*, worth 448 millions, and will leave the debt 660 millions.

This will have been doing very little, and another and larger dip must be taken. This time, a *third* may, possibly, be taken. A third taken from the Fundholders, will reduce their claim to 420 millions, and the paying to them of 149 millions, to be this time taken from the land, will leave their claim to be 211 millions, and it will leave of real property, belonging to the present owners of real property, 300 millions.

One dip more will *clear off the Debt!* Make the Fundholders give up the half of their remaining Funds, and the landowners give them the half of their remaining lands, and then the Fundholders will own about *four-fifths of the land*, and the present land owners about *one fifth!* And this, if this scheme were practicable, and were put into execution, would be the inevitable result.

But we have overlooked one capital circumstance, and that is, that the land would not sell for the half of what we have supposed. The *assessment* would be made upon the basis of *present rents* and *present prices*; but the moment the Fundholders' sixth of the debt should cease to be paid interest for, the quantity of paper-money would be greatly diminished, and, o course, rents and prices would instantly *fall*. So that the real property, instead of being worth 548 millions, would not be worth, perhaps, 300 millions; and, of course, the Fundholders would *take it all*. Let any one, who thinks himself able, attempt to prove the contrary of this, and we shall soon see the

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truth of my reasoning completely confirmed.

It is, then, impossible to *pay off the Debt* with *money*. That is impossible. Indeed, upon the face of the thing it is impossible; for, whether you proceed by *instalments*, or in whatever other way, the money must come *first* or *last*. And to pay off a Debt of 900 millions, there must be possessed by the debtors 900 millions; and this, in real money, is more than there exists *in the whole world!* If the Fundholders *give up* half their claim, there is not a fiftieth part enough to pay them the other half with. And, besides, what, in the meanwhile, is to pay the Civil List, the Sinecures, Pensions, grants, army and navy? Have not all these a claim on the real property as well as the Fundholders? The Sinecures, Pensions, and Grants are always considered as *property*. Is this sort of property to remain *snug*; to lie *perdu*, while the land is taken away and given to the Fundholders? Is there to be no *pluck* at this kind of property? As for me, I am one of those, who do not think it of any consequence to the people at large, whether the Sinecures be given up to the Fundholders or not. I only mention them as *property* very much resembling that of the Funds.

The short view of the whole matter is this: the *interest* of the Debt, if there were no other expenses, *might*, perhaps, be continued to be paid, for a few years, out of peoples' *incomes*, and out of the *fruits of labour*, which is neither more nor less than a *participation* between the rest of the nation and the Fundholders. The Fundholders receive and live upon part of the rents, profits, and earnings of the rest of the nation; and they, together with the army, navy, civil list, sinecures, pensions, and grants, receive so *large* a part of the rents, profits, and earnings, that there does not remain enough amongst the mass of the nation to encourage enterprize and industry and to keep up a sufficient creation of valuable things. *Therefore*, it is desirable to *get rid of the Debt*; but, as I have shown, this Debt *cannot be paid off* at all; and especially in the manner that Mr. Heathfield supposes it can. I think it is evident, that nothing short of a *compromise*, which will take a part of the real property and give it to the Fundholders, will do. In this

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way, it certainly might be settled; but this, or a *sponge*, is, in my opinion, the only way; and, if men be not yet prepared for one or other of these, they will do well to hold their tongues about a *relieving* the country from the load of taxation.

I, for several years, urged the necessity of a *sponge* for getting rid of the Debt. But, I have never found any body to agree with me. I, therefore, give way, and now confine myself to the offering of opinions upon other peoples' projects. Men will, in spite of themselves, reason according to their interests. This is the universal practice of the world. Upon the present subject, the Landholders reason very differently from the Fundholders; and, before I speak of a *compromise*, which it is now become very fashionable to talk of, it will not be amiss to state, shortly, the reasoning on both sides.

The LANDHOLDERS say to the Fundholders: it is very true, Gentlemen, that you have lent your money to the nation, and that, if there be the means, you ought to be paid. God forbid, that we should entertain the design of paying you off with a *sponge*, which would be a most horrid "breach of national faith." But, with due submission, you have *no mortgage upon our lands!* The acts of Parliament, passed by those who virtually represent every soul in the kingdom, which acts are binding on us all, as long as they are unrepealed, are, nevertheless, *repealable:* mind that! And, mind, that you knew it, too, when you lent your money. And if (which we neither expect nor *wish*) the Acts, which insure the payment of your interest, were to be *repealed*, no more interest would be due to you! And, bear in mind, that we have seen acts passed for setting aside the claim which the creditors of the Bank had upon it for specie, and also for putting a stop to, and, finally, wholly abrogating numerous actions, which were actually in court, against the non-resident Clergy. We allow, that to resort to a *sponge*, would be a most shocking "*breach of national faith;*" but if the nation be in Debt *beyond its means of payment*, you cannot, upon any principle known amongst men, justly demand *more than its all.* Now, as to the *mortgage*, which you appear to suppose you have

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upon our *estates*, it will not, we hope, take much to convince you, that this is a *great mistake*, into which you have fallen. For, if you look into the several acts of parliament, upon the faith of which you have lent your money; if you look into those acts, which are, in fact, your mortgage deeds, you will clearly perceive, that the mortgage is granted, *not upon our estates*, but upon the *Consolidated Fund*; that is to say, upon *the taxes annually raised*, and which are called a *Fund* for some good and sufficient reason, we dare say, but which reason we have been wholly unable to discover. This *Fund*, or these *taxes*, is the thing on which you have a mortgage; and, not at all upon our estates. As long as this Fund yields enough to pay your interest, you will, of course, receive it duly; but, if the Fund fail, the acts of parliament, which are your only mortgage deeds, do not authorize you to make a demand on our estates. It must be considered, too, with regard to the *amount* of your demand; that you lent your money in *paper-coin*, and at a time, when the pound note was not worth more than about 16 shillings upon an average; and that, if we were to pay you in gold, or in paper nearly on a par with gold, we should be great losers by the transaction. You have been duly receiving *five pounds* in the hundred interest, while we think ourselves well off if we get *three pounds*. However, there is one consideration, which outweighs all others. If we admit that you have a *real mortgage upon our estates*, we see no means of settling the matter, other than that of *giving up the estates to you!* And, then, what a change, what a *revolution* will ensue!

FUNDHOLDERS.—We do not see any very *great danger* that would arise from this. But, proceed.

LANDHOLDERS.—Not see any *great danger!* Why, then, what is there any danger in? What have we been fighting and subscribing and prosecuting for, during so many years? Has it not been to *preserve the constitution*? Has it not been to prevent all *levelling* with regard to *property and rank*? Has it not, as Mr. CANNING has so ably shown, been to prevent the pulling down of a venerable nobility and a holy church? And how are these to stand

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without *their property*? Without their lands and manors and demains? If these be given up into the possession of the Fundholders: if a parcel of brokers and jobbers from 'Change Alley and a parcel of upstart traders from Philpot Lane are to come and take our lands and mansions; what is to become of the *Throne*, to uphold which you as well as we have so frequently pledged your last shilling and the last drop of your blood? If you remove us, the "*Corinthian Pillars* of the State," as BURKE so properly called us, what is to become of the State? Why, it must fall of course; and, then follows the whole destruction of "*Social Order and Religion*;" atheism will stalk unimpeded over the unhappy land, with fire, sword, and famine in its rear. Once begin to *level*, and universal confusion and destruction must inevitably follow. We beg you, therefore, to *reflect seriously*, on what you are about. We conjure you, as you love your country, as you love our happy constitution, as you love your king, and as you abhor the idea of seeing "morals and religion rooted out of the hearts of mankind," not to say one word more of the imaginary mortgage that you have upon our estates, manors, and mansions.

FUNDHOLDERS.---We are aware, Gentlemen, that few persons in the world, when in possession of things which they dislike to part with, are destitute of arguments in favour of their keeping of those things. Whatever ingenuity men may have in their minds, they fail not to employ it upon such an occasion.---We have listened to you with great attention; and, when you consider the nature of the insinuations, contained in the latter part of your argument, you will, we are persuaded, give us no small credit for our forbearance.---We have the misfortune to differ from you in opinion, not only as to your general conclusion, but as to every particular point in your argument, and for this difference we will now tender you such reasons as suggest themselves to our minds.---You tell us, that the Loan-Acts give us no *mortgage upon your lands!* You step aside here, and remind us, that *any acts* may be *repealed*, of which you give us some striking and memorable instances. We cannot help looking upon this *hint* as a sort of *menace*:

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but, we pay little attention to this, seeing that you have been compelled to allow, that such *repeal*, which is, in fact, a *sponge*, would be a most *atrocious breach of national faith*. Yet we wish, that you had sense of dignity enough to refrain from throwing out such a threat.—As to the mortgage, you say, that it is not a mortgage on your lands, but on the Consolidated Fund, that is, on *the Taxes*; and, if the *Fund fail*, the acts of parliament, by which the laws were made, do not authorize us to make any demand on the land ---It is you, and not we, that make the mistake. You merely play upon terms; and lose sight of the substance. We know very well, that the Acts, which are our mortgage deeds, give us no security other than that on the Consolidated Fund; but, then, they *pledge* the nation *to make that Fund sufficient to pay us our interest, without any deduction whatever*; and, moreover, *to raise a sinking fund to create a constant market for our stock*. Whether this *pledge* have been strictly adhered to up to this time, we will not now inquire; but, we are sure that you will not deny, that we have correctly described the nature and extent of the *pledge*, on the faith of which we lent our money.—Now, Sirs, the *nation* being, by these several Acts, pledged to make the Consolidated Fund, that is, the Taxes, sufficient to pay us our interest, who is *the nation*? Why, as Mr. CANNING truly says, not the rabble, not those who have nothing, not the Radicals, not the itinerant patriots; no, but the "*Nobility, Gentry, Clergy*, and *Freeholders*;" and that, when these are met, in any county, there is a "real *County Meeting*." All the rest of the people, as Mr. CANNING says, are *virtually represented* in these; and that, therefore, those who represent these represent *the nation*. It follows, then, necessarily, that the nation is pledged to make *the Taxes sufficient* to pay us our interest; do we *ask*, or have we ever *asked*, for any thing more than this? *We* propose no project for *paying off*, mind that, Sirs! No such proposition has ever come *from us!* We only want our interest duly paid; and, if you do not choose to continue to pay, or, if you cannot pay it; you mean, of course, to give us *something in lieu of it*; or, else, what becomes of all your

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affected horror at the idea of a "breach of national faith?"--- Our case, Sirs, is plainly and shortly this: we have *a mortgage on the property of the nation for as much as will pay us our interest in full;* and, if we do not get our interest, we have an undoubted right to go to the property, and take as much as will make good the deficiency. From the capacity to labour we can get nothing; we can get little from personal effects; and, therefore we come to the real property, from which we will take no more than is necessary to make good that deficiency.--- You appear to be conscious of the weakness of your ground, when you deny this our right; for, you immediately follow up that denial by observing, that our demand ought to be *lowered in amount*, because, as you say, we lent our money, when the pound note was not worth nearly so much as it is now.---It is surprising to what a point men are blinded by their interests! We thought, though we do, some of us, come "from Philpot-lane," that you would have the generosity to remember, that many of the Fundholders lent their money years and years *before gold ceased to circulate;* and that, in fact, *three hundred and fifty*, out of the *nine hundred millions* that are now due to us, were lent to the nation in *hard coin!* And as to the rest, does it not stand recorded in the Journals of both Houses of Parliament, in the form of solemn resolutions, passed in 1811, that the paper-money *had never depreciated* in value, and that a pound note then was, and always had been, *fully equal in value to twenty shillings in silver coin, fresh from the mint?* With these facts before us, we really wonder, Sirs, at your attempting, by such a pretence, to shuffle from your shoulders a part of the Debt, which you so truly owe us.----You say, that we have been receiving an interest of *five* per centum, while you have been receiving an interest of *three* at most from your lands. But, Gentlemen, have you been receiving nothing in lieu of this difference? Have you not been riding about in the sweet country air, while we have been penned up to breathe and rebreathe the smoke of "the 'Change and of Philpot-lane?" Have not your ears been regaled with the singing of birds and the cry of the hounds, while

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ours have been dinned with the rattling of coaches and drays, and the gabble of the Alley? Have not you had the clowns to pull their hats off to you, and the red-cheeked girls to curtesy to you, while we have been squeezing along amongst chimney-sweeps and fish-women, who paid no more regard to us than if we had not been worth a groat? Recollect, Gentlemen, that we cannot *come* "*from* the 'Change and Philpot-lane," without first *living* in the 'Change and Philpot-lane; and, surely, to have lived so long in places that you seem to think confers a sort of disgrace on the inhabitants of them, gives those inhabitants a claim to some little preference in point of gains. The great object of all our toils has been to be able, at last, to go and live like gentlemen in the country; and, as the times of loaning appear now to be over, we are anxious to get to our estates.——Having, as we think, clearly established our *right*, we would fain have forebore to say any thing in answer to your closing observations. But when we consider that our claims are attempted to be weakened in our minds, by an appeal to our attachment to our happy constitution in church and state, we cannot remain silent. We are, we confess, attached to our country; but, we are not afraid to defy the world to prove, that our King and our Church do not possess a superior place in our affections. But, Sirs, it is impossible for us to perceive the smallest grounds for your alarm, even supposing the *whole* of your estates to be transferred to us. BURKE, we know, got a pretty good pension for himself, another for his widow, and a third for his executors, after he had written so prettily about *Corinthian Pillars*; but there must be *new pillars* sometimes. We have very good Corinthian Pillars come from the 'Change, Philpot-lane, and even from Spital-fields; and why should not more come from the same places? *Levelling*, indeed! What, you think, perhaps, that *we* do not know how to live in large mansions, and to keep the Radicals at a distance? We might not, perhaps, be such able fox-hunters as some of you; and yet, if we are to judge from the ability in this way, shewn by a brother of ours, who was, not many years ago, actually *cross-legged*,

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we may suppose that we should not be far behind you, in a short time, even in that prime quality. And as to all matters connected with the preservation of "*Social Order*," we are well known to have given such proof of indefatigable zeal and ardent devotion, that the cause must improve, rather than suffer, in our hands.------We cannot, therefore, for our lives, perceive any *danger* to Church or State, that could possibly arise from the complete transfer of all your estates to us. But, we repeat, that we want nothing but our *interest in full*. Continue to pay us that, and we are satisfied; but, if you do not pay it us, or pay us the principal, we shall accuse you, according to your own confession, of "*an atrocious breach of national faith.*"

Now, my Lord, whatever they may pretend in public, this is the language in private, of the two descriptions of persons. They have an interest directly opposed to each other, and, let who will have *reason*, the Fundholders have *popular opinion* on their side. Nine men out of every ten think, that they are generous in the extreme if they *give up* one half to be *paid the other half*; and this is what they do when they yield a part of their interest equal to a tax upon other property or income. Their bargain is to be *paid without any deduction*; and, if a deduction be made, no matter under what name, they have not their bargain. Yet, such is the state of things, and such the effect of a gradually diminishing paper-money, that, if this bargain be acted up to, they must have all the real property in the kingdom; and this is a fact, the truth of which you will perceive the moment that any scheme of *paying off* begins to be put into execution. And yet, it is very certain, that things cannot go on in the present way. Your Lordship's printed speech, on the last year's bullion bill, contained a passage, which struck me very forcibly. It amounted to this: that the Fundholders were to receive, and ought to receive, *their interest in full, even when specie payments should take place!* The *impossibility* of this was so manifest, that I could not believe that you had ever uttered the words; and I am very much deceived if the proof of the impossibility be not demonstrated to the nation before the month of July next; and that, too, in some legisla-

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tive act. To *tax* the Funds is the old way, and it will, probably, be resorted to. But if the tax, to an equal amount, run over other property, the Funds will still be the *gainer*. Whatever is raised upon the land in this way will cause the worth of it in land to be transferred to the Fundholders, who will gain more by the *bullion bill* than they will lose by the tax. Let that bill continue in force for its intended term, and then let it be still *law*, and there will be no need of any project like that of Mr. Heathfield.

The voice of the country decidedly is, that the Fundholders should be "honestly paid." And, I think, that this voice is not likely to grow weaker. Men of any discernment know well *who the payers must be*. And it is become a very fashionable opinion, that the *transfer and division of property* is a good instead of an evil. The SPENCEAN PLAN was looked upon as nearly high treason; and yet we now see projectors boldly proposing to seize on the land, divide and sell it! There is no knowing what we may live to see; but, of one thing we may be satisfied, that *the thing itself*, without any impulse from without, will produce a *greater change* than, perhaps, was ever yet seen in the affairs of any country.

Now, I think, that wise men in power, would be *sure* to have the *mass of the people* in *good humour* before this change, which must come, shall come. To yield upon the question of *Reform* is the only way, in my opinion, of insuring this good humour; for, though the COURIER incessantly calls Radicals Rebels and Rebels Radicals, still they are men, and men, too, who must continue, for the main part, to *live* in the country. The very substitution of the word *Radical* for *Reformer* is a proof of weakness in our opponents. Indeed they discover their weakness and their fears at every turn; while we, in every circumstance connected with public affairs, see grounds of hope and of encouragement.

I am, my Lord,
Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

A PLAN

FOR THE PROMOTING OF SOBRIETY AND FRUGALITY, AND AN ABHORRENCE OF GAMING.

[This, which was No. 20 of the last Volume, is now out of print. I reprint it here, such numerous orders having been sent for it. This mode of doing the thing will save many Readers the expence of a separate reprint.]

TO THE LADIES,

Who were present at the Meeting held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Monday, December 13, 1819.

London, 17th January, 1820.

Respected Countrywomen,

I now proceed to perform the task, which you, on the day above mentioned, did me the

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honour to commit to my hands. The situation of the country is, if we make the best of it, miserable in the extreme; but, if we use no effort to mitigate the misery, the consequences must necessarily be most deplorable.

The Prime Minister has lately discovered that Government can do very little indeed, in the causing of good or evil to a people. In order to enforce this sentiment, he cited two lines from a very pretty poem; and which lines say: "of all "the evils which mankind en- "dure, *how few are those which* "*governments can cause or* "*cure.*" That this doctrine is wholly false, the experience of every nation in the world affords most abundant proofs. Every one must know that if it were not for the heavy burthen of taxes, which now exists in this country, the nation would be flourishing; the corn of other countries might be brought in, in seasons of scarcity; and that our manufactures, owing to the low price at which they might be made, if the taxes did not exist, would find a market in every country in the world. What, then, has caused these taxes? An enormous debt; an enormous standing army in time of peace; a list of enormous sinecures, places and grants. And who caused the debt, the army and the sinecures? The Government caused them. Thus, then, a government can cause evils. And, cannot the Government cure the evils; cannot they reduce the taxes? They can pass laws to protect the Bank of England against paying their notes in specie, though the law, under which the notes were issued compelled the Bank to pay in specie. The Government could pass a law, authorizing a secretary of state to shut up in a dungeon, any man that he pleased, and to keep him there as long as he pleased, without preferring any charge against him. The Government can make a law to banish men for writing, printing, or publishing any thing, which a special jury may think to have a TENDENCY to bring either House of Parliament into *contempt!* Surely, then, such a government has power to *take off* a considerable part, at least, of the taxes which it has laid on! Surely it has powers to do this as well as to do the things which I have above mentioned, and the list of which things, if they were all enumerated, would fill a volume of no contemptible size.

If, indeed, Government were so very inefficient a thing as the Prime Minister is said to have represented it to be: if it can do so little good: if its power of causing or of curing evils be so very limited, we might ask why we ever heard such a boasting about the *excellence* of this Government of ours; and, with still more eagerness, might we ask why Government is made to *cost us so much!* However, the truth is, that nations are happy or miserable in proportion as their governments are good or bad, wise or foolish.

Nevertheless, there is always something to be done by the People, themselves; and it is

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upon the subject of a part, at least, of that which it is the People's duty to take care of, that I have now the honour to address you.

The virtues of sobriety and frugality, and the vices of gaming, are acknowledged by us all. We all say that these virtues ought to be practised, and we all profess to abhor the vices incident to gaming; but it is in the performance in which we too generally fail. It is so much more easy to talk about the thing than to do it, that we are very apt to perform the talking part every day, during our lives, and to put off the doing part till we drop into our graves. Yet there only wants a *beginning* in the performance. It is the want of resolution to *begin* that prevents the good; for if once we begin, we find the path so pleasant that we never turn aside from it. A sober man; a man that never feels the effects of intoxication; a man that knows he shall always be sober; a man that dismisses, wholly and entirely, the use of strong drink of every kind; such a man feels, within himself, that he has one thing belonging to him, at any rate, that makes him a being superior to the common mass of mankind. And the woman who can lessen the quantity of her wants; who can subdue the hankerings of a vitiated taste; who can resort to simple and inexpensive diet and drink; who can see, with content, others indulge themselves in frivolous enjoyments unnecessary to her; such a woman, at once, feels her superiority; her mind is enlarged and elevated; from being an object of love only, she becomes an object of respect as well as of love; and, my female friends, recollect that respect is by far the most durable of the two.

As your power over the men is far greater than their power over you; as it always has been thus; always must be thus, and always ought to be thus, I shall begin by proposing to you, the adoption of those measures, which I think you ought to adopt at this time: because, as a means of persuasion, example is ten thousand times more powerful than precept. An expression of your desires, may do much; but your example will do a great deal more. A wife may, in some cases, urge her husband on to the adoption of frugal habits; but she will not fail once out of a thousand times, if she put herself foremost, and show him the way.

That which I have to recommend has nothing in it of stinginess or of a discontinuance of hospitality. I despise that sort of virtue (if it ought to be so called) which assumes the garb of niggardliness in house-keeping, meanness in dress, and sadness of countenance. I am for that species of frugality which produces plenty, neatness, and even gayness, in dress, and never-ceasing cheerfulness. The flax, the cotton plant, and the silk-worm, seem to have been created for the purpose of decorating the persons of women; and the man is little better than a beast, who does not value the

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manufacturing arts chiefly because they contribute to that decoration. And, as to sadness of countenance and starchedness of manner, they have been invented by hypocrites. Give me the smiling virtues; the laughing virtues; and let those whose God is Mammon, and those who expect to purchase happiness hereafter, by an affectation of unworthiness to live, let such men keep to themselves the enjoyment of the virtues which never smile, but which present themselves to you as the harbingers of approaching death.

It is not, therefore, against real pleasures, against gaiety, against mirth, against a life of cheerfulness and of plenty, that I write; but against mere *waste*; against the throwing away of that which would make life gay and cheerful; against the purchasing of disease and misery with that which might be employed to purchase pleasure, ease, and gaiety. Forty shillings absolutely thrown away upon coffee and tea, if expended upon an article of female dress, would afford pleasures of long duration. Forty shillings squandered upon beer or spirits would half cloath a labouring man from head to foot. The very pence, which are worse than thrown away upon tobacco and snuff, would, if expended upon articles of dress, make a considerable difference in the appearance of a labouring family. Are not these things, then, worthy of the consideration of our countrywomen? Ought not every mother seriously to reflect upon these things, and can she say that she has done her *duty* until she has set her husband an example, and made their joint example an example to their children.

What would any mother give, who has half a dozen sons and daughters; what would she give when her sons are ten years of age; what would she give, or rather, what would she not give, which she has it in her power to give, if she could have a *certainty* that those sons would *always be sober during their whole lives*? How many uneasy hours has she; how many sighs involuntarily escape her while she is looking at her sons, when the thought comes athwart her mind that they may possibly be drunkards! Yet, she can, if she will, have a certainty that this evil will never happen to her offspring; unless, in the singularly unhappy circumstance of her being wedded to a man on whose obdurate mind neither precept nor example, even when employed by the mother of his children, is capable of producing any effect.

Nature does something: men are born with different degrees of capacity and of passion. But, there is no man who is by nature, a drunkard; nay, there is no man who is not, by nature, sober. Strong drink, of whatever sort, is hateful to the natural appetite. Children, and young people, when they first taste it, discover all the signs of strong dislike. The Indians, in America, when they first taste it, call it fire water, and spit it out in great haste and think that the small quantities which they have swallowed are gone

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down to burn them to death. But, the Indians become, in time, as fond or fonder of it than those who furnish them with it; and, when drunk, they exhibit themselves in a way, and they commit acts the most odious that can be imagined. To introduce the use of spirits amongst these sober people was an act more worthy of missionaries from the devil, than of missionaries to propagate the christian religion. I saw a drunken Indian once set his own child upon the stump of a tree and shoot it dead. The man was hanged; but what then ought to have been the punishment of the wretches who first introduced the use of spirits amongst this people, who are naturally so sober, and so kind to their offspring?

Yet, it appears to me that we, who know so well the consequences of drunkenness; who have constantly before our eyes such numerous proofs of its fatal effects; it appears to me that we are still more criminal than the wretches who introduced ardent spirits amongst the Indians, if we do not abstain from every thing that can possibly tend to the making of our own children drunkards. It is probable that much more than half the crimes which bring men to an untimely end, are the fruit of the use of strong drink. This will be denied by hardly any body; and yet, we see numerous fathers and mothers, not only doing nothing to prevent their children becoming drunkards; but doing every thing in their power to overcome their natural dislike of strong drink. When I see a mother giving the child a little drop; and even coaxing it to swallow the accursed thing; it is not for me to say what I would do, if I had the power and the right; but I can safely say that such a woman, if she had a place in my esteem before, ceases, from that moment, to have it. I have observed, throughout my whole life, that the best mothers; those who are most ardently attached to their children, are those who never think of giving them any thing to vitiate their appetites. A child ought to have strong drink presented to it, no more than it ought to have poison presented to it. Perhaps the act of presenting the poison would be the least criminal of the two; seeing that that could only put an end to life, while the former lays the foundation of a life of ruin, misery, and disgrace. Drinking is the parent of improvidence, of incapacity to labour, of poverty, of diseases of all sorts, of feebleness of body and feebleness of mind, and, at last, of a departure from life regretted not even by friends, parents and brethren. When a mother who has actually taught her son to drink, sees him lead this life, and come to this death, what remorse ought she not to feel. It is she, in fact, who is the criminal and not the unfortunate son, who has been the object of her seduction. Let her not blame his boosing companions. He never would have known them if it had not been for her. On her head, and on her head alone, lies the whole of the sin of

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causing his sufferings and destruction.

I hope that you will excuse the earnestness of my language upon this subject, and I beseech you not to believe that any sins of this sort are to be wiped off by a regular attendance at a Church or at a Meeting house. True piety consists in the due discharge of our duties towards the whole community of which we make a part, and especially of our duty towards our own flesh and blood. Husbands and wives contract an obligation with regard to their children, much stronger than that which they contract with regard to one another. In the last case, the bond is artificial; it is built upon the injunction of law made by man. But the obligation with regard to children, and especially on the side of the mother, is an obligation imposed by nature herself. Therefore it is that a cruel mother is looked upon, and justly looked upon, as the most despicable creature upon earth. And, I should like to know what act of cruelty can possibly be so great, and so completely past all forgiveness, as the teaching of her child to become a drunkard? Those mothers who voluntarily drive their children from their own breast to the breast of a hireling, are wicked and despicable enough; but those who set deliberately to work to deprive them of the chance of health and happiness, appear to me to be guilty of an act of which there is hardly a parallel in the catalogue of human crimes.

Drive, then, let me beseech you, the accursed beverage from your dwellings. Let your children never even see it; and, if possible, not hear of it. Yet, in order to effect this; in order to render your powers of persuasion effectual, you must add the force of example in your own department. There are few men so completely brutal as to be beyond the force of both precept and example. And the example which I am about to propose for you to give, demands not the smallest sacrifice at your hands, while it presents you with the greatest advantages.

To discontinue the use of coffee and tea, is to discontinue, in fact, the use of two articles neither of which contains any thing of any one single use to the human frame, and both of which have a tendency to debilitate that frame, and also to destroy its beauty. Coffee and tea, if taken strong, produce a shaking of the nerves and a want of sleep. There are some persons so strong of constitution as to be able to take these things without any immediate injurious effect; but we all know from experience, that they cannot be taken in a strong state without very sensibly affecting our nerves; without producing heart-burnt; and without, if taken in the evening, producing restless nights. It is agreed, on all hands, that they afford no nourishment to the human frame; and, therefore, the abstaining from the use of them can be no possible hardship to any person whatever; while the cost of them (and especially

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when we consider the application of the money) is a most weighty objection to their use.

Persons who live principally within doors, and all children, require, morning and evening, something light, in the way of nourishment, and a part of this nourishment consists in something in a liquid state. The materials which I have to recommend, are,

Roasted Wheat, to supply the place of coffee;

Agrimony, Sage, Mint, Balm, Ground-ivy. — Singly, or any two, three, four, or all, mixed, which will make excellent tea, and may be had at any of the herb shops in London, at one penny a bunch; a bunch being sufficient to last for a week.

A very intelligent and public spirited correspondent, tells me, that the mixture of herbs which he finds most generally liked, and which he has long used himself, is as follows: three bunches of Agrimony, two of Mint, and one of Balm, cut up small, all mixed, and put into a paper bag ready for use. In the mixture, or in the use of these herbs singly, people will be directed by their taste; because tastes differ very much. It should be observed, that milk should always be *boiled*, before it be used. Milk is somewhat of the nature of meat; it comes from an animal, and ought to be cooked before it be taken as food for human beings. The boiling of it, even for young pigs, adds greatly to its nutritious effects. The hard and woody parts of the herbs, particularly of the agrimony and sage, should be left out, as they tend to give the tea a bitter taste.

Before I proceed further to speak of the manner of obtaining these herbs, I will speak more particularly than I have hitherto done of the *roasted wheat*, beginning by repeating what I have said upon this subject, in a late Register. I have substituted, in the place of coffee, roasted wheat; and I positively assert, that it would be impossible for me to distinguish the beverage made from the wheat, from that made with coffee, except that the former has a rather milder and pleasanter taste than the latter. Same colour when ground; same smell, as nearly as possible; and, I verily believe, that if sold ground, in a shop, not one person out of ten thousand, would be able to distinguish the one from the other, unless he had both before him at the same moment. The fact is, that the coffee is a bean; a split bean, and that, too, of a very coarse and unnutritive quality; while the wheat is, as we well know, a most nutritious grain. This is a matter of so much importance to Females, that I hope you will excuse me if I enter into some detail as to the method of preparing this article; which, as you will presently see, may be prepared in every family in England, Scotland and Ireland, without the smallest inconvenience. A common iron pot is what we make use of for the roasting of the wheat. The pot, first being made very clean, is to be put over a slow fire. When

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it gets pretty well heated, put in the wheat, not being more than a sixth part of the pot full. From the moment the wheat is put in, keep *stirring it constantly and quickly*, until it become as dark coloured as roasted coffee. Then take it out, put it by, grind it and use it in the same manner as coffee. As to *clearing* the wheat coffee, the means are precisely the same as those used for clearing the foreign coffee. Some persons put something into the boiling coffee, in order to clear it. But the best way is this: make a flannel bag, which, when full, is in the shape of a sugar-loaf turned upside-down. Let this bag, at the open end, be sewed round a bit of wire, in a circular form. Put the bag, hanging down, into the coffee pot or mug, and the wire rim will keep it suspended. Put the coffee into the bag. Then pour *boiling* water upon the coffee, until you have as much as you want to drink. The flannel bag will keep back all the coffee grounds, and you will have the coffee fine and clear. You may set it over the fire again to keep it hot. The wheat, at the present price, seven shillings and sixpence a bushel, costs *one penny halfpenny a pound*. It loses a fourth part of its weight in roasting, which brings it to *two-pence a pound*, while the most nauseous and villainous coffee that can be bought in retail, costs about *three shillings a pound*.

It may be inconvenient for persons in the metropolis *to obtain the wheat*. For a time this inconvenience may exist; but, in large towns, we shall soon see shops opened for the selling of wheat in small quantities; and, in that case, the raw wheat, sold by the pound, might probably, and, indeed, it certainly would be, something dearer than wheat, when sold at market, by the Farmers. In country places there can be no difficulty, because small quantities of wheat are every where to be had. A few neighbours may join together and purchase a bushel or two; and those who possess the wheat are always ready to sell. The best wheat, is for this, as well as for every other purpose, the best, and, in the end, the cheapest.

I have now used this beverage myself for more than a month, every morning. I make use of three fourths of the wheat coffee and one fourth boiled milk, with brown sugar; and it appears to me that, as to substance, it is about half way between coffee and chocolate; the coffee having no nutritive quality at all in it, and the chocolate, if made good, being about twice as rich as the wheat coffee; and, indeed, chocolate, if taken for breakfast, by persons who do not take strong exercise, is too gross, and produces a sort of stupifying effect, as any body may experience, whose occupation requires exercise of the memory or of the thoughts.

I have had made to me, since the meeting at the Crown and Anchor, a great number of communications upon this interesting subject of abstaining from the use of heavily taxed articles. These communications

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have contained repeated statements of the bad effects of coffee. The writers all agree that it produces *griping*; and, I believe, that if used strong, it will have the effect upon every human being. This fact shows that it was bad in its nature; for this is the way in which all poisons operate, in the first instance; and, I have not the smallest doubt that coffee might be taken in such a degree of strength, as for a quart of the liquor actually to kill, in a few hours, the stoutest man. We do not perceive the evil effects of it, to any thing like their full extent; we do not actually *see* those evil effects, because we swallow the poison in small doses, and at a distance of time between each; but the thing being bad in itself, must necessarily go on wearing away the constitution. The coffee is a *bean*; and beans, of every sort, are unwholesome to the human frame, in whatever stage of their growth they are eaten. I remember a farmer at a village called TILFORD, in SURREY, who, when I was a little boy, killed himself by making a heavy meal upon *broad, or Windsor beans*. The fact has always remained in my mind; because I have so frequently had to cite it as a motive for dissuading my friends, and particularly my own family, from a liberal use of that vegetable. In the year 1812, a man at Botley, whose name was PALMER, killed himself by eating kidney beans, at my sheep-shearing. They were dried beans, and had been cooked in the manner that the French cook them. Beans taken in large quantities, when the animal is hungry, will very frequently kill horses, horn cattle, and even hogs. I had a sow, with a large litter of pigs, which had been driven in the morning from the place where I bought her, and which arrived very hungry and empty. A careless fellow tossed her down a gallon or two of beans; and she was dead before the next morning, though I had given five guineas for her and her pigs not twenty hours before.

The coffee fruit partakes very much of the nature of a kidney bean. I am speaking here of the kidney bean *seed*, and not of the *pod*, which we eat green, and which has no harm in it; but the seed is very dangerous, if eaten in large quantities. In France they are called, in way of derision, *des Bourres Coquin*; which means *Beggar Stuffers*, because the word *bourrer* means to *cram*, to *ram home*, to *stuff out*, or to *blow out*. And the effect of this vegetable is to produce wind in the stomach, and thus to blow out the poor creature's sides. Coffee appears to me to produce precisely in the degree in which it is taken, similar effects; and, therefore, it must be injurious to the constitution, while it cannot possibly have any nourishment in it. A pig will eat of any thing that is nutritious, from a rump steak down to grass; but pigs will no more touch the seed of kidney beans, than they will touch a stone or a bit of iron. Their scent is so fine that they are able to discover whether a wal-

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nut has a sound kernel in it or not, even while the outside green husk covers the shell. Wonderful as this may seem, it is a fact which I and my son James have ascertained beyond all dispute. Present a thing to a pig, and, if there be any nutritious quality in it, and it be hungry, it will instantly fall to. Now, I have tried these sagacious tasters with raw coffee, with roasted coffee, and with coffee ground and boiled. I have tried them with tea leaves; with a mess of tea, and with tea thrown down to them in its raw state; and upon no occasion, have I ever found a pig that would not turn from any of these materials with disdain.

The wheat, on the contrary, we all of us know to be nutritious. Bread is very justly cal'ed the staff of life. It is the natural food of all mankind. And wheat coffee is bread taken in a liquid state. I need not have done it, but I tried some little pigs with a parcel of the grounds of wheat coffee, and they devoured them in a moment.

It is said, and perhaps truly, that a cup of strong coffee taken after dinner, *helps digestion*. That is to say, people make themselves ill by over-eating, and then they want a species of medicine; a powerful drug to help them off with the load. I dined once with four Monks and a Parish Priest, in France; and, though the Church has always been famous for gormandizers, these gentlemen surpassed, in stuffing, any thing of which I had ever had an idea. They eat till they were actually in a state of inability to move about; and I remember that while they were drinking their coffee, one of them observed that the discovery of that beverage was a most fortunate event for the Church, for that, he should have been under-ground many years ago, from indigestion, if it had not been for the use of coffee after dinner. But we, at this time, especially, have no need of coffee to remove the effects of heavy meals. At best, then, coffee is of no use, but as a drug; any more than mercury and barks are. These drugs are sometimes of great use; but what should we think of the person who should propose to us to take mercury or barks for breakfast?

Coffee produces if taken late in the evening, great restlessness; dreaming; and head aches in the morning. If taken in the morning, it causes a trembling in the nerves. All this must weaken the human frame; must go on, little by little, undermining the constitution; and must necessarily tend to the shortening of life.

As to tea, its effects are very much like those of coffee. Both of them *astringent:* they both produce costiveness: they are both great dilapidators of the complexion: and both of them, if taken strong, produce *griping, heart-burn, restlessness, short-lived heat upon the cheek,* and a *shaking of the nerves.* Both of them are great friends to the Apothecaries and Physicians, who do not get rich by those who have real ailments, really dangerous disorders, so much as by those who do not know what

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is the matter of them, and whose stomachs are worn out by the racking effects of these drugs, until they are unable to sustain the exercise of the digesting powers necessary to enable them to take a sufficient quantity of nutritious matter.

I am particularly anxious to impress upon the minds of females a conviction of the dangerous tendency of the use of tea and coffee; they cannot use beer, cider or any strong drink in the morning; and, indeed, females of amiable character, have from habit, a distaste for such things. They stand in need of something light, warm, and liquid in its state, morning and evening. It is habit only which has led to the use of tea and coffee. The taste of these things is naturally bad. The natural taste of the human kind rejects them. We are compelled to qualify them with sugar and milk in order to make them bearable to the palate. The use of them has been fraudulently obtruded upon us during the dormant state of our reason. Let us awake then, resume its sway and shake off the intruders.

When we consider how very large a portion of our pleasure during life we owe to the female sex; when we consider that, after all, it is to them that man is to look for his happiness or his misery; when we consider that if they were withdrawn, the world, and all else that it contains, would be so irksome to us that we should be altogether careless about life or death. When we consider these things, which every man will acknowledge to be true, how anxious ought we to be to neglect nothing within our power which is likely to tend to the happiness of that sex; and particularly to the preservation of their beauty and their health. For, though sentiment-mongers will read us some very pretty lectures about the loveliness of the hearts and the minds of females, this loveliness is, generally, very difficult to be discovered through a sickly countenance and a feeble and sluggish frame. Cupid has numerous, unaccountable tricks and caprices; but, I believe, he has seldom taken up his abode amongst powders and pills, and phials and gallipots. True female wit, fortitude, zeal, courage, and devotedness, are most enchantingly amiable; but, how are they to exist in company with a languid countenance and an enervated frame? If a disordered stomach produces an aching in the head: if an overnight's drinking takes away the morrow's thoughts and memory: if there be this intimate and close connection between the body and the mind, how are we to expect the virtues of the mind to be associates of an enervated body?

I am thoroughly convinced that tea and coffee are the greatest enemies of womankind. They produce those effects upon the nerves which I have before spoken of. They dilapidate gradually, the powers of digestion. Their never ceasing astringent effects produce costiveness; and that, too, till it becomes

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habitual, than which there is not a greater destroyer of beauty and of health, and particularly of the former, which it assails first, and which, having robbed of its rose colour, it substitutes a tawney in its place. To relieve the stomach, drugs are resorted to. But the relief is of short duration. The accursed tea and coffee are at work again, and the destruction of the system goes on. Old age makes its approaches at a time when it ought to be far distant; and if it does not actually arrive, it does a great deal worse, *it makes the beholders believe that it has arrived:* to be taken for forty when she is only thirty, is, perhaps, a great deal worse than death to any female that ever was born.

To preserve themselves from this most cruel predicament; to prolong the blush of the rose to the last moment that nature has destined it to exist upon the female countenance; to effect this, which is of far greater importance than any other thing which the whole of mankind can possibly have a desire to effect; to effect this purpose, every argument that the mind of man can suggest, ought to be made use of, in order to dissuade females from the use of coffee and of tea.

As to the herbs which have been mentioned above, as proper to be used, instead of these expensive and unwholesome materials, the taste must be consulted. Some persons will like one better than the other. If there be a demand for them in the metropolis and in great towns, the gardeners in those great towns will very soon bring forward an ample supply. There being, AS YET, no tax upon sage and other herbs; no exciseman and supervisor to go, as in the case of hops, and take account of the number of plants, and forbid the gathering or the drying until a gentleman comes with an ink bottle at his button hole to take an account of, and lay a tax upon, the produce: this not being the case, as yet, the gardeners will soon furnish a regular and abundant supply of herbs; and, as in all other cases, *competition* will very soon regulate the price. It will be the same as to the selling of the *roasted wheat*. Every one has a right to sell at whatever price he pleases. Nobody has a right to complain of him; because there being no law to give him a monopoly, he can compel nobody to purchase of him. Every thing of this sort regulates itself, if left to itself. There are always persons enough to endeavour to undersell others in the same trade; and, thus where the thing is open to fair competition, it is sure to sell for its real worth and no more. I hope to see the day very shortly, when there will be shops all over the metropolis and in every town in England for the selling of wheat in small quantities; for the selling of roasted wheat, not ground; for the selling of it ground; and for the selling of herbs of all sorts. Thus will the expenditure of the fruit of our labour be confined to the products of our own soil. And, if this be brought about, it will render

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more good to agriculture than all the corn laws which the misguided farmers have obtained and are now endeavouring to obtain. The herbs may be grown in every one's garden who has a garden. Neighbours during the summer, will readily give them to one another; but for winter use, some forethought and some measures of provision are required. In America (especially towards the North), where there comes a winter that sweeps every green thing from the face of the earth, or buries it under snow until the spring, one acquires experience as to this matter of making provision for the winter. Sage, Balm, Mint, Pennyroyal, Savory, Rosemarry, Thyme, and, indeed, all herbs, are carefully cut or plucked in the summer. The best time for doing this is, with regard to every species of herb, *just before the blossom comes out*; for, as the father of husbandry, TULL, has observed, in his treatise upon Sainfoin, the moment the blossom appears, part of the virtue of the *plant*, leaf and all, is gone, with the smell that arises from the blossom. Thus, the leaves of a cauliflower, cut before the flower comes, are rich and good, but the moment the flower begins to grow the leaves are good for nothing. I tried this experiment with a pig; I threw down some leaves taken at the same time from cauliflower plants in these different states. I mixed the leaves, but in such a way that I could distinguish one class from the other; and it was surprising with what sagacity he culled out the leaves of the unblown plant, not touching one of the others 'till those of the unblown plant were all eaten. The herbs should, therefore, be cut just before the blossoms come out. They should be cut when the sun is upon them and when they are perfectly dry. They should be laid then upon clean dry boards that have no sap, or other moisture in them; should be dried in a gentle sun, or in a very airy place in the shade, and should be turned very often. If they are put out in a scorching sun they are apt to become crisp and to lose their virtue. When dry, they should not have lost much of the colour they had when growing; nevertheless, it is better to have them dried rather too hastily and harshly, than to let them be too long in drying. In the month of October, the year before last, I dried some mint and some parsley upon the floor of a room where the sun came through the window, and they were very nearly as green as when growing in the garden. We used them through the winter with very nearly their original flavour, and had very good mint sauce with lamb in the month of April; and yet these are the most difficult of all herbs to preserve in a way to make them retain their flavour and their smell. One thing is to be observed, in particular, and that is, that, after the herbs are cut, they should never be suffered to lay out of doors uncovered in the night, and never be one moment in the rain; because the rain, and more especially the

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dew, are of a very penetrating nature: and, in the drying again, a great part of the virtue of the herbs escapes.

For my part, I cannot see how a female can be more properly engaged during her hours of business than in attending to objects of this kind which are so interesting in themselves, and the nature and properties of which afford matter for so much pleasing contemplation. Far better is it to be engaged in cares like these; far more respectable; far more innocent; far more compatible with the female character, than to be rattling the dice box, or snapping and wrangling and tricking round a card table. While objects like these present themselves. While the history of the progeny of plants and of flowers, invites the female eye, and calls upon the female pencil to imitate, how can a woman, how can a mother find an apology for sitting down a family of daughters to reading the sublimated nonsense of novels or to learning the cunning and really dishonest arts of the gaming table. What have draught boards, chess-boards, dice-boxes and packs of cards to do in a house where books on plants and trees and flowers and buds are to be found? And especially when these amusements lead on in the most pleasant manner to the practising of that domestic economy without which a wife is rather a curse than a blessing.

The herbs, when properly dried, should be put into paper bags, tied closely up and put away in a place that is never damp. I cannot help mentioning here another herb which is used for medical purposes. I mean the *wild mallows*. It is a weed that has a leaf somewhat like a *scollop*. Its branches spread upon the ground. It bears seed which the children call *cheeses*, and which they string upon a thread like beads. This weed is perhaps amongst the most valuable of plants that ever grew. Its leaves stewed, and applied wet, will cure and almost instantly cure, any cut or bruise or wound of any sort. Poultices made of it will cure sprains, as those of the ancle; fomenting with it will remove swellings. Applications of the liquor will cure the wringings by saddles and harness. And its operation, in all cases is so quick, that it is hardly to be believed. Those who have this weed at hand need not put themselves to the trouble and expence of sending to doctors and farriers upon trifling occasions. It signifies not whether the wound be old or new. I gained this piece of information upon Long Island from a French Gentleman who was one of BUONAPARTE'S followers in captivity, and who was afterwards robbed of three hundred dollars on board an English frigate, never having been able to obtain either remuneration or redress. The hospitality showed him by me was amply repaid by this piece of knowledge. The mallows, if you have it growing near you, may be used directly after it is gathered, merely washing off the dirt first. But there should be some always in the house

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ready for use. It should be gathered like other herbs, just before it comes out in bloom, and dried and preserved just in the same manner as other herbs. It should be observed, however, that, if it should happen not to be gathered at the best season, it *may* be gathered at any time. I made a provision of it in the month of October, long after the bloom and even the seed had dropped off. The root is pretty nearly as efficacious as the branches; and it may be preserved and dried in the same manner. We all know what plague and what expence attend the getting of *tinctures* and *salves*, some of which very often prove injurious rather than otherwise. I had two striking instances of the efficacy of the mallows. A neighbouring farmer had cut his thumb in a very dangerous manner, and, after a great deal of doctoring, it was got to such a pitch that his hand was swelled to twice its natural size. I recommended the use of the mallows to him; gave him a little bunch out of my store, it being winter time, and his hand was well in four days. He could go out to his work the very next day, after having applied the mallows the over night. The other instance was this: I had a pig: indeed it was a large and valuable hog, that had been gored by the sharp horn of a cow. It had been in this state two days before I knew of the accident, and had eaten nothing. My men had given it up for lost. I had the hog caught and held down. The gore was in the side, and so large and deep that I could run my finger in beyond the ribs. I poured in the liquor in which the mallows had been stewed, and rubbed the side well with it besides. The next day the hog got up and begun to eat. I had him caught again; but, upon examining the wound, I found it so far closed up that I did not think it right to disturb it. I bathed the side over again; and, in two days, the hog was turned out and was running about along with the rest. Now, a person must be almost criminally careless not to make provision of this herb. Mine was nearly two years old when I made use of it upon the last mentioned occasion. It is found every where, by the sides of the highway. And, therefore, may be come at and possessed without either trouble or expence. A good handful ought to be well boiled and stewed in about a pint of water, till it comes, perhaps, to half a pint. It surely is worth while, especially for mothers of families, to be provided with a thing like this, which is at once so safe and so efficacious. If the use of this weed were generally adopted, the art and mystery of healing wounds and of curing sprains, swellings, and other external maladies, would very quickly be reduced to an unprofitable trade. However, the great utility of the thing will, I hope, be an excuse, at any rate, for my having thus digressed from my subject, in order to point it out to your attention; for though the uses of this weed must always be known to a great num-

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ber of persons, still they must be unknown to greater numbers.

Several persons have written to me, assuring me that they have used roasted wheat for a great number of years. One gentleman says he has used it for twenty years, and has found the good effects of it on his constitution. Thus, then, there appears to me to be nothing wanting to effect this Reform but a little exertion on the part of the females, to break loose from the trammels of idle habit; and, to do this, how numerous and how powerful are the inducements! In the first place, the saving of the money is a very great object. Coffee and tea do not cost less than from fifteen to twenty pounds a year, in a tradesman's family of eight or ten persons. If this money were expended upon any thing conducive to the real pleasures of a family; if it were expended on dress, which adds to the elegance of the female shape and countenance, I should say that I would not hesitate a long time before I would propose the reduction; and, indeed, I would deprive myself of a great many really useful things, rather than subtract from the allowance for female decorations. If my wife must go meanly dressed, or I walk on foot, instead of riding, if I could not sell my horse, I would shoot him and give him to the dogs; but, I trust that no female will be so unreasonable as to wish that any thing useful should be laid aside for the sake of indulging her in the use of articles which cannot possibly do her any good; which cannot possibly give her any pleasure; but which reason as well as experience, shows must be injurious both to her beauty and her health.

For a family, such as I have just been speaking of, the difference in the expence would not be less than *sixteen pounds sterling a year*. Sixteen pounds sterling will purchase many useful and even elegant things: things which do not perish in a moment: things which are seen as well as used for years. If the mother of a large family, the oldest child of which is twenty, were to reflect that sixteen pounds a year saved during that time would amount to upwards of three hundred pounds; she would feel many a pang at the thought of so much money absolutely thrown away. Sixteen pounds a year will pay the rent of a tolerable house. It will supply a middling family with fuel. It will do many things of solid utility; but I am always supposing that it may reasonably, and of right, be expended upon female dress alone, and then what a difference will it make in the appearance of the females of a family!

Another strong inducement to act upon my recommendation, is, the example to husbands, sons and brothers. It is impossible for a wife to expect that her husband will refrain from his useless indulgencies, as long as she continues to give herself up to hers. This point I have urged before, and will not suppose it necessary to say any thing further upon this part of the subject. When the wife

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has once set the example; when she has once driven out the coffee and the tea, I will engage that the pipe, the pot, and the gin glass, will speedily follow. There is nothing so destructive of human happiness as the practice which men are in of spending their evenings *away from their own homes*. To do this, they are induced by the habit of drinking, in the first place. They next contract a love of ribaldry, singing, and of every thing that attends places of resort for drinking. Once habituated to this sort of life, their own fire sides become scenes of dulness and insipidity. They cannot endure the tranquillity of home, after being for some time accustomed to the boisterous mirth of the pot-house. In the midst of their mirth, however, they cannot help casting a look towards the forlorn wife and crying children; so that even their mirth is, after all, but a species of misery; until they become too obdurate to feel for their wife or their children, or even for themselves. Every thing of decent outward appearance becomes then very soon neglected: handsome young men become dirty, emaciated, old looking and despised, at the end of a very short progress; and the wife and children who ought to have been their pride, become their shame. They turn from their offspring with a mixture of indifference and of sorrow; and if their offspring retain the smallest portion of affection for them, they have to thank nature for it and not themselves. Surely such men are deserving of every mark of disregard and contempt. Surely they are guilty of a violation of every principle of morality, and also a violation of the first laws of nature herself. But, my countrywomen, give me leave to say, that when these things happen, you seldom play well your part. It rarely happens indeed, that women are formed for *direct* command; but *indirectly;* that is to say, by persuasion, by gentle perseverence, by indubitable proofs of affection and devotedness, and especially by *example*, they can command to almost any extent that they please. I am not afraid to say, that when such means are employed, there is not one wife out of ten thousand who does not finally carry every point on which she sets her heart; nay, whether the thing be reasonable or unreasonable. It is to you, then, the females of England, Scotland, and Ireland, that I principally look for this change, this salutary, this absolutely necessary change in the manners of the nation. Let Mr. PLUNKETT, in the House of Commons, express his wish that the husbands amongst the common people, will retire in the evening to "*solace themselves*," as he calls it, with their "*cheerful glass*" their pipe and their pot, and cease to read books about politics. Let this famous gentleman from Ireland, preach up this doctrine as long as he pleases. Listen you to me, and we will speedily break up the clans of boozers and brawlers and set the tradesman, the ar-

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tizan, the manufacturer and the labourer *down to his own fire side* with his wife and children; there to "*solace himself,*" in conversation with the former and in the instruction of the latter. Look through life, and you will find that the best children are those who have been, not indulged in their whims and fancies by their parents, but those who have had their parents for their constant guardians, and who have been, in their early years, especially, constantly listening to the voice of their fathers and mothers. Children take impressions quicker than grown persons, and the impressions are deeper; but there comes a time for reflection, for observation and for comparison, and when these tell the boy of fifteen that his parents have not done their duty by him, away goes filial affection for ever. And, who shall describe the feelings of that father or mother who can say: "I have lost the love of my child!"

To abstain from drinking when a man becomes married, he must have abstained from it, from his youth up. The evil habit may, indeed, be cured, by proper conduct in the wife; but the suitable time for beginning, is when the child is born. This point I pressed at the beginning of this address, but I beg once more to observe that a most weighty responsibility rests upon that mother who does not take effectual measures to keep her children from indulging in the habit of drinking. Much more depends in this respect upon the mother than upon the father. Let no mother believe that she has discharged her duty by making her son say his prayers and by putting into his hands little canting tracts about godliness. Keep him sober and he will be a good man. Teach him to be a drunkard, and, perhaps, that species of godliness which you have taught him, will only tend to make him a blasphemer as well as a profligate.

The last inducement to you to set an example of abstinence from the use of the two articles so often mentioned, is, the effect which your example may produce in a public and political point of view. If you remain still unconvinced that a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament is necessary to restore this nation to freedom and happiness, no argument that my mind can suggest, after all that you have read upon the subject for three years past, will produce that conviction. But, if you have that conviction, the statement which I am now about to make will clearly shew you *in what way* your example will tend to produce that Reform.

It is very evident to me and I hope to you, that there ought to be no taxation without representation. This is the great point with regard to which we are at issue with our enemies. And, though the law as it now stands compels us in certain cases to submit to taxation while we have no vote in the election of representatives, still the law does not, at any rate, compel us in many cases, to pay the taxes that we now pay. Before the

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revolution in France, there existed a most enormous and cruel tax, called the *gabelle*, that is to say, a tax upon salt. Fathers and mothers were imprisoned and whipped, even if their children smuggled a handful of salt, though God ordained that the tides of the sea should leave the salt upon the shore. If grown persons were detected in smuggling salt they were made gally-slaves for life. But the tyranny did not stop here; not only were the people punished for obtaining salt without paying the tax; but they were *compelled, under heavy penalties, to purchase a certain quantity of taxed salt!* And yet, there are men insolent enough to tell us that the old French Government was a *paternal* government; and that the revolution was an evil; though it is notorious to us all that this abominable gabelle does not now exist, and that the Bourbons would be over-set in a twinkling if they were to propose its re-establishment.

Let us amidst all our calamities, congratulate ourselves that we are not yet *compelled* to purchase coffee, tea, tobacco and strong liquors, and that we are we are not compelled to play with cards which are heavily taxed; to put our money into lotteries, and to disfigure and sicken ourselves by the use of tobacco. No; we are not yet compelled to do these things. If we pay taxes upon these articles we do it voluntarily; and therefore we have nobody to blame on this account but ourselves. If we will not desist from paying taxes in those cases where the law leaves us at liberty to desist, and that, too, without refusing ourselves any one thing conducive to health of body or gentility of person; if we will not desist in such cases, even when the desisting is beneficial to our health, and manifestly tends to the prolonging of our lives; if we will not desist in such cases we deserve to suffer all that people can suffer from the hand of oppression.

In order that you may see what is the amount of the taxes which are annually raised upon the articles above enumerated, I have looked into the last year's accounts; and though these accounts are made out in a way which might well confuse the brains of the clearest headed man that ever lived, I have been able to make out the following statement of the duties, taking excise and customs both together, raised in this kingdom during the year 1818.

Beer, including duty on beer, malt, and hops	£6,867,734
Spirits - - - -	6,978,527
Wine - - - -	2,507,875
Tea, coffee, and cocoa	4,287,239
Tobacco and snuff	2,546,149
Lotteries and cards	233,866
Licences - - - -	876,941
	£23,298,331

If we were to include the tax upon Sugar, Salt, Soap, Candles, and other indispensable necessary articles used by the common people, the amount would exceed *thirty millions!* And, observe, the whole of the taxes raised in the year, amounted to

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only *fifty-three millions!* As to *Sugar*, it cannot very well be dispensed with; though I remember when a very considerable portion of the people of England desisted even from the use of that article; and why? Because it was RAISED BY THE LABOUR OF SLAVES! Judge you, then, how far it becomes us to emulate that example. If we cannot wholly desist, we may desist in part. We may gradually diminish the quantity we use. A great part of what we use now, and a very great part of it, is for the purpose of mitigating the corrosive qualities of the coffee and the tea. Sugar has a great deal of nutriment in it; and, by being mixed with the liquor proceeding from the coffee and the tea, it tends to lessen the bad effects of those articles. But, *wheat*, and herbs such as those that have been named, have no evil quality in them, and, therefore, they stand in need of a less quantity of sugar.

Sugar, though nutritive, is not a very wholesome species of nutrition. It *sours* upon the stomach, if taken in too large quantities. It cloys and it sickens. Observe where you will, you will find that the healthiest children are those who are bred up with very little or no sugar in their diet. Simple food. Milk, oatmeal, frommety, and bread: these are the proper food for children: never give them sugar and they will never want it; but, if you first create the want, it is cruelty not to gratify it.

A very weighty argument against the too free use of sugar, or of any thing very sweet, is this, that it always tends to the destruction of the teeth. In America, where sugar is very cheap, a prodigious quantity of it is used in all sorts of ways. The pies are made so sweet that a stranger cannot eat them. Sweetmeats, fruits of all sorts, even down to the Siberian crab, are preserved in sugar. And these sweet-meats are eaten even in labourers' houses, in quantities that it would surprise you to see. This is the cause, and I believe it is the sole cause of that lamentable defect in a considerable part of the females of America; who, in all other respects, are, perhaps, the most beautiful of their sex.

Nothing compensates for a broken, or disfigured set of teeth. Take a lump of sugar and eat it, and you will immediately find that it will make some part of your teeth *ache*. A rich apple, full of sweetness, such as they are in America, will make your teeth ache in a greater or less degree, five times out of six. I have many times observed this in the eating of an apple. On the side which chewed the apple, I felt an aching, when I did not feel it at all on the other side. Very seldom, therefore, did I touch an apple, though the temptation was, for many months in the year, constantly before my eyes, and though it was as strong as that which Eve was unable to resist. But, not to resist, under the conviction that a mere momentary enjoyment would tend to produce lasting disagreeable effects; not to resist, under such a conviction, would have been

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not to merit the character of a rersanable creature.

However, if sugar cannot be wholly abstained from, the quantity may be diminished; and thus a part, at least, of the evil will be removed. As to salt, there probably can be no diminution in its quantity, and the same may be said, perhaps, of soap and of candles; for cleanliness is always a virtue, and light we must have, or else we cannot read.

Upon looking over the above stated sums, does not the mind recoil from the disgraceful fact, that this government derives one third of the whole of its means from the taxes paid by the people upon *strong drink and tobacco?* And, what is still more horrible to think of, more than a third of that third; that is to say, nearly seven millions of pounds a-year, is derived from the taxes imposed upon *ardent spirits!* Really, my respected Countrywomen, the men who voluntarily pay this tax are very little entitled to the compassion of mankind. They sin, not only against morality; not only against their families and their kindred; but against nature herself, who has given them a palate which rejects these poisonous materials; but which materials they persevere in swallowing, as if it were to bring themselves down to a level with the most gormandizing of brutes.

It is said, as an excuse for the use of spirits, that they *keep out the cold.* Let a man once persuade himself of that, and he will soon find out that they *keep off the heat!* That they drive off the heat, is very certain; for, in the Northern parts of America, where the cold is so great that people are frequently *frost-bitten,* and are compelled to have their feet or hands cut off, it is a caution always given to those who are likely to be exposed to the severity of the weather, *not to drink any spirits before they go out.* And, though I have known many persons frozen to death, and a great many more to have their limbs cut off, I hardly recollect a single instance in which the suffering party had not taken spirituous liquors, on his way or before he went out. Spirits are very cheap in those countries. A bottle of rum for sixpence! Of course, thoughtless men will use them. I have a hundred times gone out shooting or hunting upon the snow along with others, each of whom took a canteen of rum, while I took none. I used to suck the snow, which they told me, would give me the pleurisy; but I found that I never had the pleurisy, and that many of them had.—And as to ability to travel, and to bear the cold, though many of my companions were much stronger and more active than myself, I always found that, at the end of the day, I was the freshest, and by far the most cheerful of them all.

All strong liquors, be they of what sort they may, and, in an exact proportion to their strength, tend to disable the frame from enduring the cold: tend to make the person *chilly.* The reason is this; that they have all an in-

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toxicating effect. We clearly perceive that they *stupify the mind;* and, at the same time, they, in a greater or less degree, *benumb the body.* Consequently, they tend to render it more susceptible of the injurious effects of cold. Look at the man who has been drinking in a pot-house or a gin-shop; and see what a poor creeping and shuddering thing it is, when it has to face a sharp frost or cutting wind. Look at such a man (if man it ought to be called), compared with the man who has a pound of bread and beef within him, and who has washed down his dinner at the brook. Make the comparison, and you will turn from the drinker with disgust and contempt.

A drop of brandy is necessary they say after a *heavy meal.* It helps digestion. So said my French Monks in the case of coffee, but I recollect that they took the drams and the coffee too. They called them *petites gouttes;* that is to say, *little drops.* And the ladies take these little drops as well as the "*lower orders,*" or rather more freely. But, supposing these little drops to be necessary after a *heavy meal;* would it not be better not to take the heavy meal? Is a man or woman who dies from over eating, a bit more to be pitied than my sow that killed herself with eating beans? Not so much, for she had not reason to direct her; she was not aware of the danger, and human creatures are.

In short, there is no excuse; there is no apology. It is downright profligacy and wickedness and beastliness, to make use of strong drink of any description whatever except in certain rare cases where they serve in the way of medicine.

But, when to all the other motives for desisting from the use of these things, we take into consideration the motive of greatly assisting, by means of this abstinence, in the great work of producing a reform in the Parliament, how will any man dare to call himself a Reformer who will not abstain; who will not abstain, even from the use of that filthy, that disgust-creating thing, *tobacco,* which, as I have shewn above, pays to this government, in tax, more than two millions and a half pounds sterling in a year. Habit is very powerful. But, it requires but a little effort, and a very little effort, indeed, to get rid of a habit so idle, an indulgence so out of nature, and so entirely unnecessary to the producing of enjoyments or comfort. It appears to me that those who use tobacco, in any of its forms, must do it, at best, out of pure idleness. And what a thing it is to think of, that men should render their persons disagreeable; and disagreeable to females, too, for the sake of such a paltry indulgence. However, this is a matter which the females may, if they will, put to rights, at once. All that I can say is, that if I were one, the lips that held a quid, or touched a pipe or a segar, should never touch my lips. The French taught me the habit of taking snuff, but it has required only a very little effort to

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get rid of the filthy encumbrance.

I should hope that quite enough has been said to produce the desired effect among all those, be they in what rank of life they may, who have any desire to see a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, without which, it is my decided opinion that this nation will become the most contemptible upon the face of the earth. The Americans, when they began their struggle against *taxation without representation*, immediately desisted, and entirely desisted, *from the use of tea*, because the tea was sent out to them loaded with tax. This was to serve as a little *beginning*; they saw the design, and this was their mode of resistance. There was not a female in the whole country, except amongst those who were unworthy of the country, and who were finally driven fromit, that would make use of tea. They desisted, also, when they saw that a long struggle was advancing, from eating *lamb* and *veal*, in order that the animals might grow up to increase the stock of animal food; and, in some measure, to supply the place of those articles of produce which would necessarily fall off from the farmers and their sons being engaged in the war. This was a noble instance of self-denial. Such a people deserved to triumph over those who were endeavouring to enslave them. They did triumph: and their children now enjoy the fruit of that triumph. They can now say, "we are really "free; for HERE THERE IS "NO TAXATION WITHOUT "REPRESENTATION."

And shall we, and especially we who call ourselves Reformers, be so base as not to follow this example? Shall we make no effort in the way of action? Shall we do nothing but *talk*, and pretend to wish. If this be our line of conduct, the world, in viewing our fallen, our degraded state, will have the consolation to reflect that we have nothing more than we deserve.

Far different, however, are my expectations. I expect to see all Reformers animated upon this occasion with one spirit. A man should not confine his efforts within himself and family and relations. If he have more knowledge and more zeal than others, he should endeavour to instruct the uninformed and to rouse the lethargic. Every Reform *Society*, of whatever description, whether female or male, ought to use their utmost endeavours, upon all occasions, to further the objects of this address. Persons may very easily form themselves into little communities, little circles so as to be able to reject the company or Society of all those who do not conform. Modes of proceeding will, however, readily suggest themselves; there wants nothing but the *good will*; that once in existence, all the consequences will very soon follow.

It remains only for me to notice one thing relating to any

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savings which may arise from the adoption of this system of abstinence. I would advise you all, if you have money, in however small a quantity, to save, not by any means, to deposit it in what is called a *Friendly Society Fund*, or in that other thing which they call the *Bank for Savings*. Because, by an act of Parliament, passed last year, the trustees of money thus deposited, may, at any moment, place all the money *to the account of the Commissioners for the redemption of the National Debt;* or, may at once, *deposit it in the Bank of England, in the shape of what is called stock.* This is to keep it *safe;* but, *owners, keep safest!* Besides, Mr. RICARDO, who has, in the House of Commons, been called an *oracle*, has proposed a scheme for the taking away of a part of every body's property, in order to pay off a part of the National Debt. Of course, the Friendly Fund property, and the Saving Bank property will be included among the rest, if this scheme should be adopted. If, therefore, the Reformers *put any money by;* in the name of common sense, let them put it by *in their own boxes;* and above all things, put it by in *silver*. Let them never attend to what the newspapers say about *light silver* and *heavy silver*. My advice to you all, is, get together what little you can; put it by safely under your own roof; and *make no talk about the matter!* The time is not far distant when a handful of silver will be a little fortune.

I now take my leave, with expressing my confident expectation that this *Plan* will not have been put forth in vain; and that, our enemies will very soon see that we know how to act in order to provide for our happiness and to secure the means of our restoration to freedom. The longer and more painful the struggle, the more honourable the victory and more durable the benefit. Short efforts seldom produce any lasting good. The growth of real freedom, like that of the oak, is slow. The pains we now endure we may safely reckon on as so many harbingers of future pleasure and happiness, if we do but persevere, *steadily persevere*, in making use of every effort in our power to obtain success.

WM. COBBETT.

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COBBETT'S REGISTERS.

Mr. COBBETT will publish, during the ensuing Session of Parliament, a *Parliamentary Register*, in Six-penny Numbers, of the same size as his Political Register; and, like the latter, it will come out weekly, and on the Saturday. The measures of the Session must be uncommonly important; and it is Mr. Cobbett's intention to make this work, by the insertion of explanatory Notes and by other means, as complete, and in all respects as useful, as it can possibly be made. The Political Register is now regularly published every Saturday. Booksellers and others, who live in the country, may be regularly supplied with both works, by applying (postage paid) to the publishers, Messrs. CLEMENT and BENBOW, No. 269, Strand, London.

BROOM-CORN SEED.

In one of the Registers, published here, while I was in America, and in the last PART of my Year's Residence, there is an essay on this beautiful and useful plant, which produces the *wisk*, of which the *carpet-brooms* are made. Brooms, made of this same wisk, are used to sweep *the streets*, in New York, while the best of cloathes-brushes are made of the same thing! The plant requires strong summer heat. The *seed* of it will not *ripen* in England; but, I am of opinion, that the *wisk* would arrive at a state of perfection sufficient for broom-making; and, indeed, a gentleman has sent me a specimen, grown in England, last year, which convinces me that this opinion is correct. At any rate, the plant is beautifully ornamental, and would to a certainty answer the other useful purposes, mentioned in my essay; and which I will fully detail in the *Register*.---The time of sowing is now approaching; and I have imported some seed, which is now for sale in *small quantities* by Messrs. CLEMENT and BENBOW, No. 269, Strand.---I will give full instructions about sowing and cultivation in my next Register.---There are some of these *brooms* to be shewn as specimens.

N. B. There was a gentleman, whom I saw at Coventry, who talked to me about the broom-corn *wisk*, of which I have *a quantity for sale*. I will wait *a week* before I sell it, or offer it, to any body else. The *hubbub* made me forget both his name and address.

INDIAN CORN SEED.

This is an *early* kind, such as I grew at Botley for many years, and had very fine indeed. Some of the seed is for sale by Messrs. Clement and Benbow.---This is a very *rare* kind, even in America, and is cultivated only for the *table*.

WATER-MELON SEED.

Those only who have been in hot countries are, perhaps, to be persuaded, that this is the finest of all summer fruits. I used to grow it at Botley in great perfection; and I have imported a little of the seed. *Now* is a very good time to sow it. It may be had as above in *very small quantities*. I have very little; but I wish somebody to *try* it.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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NO CIVIL WAR.

TO

MR. JOHN TREDWELL,

OF

North Hampstead, in Long-Island.

London, 24 April, 1820.

My dear Sir,

When, in the summer of 1817, I used to tire you with statements and predictions as to what had taken place, and what would take place in England, you could hardly believe the thing possible. Your news-papers, imperfect as their accounts must be, must now convince you, that all my statements and forebodings were but too correct. And, it is now, if we believe our opponents, a question to be decided at no distant day, whether this country, so long the seat of internal peace, is, or is not, to experience the horrors of *Civil War*. I am convinced, that, had it not been for the measures, which drove me to America in 1817, this terrible danger would not now have existed; I am convinced, that the scourge may, even yet, be easily turned aside. On the means of doing this, I here intend to offer my opinion; and, I address myself to you, upon this occasion, as a mark of my friendship and respect.

I beg you, my dear Sir, to efface from your mind all the impressions made on it by the *nick-names* and *abuse* bestowed on the Reformers, circulated through America by persons who ape the corrupt press of England. If you pay attention to what is published by those persons you must be in a state of continual *wonder* at seeing effects so terrible without any visible cause. The nick-name of *Radical* has been given with a view of shifting the ground and disguising a possible defeat. We are the *same men*, we maintain the *same principles*, and we ask for the *same thing*. And yet a *new name* has been given to us by our adversaries and persecutors. This has an ugly look in them and their cause. And, indeed, this nick-name has arisen out of *their fears*, and nothing else.

The tone of our adversaries and of their adherents, the editors of the American *Mercantile* press, must naturally lead you to suppose, that the Radicals are merely *a few* men, and these the refuse of society. People without character, without talent, and wholly destitute of means. In short, a set of beggars and paupers, and *foolish* beggars and paupers too. When you lay down the *New York Evening Post*, or the *Mercantile Advertiser*, after having read one of their essays on us, poor, beggarly foolish Radicals, you must be filled (kind as your nature is) with *pity* for us, and must regret and wonder too, that our masters (so famed for *humanity*)

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do not put us into Lunatic-Asylums and provide us with keepers, straw, and straight-waistcoats. Upon reflection, how astonished you must be, that so many laws are passed to prevent the world from hearing our voices and from reading what we write! What *harm* to any good government; what harm can be done to "*ancient* and *venerable* establishments;" what harm can be done to a "*beloved* sovereign," and to a "constitution which is the *envy* "of surrounding nations and the "*admiration* of the world;" what harm can be done to "our "*holy* religion;" what harm can be done these, or any of these, by a *few* poor, beggarly silly fellows, who are "*universally* "hated and *despised?*" This is a question, which will press forward to your lips, in spite of all the nick-names and all the abuse that the news-papers can possibly convey to you.

In short, it requires only a moment's thought in any man of common sense to convince him, that these *despised* Radicals are not only not what they are described to be; but that they are precisely the contrary. If we had the same liberty to repel attacks as our enemies have to make them; if we dared to speak truth respecting them with as much freedom as they speak, without any danger, falsehoods respecting us; nay, if we only dared truly to describe our own treatment, *what a picture we could draw!* As things now are, England presents to foreigners who know nothing of her state, except through the press, the strangest figure that ever was seen, or heard of. There is a "constitution, the "envy of surrounding nations "and the admiration of the "world," which, in order to preserve it against some of those, who have the supreme happiness to live under it, and those only a *very few*, and these very few poor, beggarly and silly and despised men; in order to preserve it against these silly and despised beggars, stands in need of an almost infinite number of new regulations and new laws, the like of which was never dreamt of in former times.

The number of these regulations and laws is too great to admit of even an enumeration in the space of a small volume. A few of them will suffice. *First*, then, as to the *press*. No man can now *have* a press or printing types in his possession, without making a *record of the fact* with the Clerk of the Peace, who is to send a transcript of the record to the *Secretary of State*. Thus the government keeps a roll of all the presses and their possessors. Justices of the Peace may, upon suspicion, enter any man's house to look for printing materials, and, if they be possessed and unrecorded, seize them, and the possessor is to pay a heavy penalty. Makers of presses and types are compelled to keep a written roll of all the persons that they *sell to*; and to produce that roll to persons in authority, when called upon so to do. So that no man can have a press or types in his possession without the *government being informed of*

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it. Next, the printer, under a heavy penalty, must print his name on the first and on the last, of every thing that he prints. Next, he must *keep constantly by him* one copy of all that he prints, with his name written on it *in his own hand*, and must produce it, whenever called upon. In the case of a news-paper, there is, to begin with, a heavy stamp on the paper itself, and then a heavy duty on each advertisement besides. Then, before any such paper can be begun, the Printer, the Publisher, and the Proprietor must all go and *swear* that they are such, and that they live at such and such places; and two bondsmen, or bail, must come and give security for the due payment of the advertisement duty. Then, in order that *no proof* may be wanting, in case of libel in such paper, one of every number of the paper *is to be lodged, as soon as it is out*, in the hands *of the government*, written on with the Publisher's name; so that, when a trial comes, it is only necessary for the prosecutor to produce this paper.

Now, would you not suppose, that this was *high* enough? This was what PITT invented after the year 1793, when he began the "*successful* and *glori-*" *ous* war in defence of *Social* "*Order.*" But, this was far short of what has now been done. For now, in addition to these regulations, provisions, and precautions, every Proprietor of such paper must, before he begins to print, *enter into a bond*, with *two sureties*, to the amount of some hundreds of pounds to pay *any fine that may*, for any libel that he *may* publish, be imposed upon him! So that *now*, no man can put any such paper to press, until he can find two sufficient sureties to be answerable for the payment of any fines that may be imposed upon him!

Next as to publications, unstamped, they are not to be *sold under* the price of *sixpence!* That is to say, if they relate to any thing at all *connected with politics*, or to *matters of Church or State*. Publications of *any other* description may be as we please; but if they touch on politics, they must not be *sold for less than sixpence!* We are obliged, therefore, to administer our matter in large doses, or *not at all*. And, this, you will observe, has been made law just at the close of ten years of unremitted exertions to teach the people to *read*, on the maxim, that it was the want of education which was the great cause of the increase of crimes!

That the *punishment* for libel might not remain stationary, while such immense improvements were taking place in the means of detecting the guilt, this punishment, which was formerly fine, imprisonment and pillory, may now be *banishment for life!* And, that the punishment may speedily follow the crime, the culprit is not now suffered to *traverse*, or *put off*, the trial for a while, as formerly.

And what is the crime to be? A seditious libel. But, what is that? Why, amongst other

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things, any thing that has a TENDENCY to bring either House of Parliament into *contempt!* For a first offence of this sort a man may be *fined* and *imprisoned;* and, for a second, he may be *banished for life!*

Now, I have no doubt, that the Mercantile news-papers of America will say, that these laws are *necessary;* but then they must tell you *why* they are necessary. *That* they will do in a moment. They are *necessary*, absolutely necessary, to prevent the Radical writers from *destroying* the Constitution. But, then, they must allow, I am afraid, that these Radicals are not the *despicable* and *despised* crew that they have so many thousand times swore that they were. How are the Radicals to destroy the constitution by means of the press? By putting into print weak, foolish, false words? How can these destroy a constitution; and especially "a constitution which "is the *envy* of surrounding na- "tions and the *admiration of* "*the world?*" How are they to destroy a thing like this by empty words, impudence, and lies? Therefore your *Federal* writers, who would perhaps, have little objection to be court-parasites, had not American good-sense deprived them of all chance of filling that honourable employment, must change their tone in one way or the other: they must cease to consider the Radicals as *contemptible*, either in numbers or in talents; or, they must allow the above described new regulations and acts to be measures of *unnecessary severity.* Either admission will answer our purpose: and one of the two they must make.

But, these are but a small part of the precautionary measures taken against us. Englishmen's houses used to be called their *castles;* but, in a great part of the kingdom, and in the whole of it when the King and Council please, any magistrate may, upon grounds that appear to *him* sufficient, cause any man's "*castle*" to be forcibly entered by day or by night, to search for, and take away arms of all sorts! This may be done by *soldiers* as well as peace officers. And the lord of the "*castle*" himself may, by similar authority, be stopped on the highway, searched, and have arms taken from him! How completely a law like this would protect the wood-cocks in Long-Island.

Arms without *legs* are of little use, however; and, therefore, we have *a law* now to prevent the people from meeting to learn to *march, wheel,* and *move in rank and file,* either with arms or without arms! A few years ago all was *volunteering.* The school-boys used to parade about with sticks on their shoulders, and the *little misses* used to present them with flags, and read speeches to them against the French Atheists, written by the misses' stupid papas. But this is now laid aside; and we are told, that it is a most horrid thing for the Radicals to imitate it! Nay, the Radicals are to be severely

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punished, if detected in any such tricks.

Lastly there are to be no more large *meetings of the people*, to discuss politics, or to *petition, remonstrate*, or any thing else. There are to be no meetings, except of *parishes*; even there a Justice is to have *notice*, and he may *put off the meeting for some days or change the place at his pleasure*. He may put an end to it, if *he sees cause*; and, according to the degree of the offence, persons disobeying him may be *fined, imprisoned, transported*, or *hanged!* Thus is Radical speech-making out-of-doors completely put an end to. And, lest we should go into *houses* to *talk*, the law inflicts a heavy penalty *on taking money for admission* into any room, where *politics are discussed*. And this, as you may easily see, puts an end to all talk within doors to any considerable number of persons.

Now, if we are the contemptible rabble rout that our adversaries would make the world believe we are, *why* are all these precautions? Why not let us gabble our fill? The people, the loyal people, living under a "constitution that is the envy "of surrounding nations and "the admiration of the world," would laugh at, and despise our ignorance, impudence and falsehoods. If our number be so paltry, why not let us keep our arms and go stalking about in line and column? But, above all things why not let us stutter and stammer out our nonsense? Fools as we are, we should grow weary of being laughed at. Fools are generally vain; but he must be an unfeeling fool indeed, who would need to be driven away from a place where he was a laughing stock.

This one clause of this one act decides the question between us and our adversaries. They said, at Public Meetings out of doors the *poor are deluded* by speeches. The poor things are also deluded by *cheap publications*. But, the poor could not go *to give five shillings for admission to a room*; and yet the law now *forbids the taking of money for such admission!* The publications are *clogged with heavy expence*; but, the rooms, if entered at all, *must be free of all expence*. If we have the *reading*, we must *pay dearly for it*: if we have the *hearing* we must *have it for nothing!* After this, he who affects to doubt as to the animating spirit, as to the real motive must be a shocking hypocrite. It is as clear as daylight, and it is seen through by every man in the kingdom.

I would, had I nothing more, rest our cause upon this single point. Away goes, at once, all the clamour about DELUSION; that cookoo clamour, which has disgusted ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, and every candid man on earth, who has heard of our disputes. At public meetings in the open air, it was possible that much enthusiasm and little deliberation would prevail, and that the opponent of the popular speaker would hardly obtain a hearing. But, in a *room*, and especially in a

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room for admission to which men had *to pay*, and, of course, where all would have *a right* to be heard; in a *room*, where men liable to be easily deluded could not easily obtain admission; in a *room*, where order would necessarily be kept, and where every man would be personally responsible for misconduct; in a *room*, where both sides must have had a fair hearing, and where the persons best able to pay would necessarily be the most frequent attendants; in a *room* to be afraid of the speeches of the Radicals, and, therefore, to pass a law to silence them there also, this settles the question in a way to leave no doubt in the mind of any man living, and the firm conviction in the minds of this whole nation, persons interested in abuses excepted, is, that we are in the right and our adversaries in the wrong.

Now, I have not troubled you with all this merely in defence of our cause, and to shew the fallacy of the notion that we are a despicable part of the nation, but, in order to give you, at the same time, grounds for judging correctly of the causes of the present, and, as I think, approaching danger. What is *your* feeling upon reading the above account of the things which have been done against us, not forgetting what was done in 1817, when so many men were imprisoned at the pleasure of the Secretaries of State, without ever being brought to trial? What is *your* feeling upon thus reading and remembering?—What is *your* feeling? Put yourself in the place of one of us; suppose yourself dealt with in like manner. What, then, is *your* feeling? I will engage that, though at such a distance, and so completely disconnected with us, you feel indignant that the countrymen of your forefathers should have been thus treated. What, then, must *our* feelings have been, and what must they now be! We have the effect of those feelings before our eyes at this moment.

The stifling of men's voices has never yet tended to *peace*. The people know well what it is that is contended for; they understand the subject perfectly well. They believe, they are convinced, that they have a right to a reform, and also that a reform would render the country once more a happy country. How foolish, then, must those men be, who imagine, that preventing us from reading and writing, and speaking, will tend to efface these opinions from our minds! Men resent restraints of this kind with more bitterness and with much more perseverance than they do any other species of force. The chopping down and killing and wounding of hundreds of innocent men, women and children, is a thing to excite horror and hatred; but, let people *freely complain* of it; let them characterize in their own words the actors and abettors; let them exhaust their just anger in this way, and there is *an end* of the matter. They obtain this species of satisfaction; and, in time, wrath wears itself out. But, stifle their voices; stop their pens; *punish them*

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for complaining, — do these things, and you keep their wrath alive and in constant activity. They may be silent for a while; they may disguise their feelings; they may be made cunning; but, they will *never forgive*. They will talk in *twos* or *threes*; and this talk will be much more dangerous than the talk at *public meetings*. The restraint puts their invention on the rack to discover the means of vengeance. They speak in private quite another language than that which they spoke in public. They give a loose to the most daring and vindictive thoughts. These are communicated from mind to mind with rapidity; and thus whole districts, and even a whole nation, become of *one mind* much *sooner* than they would, if open and free deliberation and discussion were allowed; because, in the latter case, there would be rivalship for public applause, and this would, as it always has done, prevent, or, at least, retard, a general concurrence in sentiment. Shut men's mouths, stop their pens, and they instantly cease to be political "*agitators*," and become *plotters* and *conspirators*. In such a state of things the government loses all its powers of *dividing*. It no longer knows its enemies from its friends. It suspects every one; it resorts to those means of *watching*, which governments that exist in fear have always resorted to; and, in the long run, this only augments its danger.

When I landed in England, in November last, the news of my arrival at Liverpool, upon reaching BOLTON in Lancashire, was announced by a man, who went round the town with a *bell*. He stopped at different parts of the town, and, after ringing his bell, said: "Our countryman, William Cobbett, *is arrived at Liverpool in good health*." This man, for this act, was taken before a magistrate, and *held to bail* to answer the charge against him at the next Sessions. When the Sessions came, he was discharged, no bill of indictment having been preferred against him! This one fact is sufficient to show you what a state the country must be in; and also what must be the feelings in men's breasts. How must I feel on that account; and how must that good man feel! Yet, if we were at liberty to say what we *think* on the subject, our feelings would soon subside. As it is, the feelings never can subside, as long as we have memory.

It is plainly seen now, that the putting down of public meetings has only created private ones; that the *day*-meetings have given place to *night*-meetings. The newspapers will inform you of "*rebellions* in Scotland, in Yorkshire, and in Lancashire." They exaggerate, to be sure; but, take them at their word, and then ask yourself whether the state of the government have been *mended* by the late measures against public speaking and printing? Effect has followed cause here so regularly and so quickly, that one wonders how any man can be found to hope for a restora-

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tion of peace from the use of coercive measures. The professed object of the late measures was to *restore tranquility*, by disarming, and by making it extremely difficult and dangerous for men to speak and print on the subject of politics. And now, at the end of only three months, out came, in various quarters, great bodies of armed men, some of whom fight battles with the soldiers; and out came publications, such as no man ever before dared even to *think* of publishing, and such as must necessarily do more against the government in a day than all the former publications could, if they had not been suppressed, possibly have done in a year. And, which is truly ominous, this has taken place most extensively *in Scotland*, a part of the kingdom famed for the dispassionate temper, the morality, and the sound sense of its inhabitants. The Address, or, rather, Manifesto, of the Scots Reformers, has been read by every one who can read in this kingdom. *Five hundred pounds reward* has been offered by the government for a discovery of the author or printer. This circumstance alone would give it an importance in the eyes of the people; and, in short, a document of such fearful importance has never before been published in this country. The newspapers pretend, that it must have been written by some man of *deep design*; some *leader*; some *great traitor*. And this shows what erroneous views are prevalent. This shows, that the enemies of reform are never to be undeceived as to the state of the popular mind. If the government could have seen and heard the scores of lately-emigrated Scotsmen that I saw at New York, they would not be hunting about after *leading* men, as the authors of such a paper, which is not at all above the talents of many and many an operative weaver in Scotland.

To *quell*, to put down by *force*, a spirit like this is impossible. *Anger* is at work; *shame* is at work; *revenge* is at work; and all these are working with their combined bitterness, and that, too, at a moment when every day's news from *Spain* tends to add to the activity of men's thoughts and hopes. It is surprizing with what delight the people receive the accounts from Spain. They are far more eager on this score than they ever were to hear of naval victories or of captured islands. They dare not *say* the half of what they think; but, every man reads the heart of every other man; and the fellow-feeling with the Spaniards is more general and more ardent than any public feeling that was ever before witnessed in this country. The late measures in France are *encouraging* to us rather than otherwise. A *censorship* on the press there only shews us, that the French people are held in their present state by *force*; and we well know, that that force will, in the end, be unavailing.

Now, with this view of the state of England before your eyes, do you think, that a system of *force* is the system to pursue, especially at a moment when

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the Inquisition is tumbled to the earth and a free representative government is raised on its ruins? Do you not, when you have been reading the boasting accounts from our news-papers, about the *victories* over the Radicals, ask, as I have often asked, *when* and *how* all this is to *end*? You must clearly see, that such a state of things is wholly incompatible with a *restoration to prosperity*; and yet *when* is it to *end*? We have stated our case; we have made our complaint; we have *prayed most humbly* for redress. And, what is the result? We have been almost wholly *silenced*. We, for this reason, if for no other, look upon our prayers as reasonable and the object we pray for as just and right. To talk to us, therefore, about *yielding*, is not only unreasonable; it is sheer nonsense. We are as as low we can be. We submit. We have nothing to yield. We have our minds and our hearts, our thoughts and our wishes. These cannot be taken from us; nor can we, even if we would, yield them up.

The government, in settling on what ought now to be done, will, if it be wise, discard the charge against us, that we are foolish, wild, deluded, or deluding men. It does not signify what we are in these respects. The simple question is, are the *Radicals* as they call us, *to be pacified by force*? And, I think it impossible, that any man in his senses can answer that question in the affirmative. Severity has been tried long enough, one would think. The dungeon and all its companions have had no effect. Men are never reclaimed by severity, especially when accompanied by *defiance*. If the Radicals could be *exterminated*, there might be found men to recommend even that. But, they cannot. They make a large part of the nation, and that part too, who have the least to lose, and, of course, the least to fear. There remains, then, nothing but *conciliation*; and this must come *from the government*; for, the mouths of the Radicals are stopped. They have nothing, as I said before, *to yield*. Therefore, the conciliating offers must, if peace be to be restored amongst us, come from the government.

Some empty-headed, high-flying parasite will say: "What! "is the government to be *bul-* "*lied* into compliance, then?" Never was there an insinuation more completely destitute of truth. Never have we *bullied*. *Forty years* have we and our fathers been most humbly praying for a Reform. We have been the most patient, most humble, most dutiful supplicants for redress that ever yet, in all this world, complained of a wrong. We have protested, in the most solemn manner, that we desire no change in the form of the government; that we desire to see nothing lawfully established destroyed; and that our sole object is to obtain for the *Commons* of the kingdom a full and actual representation in the House, which the Law calls "*the Commons' House*

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of Parliament." This has been the burthen of all our speeches, writings and prayers. For this object we have sued in a tone more resembling that of Eastern slaves than that of men boasting of their freedom. And, that this has been the language of our hearts as well as that of our lips must, I think, be acknowledged by every one who reads the address of the Radicals of Scotland. The author of that address well knew, that *his life* was forfeited in case of detection. Nothing that he could have put into it would have added one pang to his sufferings. His life was staked on the event. He could stake nothing more. And yet, as to the *object* which he recommends, he confines himself to *a reform in the representation.* Such a man must be supposed to be a good judge of the general wishes of the Radicals. Such a man could, on an occasion where there could exist no possible motive to use disguise or reserve, have proposed a destruction of the constitution, if he had thought that that was likely to draw men into his views of resistance: yet he proposes no such thing; and this is a clear proof, that he knew the Radicals not to wish for such destruction.

Never, therefore, was there a charge more false than that of our having *bullied* the government. Our conduct has, throughout, been that of dutiful subjects and *humble petitioners.* Can we go *lower* than this latter character? Can we exhibit ourselves in any *humbler* shape? Can we, if we still call ourselves human beings, find any means of conciliation or propitiation other than those which we have been using for forty years?

But, then it is said that we ask *too much.* This is *said* by a great many *good* men of property; who, if they were to join us, would decide the question at once, and restore peace and happiness to the most distracted and miserable country that the sun ever shone on. This description of persons *want a change* as much as we do. Nay, they all say, to a man, that there *must be a great change.* But they *fear* the Radicals. They fear us, not because they think we intend or wish ill to them; but, because we are in such a state of mind as may lead to things that we do not intend or wish; and they keep aloof from us, and, in some cases, even join against us, lest they should, by giving us countenance, hasten that state of things!

Such persons reason wrong, they do not reason at all: they listen only to their apprehensions. For, as to asking *too much*, all we ask for is, that the *Commons*, that is, *all* those who are *not nobles*, may choose freely one of the Houses, called "the *Commons' House* of Parliament." How could this *endanger property?* But, the question has been rendered, by our opponents, not at all *a question of degree*; but a question of *any thing*, or *nothing at all*; for they say, or, at least, they *have said*, that we shall have *nothing*. Mr. CANNING, one of

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the Ministry (and by no means a cypher) has lately, and very lately, taken uncommon pains, even extra-official pains, to set us at *open defiance*; to tell us that *he* will *preserve* OLD SARUM; and to call his hearers and readers *resolutely to take their side on this ground!* If he speak the voice of his colleagues, how foolish it is for any body to remonstrate with us as to asking *too much!* And what folly, or hypocrisy, must that man be guilty of, who believes, or pretends to believe, that we have hitherto failed, *only because we have asked too much!*

When a man asks of another for any thing, which, as he thinks or says, the other ought to give up to him, and when the possessor is disposed to give up *a part* of what is asked for, the latter remonstrates with the former on the exhorbitancy of his demand, and states explicitly what he is willing to yield to. This presents grounds for *discussion:* it is here a question of *too much* or *too little*, which question may be discussed with temper, and even with friendship between the parties. How many questions of this sort arise daily between friends and even between brothers, and are settled too without any diminution of the friendship that existed before! But, if the possessor declare, at the out-set, that he will *yield nothing;* and, especially if he treat the application with disdain, and load the applicant, at once, with every species of contumely, scorn, reproach and abuse, and charge him with the most wicked and diabolical intentions; in such a case it is no question of *too much* or *too little;* it is a mere question of *right* to be settled by the *law;* or, in the case of parties, who acknowledge the jurisdiction of no umpire a question of mere *power*. In such a case it is folly, or hypocrisy, to talk of the applicant having asked *too much;* for, the bare act of having asked for *any thing*, and even the very *principle* upon which he asked it, is imputed to him as *a crime*.

Monstrous as this last proposition may appear, it is, nevertheless strictly and literally true; and this has been the real cause of all the ill-blood that now exists in the kingdom. The measures of the last twenty-eight years, the ill-advised wars, the worse-advised measures of finance, have produced the *miseries* which the country endures, and which are daily increasing, in all the industrious walks of life; but the *ill-blood* which precludes all hope of seeing better days, is to be ascribed wholly, to the harsh measures, with which the prayers of the Reformers have been uniformly met, and to the unjust and unsparing reproaches and contempt that have been heaped upon their actors, their motives and their characters. Compared with this cause of irritation heavy taxes are nothing. With *good words* men will labour hard and fare hard chearfully; but with *bad words* they will do and endure nothing that they can, by any means, avoid doing or enduring. And, with regard to the Reformers of

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this kingdom, the abuse that has been heaped on them is not to be described by those who have witnessed it, and not to be imagined by any body else. Pouring on them from all quarters there has been a torrent of calamities, taunts, false accusations, persecutions, such as it is not in human nature to endure without harbouring a desire of revenge. Here are three hundred newspapers, besides other publications, constantly pouring forth their calumnies against us; and, to none of these do we dare reply, except in the most cautious manner and most measured terms. In short to *forgive* these injuries is impossible: it is quite enough to suppress a desire to seek vengeance for them. From the vipers of various descriptions, who assail us, we receive treatment far worse than the Christian captives receive at the hands of the Algerines; and it happens here as in Algiers, that the *Renegados*, of whom we have not a few, are the most insolent and cruel persecutors. Whether they will ever be glutted with the blood of the Reformers I know not: at present they seem to delight in slaughter as much as Nero or Caligula ever could: they seem to be happy, that the new reign has been ushered in amidst civil broils and executions: they announce every ebullition of discontent as a "rebellion," and call aloud for the *blood* of "the *rebels*:" every thing tending to resistance, by words or deed, is, with them, *a treason*, and they seem as eager for the death of the offenders, as your horses are for water in the burning days of August. Horrid are the tales, which have been related to us about the *French Revolution*; but, I question, whether, at any one period of that revolution, there were a greater number of persons in prison for offences against the government than there are for offences against the government, at this moment, in prison in this kingdom! There is a Mr. HARRISON, a dissenting minister, who has been convicted of sedition, on *three seperate indictments*, at the assizes at Chester. God knows what his punishment is to be! At the *Justices' Sessions*, in that county, a man was, for *selling* pamphlets and other acts of *sedition*, under several indictments, sentenced to *four years and a half imprisonment!* All this is subject of *triumph*, and even *merriment*, with the corrupt part of our press; that is to say, with nearly the whole of it.

And yet, you see, the spirit of *Reform* is in no degree damped. It is, on the contrary higher than ever; and, daily and hourly, converts are making to the cause. In the meanwhile the government has *its troubles*, in which the Reformers take no share, though they may, perhaps, keep an attentive eye upon them. The *Debt* is producing miseries, which I should in vain attempt to describe to you, who live in a country, where the tax-gatherer shews his face but once a year, and then only for a few dollars, from a rich man. I wish you could be here for a month, and see the cares, the

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anxieties, the fears, and the embarrassments that pervade the family of every tradesman and every farmer. You would flee back, even at the risk of being a day-labourer all the rest of your life. It may be truly said, that no nation ever was so miserable as this now is. *All* the labourers are *paupers*. There is no such thing as *comfort* known amongst the labouring classes.

Every one sees, that this state of things cannot remain stationary; that it must become *better* or *worse*. The latter it must be, unless some legislative measure be adopted to make it better. Accordingly, projects are as plenty here as Clams are at Rockaway; and, to my taste, much about as good and as *wholesome*. There are only two that *can* be *effectual* in affording relief. One is, the *sponging out of the Debt*; and the other, a *division of the land and giving part of it to the Fundholders*. I am, for my part, a mere spectator in this affair; and, really, do not care which be adopted. The latter is the most *popular* of the two; and there is a plan of that sort actually recommended to the Parliament, who, in their wisdom, may possibly adopt it *next year*. You will easily see what a pretty blow such a scheme would give to the *Aristocracy and the Church*. It would have *other* effects; but these may as well be *guessed* at for the present. The main part of the nation are for the Fundholders being paid *out of the land*; that is to say, for the *division* above spoken of; and which I assure you is seriously proposed; and not by us, Radical Traitors, but by very *loyal* gentlemen. If this be our state in profound peace, what is it to be in case of another war? And another we must have, I verily believe, before long, or see a *French Republic* quietly sit itself down by the side of us!

Now, my dear Sir, is here not quite enough for a government to be thinking of, without having reform "*rebellions*" on its hands? Can any government wish for a *civil war* in addition to all these difficulties? No; that is quite impossible; and yet, how is a civil-war to be avoided, unless something be done to conciliate the Reformers, who, I am satisfied are, in point of numbers, *four-fifths* of the people? If war come, what a terrific aspect will things present? A war now, with a treasury empty, a Debt irredeemable and confessedly so, a people exasperated almost to madness, or sinking in despair, and with Europe and America in quite a different temper from what they were in at the close of the last war; a war *now* would frighten from our shores every man, who could possibly carry off his property to your shores. And yet the prospect of *lasting peace* is not much less terrific. For, as to commerce and revenue back they must come to nearly the mark of 1793. Other nations, if we remain at peace, will have their due and natural share of commerce. It will be impossible to go on without a change nearly approaching to a total breaking up. And yet, with all this before their eyes, there are

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men so stupid as to hope, that all is to be safely settled, *and that the Radicals are to be beaten into the bargain!*

Nations, like families, have their *rise* and *fall*. The third or fourth generation from a chimney-sweep frequently ride in their carriages; and, then, a generation or two from these are frequently coachmen and footmen. It is somewhat thus with nations, and especially with nations that give much into external commerce and paper-money. We know how quickly merchants rise, and how quickly they fall. We, the creatures of paper-money, come, and go, appear and disappear, like the grass. Solomon says, that "all flesh is grass," and this is almost literally the case with commercial men, who rest on a paper-money. A nation of the same description must have its *ups* and *downs* too. This nation has been *puffed up*; and now it must, in this respect, *go down*. When Pitt and his successors *proved* to us, that our commerce and manufactures had increased *three-fold* during the war, they *proved too much*; for, they proved, that, whenever peace came we must lose a great deal of what had been gained in war; and that this loss would come at a time, when we should by no means be able to bear it. The loss is coming gradually on, and we are feeling the effects. When men talk of the *capital* of England, they forget, that what they call capital is *fiction*. It is Bank notes, for the greater part, which represent *Debt*, and not capital. You know how a young flashy blade of a merchant feels and looks and is, who has been at work on *accommodation paper*, when the Bank will no longer discount. Just in the same state is this nation now. It was accommodation paper, with which the war was carried on; and, the accommodation being now stopped, the nation is fallen into a state of vapidness, lifelessness, and decay. An immense debt was contracted, while the accommodation paper was afloat, and the lenders now hold the borrowers to the letter of the engagement; so that those who own the land, or have to work, in any way whatever, are ruined to raise money to pay the lenders; and here are pretty nearly *five millions* out of *fourteen*, who live *without any productive labour* at all merely upon the interest of the Debt! Suppose your good neighbours Wiggins, Sweet, Hicks, Hendrickson, and sixteen others like them, to borrow a thousand dollars each, upon their farms, of you; and suppose their Indian corn to sell for *a dollar a bushel*, when they borrow the money. At six per cent. they will have to give you sixty dollars a year each, which gives you an income of 1,200 dollars a year, and, suppose to have lent your *all* (which is the case with a fundholder), this income will enable you to live in a good house, to keep, we will say, three servants, four horses, carriages, and every thing in proportion. Wiggins and the rest pay you their interest very punctually. They are the *nation* and you the *fundholders*, and you

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go on very comfortably. But something takes places (no matter what), that reduces the Indian corn to *half a dollar a bushel*, and *keeps it at that price!* What is to be done now? I think I see poor Wiggins, with his head on one side, giving you a most woeful look, while Sweet is rubbing his hands, and wondering what's the matter. However, they pay up all but a trifle, perhaps, at first; and on you go.

But you, finding your income doubled by this lucky change, will lose no time in adding to your stock of horses and servants. You will expend more than you did in all departments. And you will not fail to think the government at Hampstead plains to be the best and wisest that can be, "the *envy* of sur- "rounding townships and the "*admiration* of the world." But, how do Wiggins and the rest of the nation find it. Speaking of things in kind, they have 120 bushels of corn each, instead of 60 bushels to give you. They must *retrench*. No more wine for them; scarcely any spirits or sugar or tea; their wives and daughters must come to home-spun; all must become shabby; many things must be banished from their tables; some of their labourers must go to *idle away* their time in your service to make nice walks and plant shrubberies for you, and attend yon in your parties of pleasure. Thus a part of the hands before employed in *productive* labour, will now be employed in *unproductive* labour, or rather in idleness. Wiggins and his associates must live harder, work harder, and, after all, be unable, in some cases, to pay up this interest. In short, they get deeper and deeper in your debt, and, at last, you propose to take their farms, and for them to become your bailiffs, or labourers, or, at least to farm with you *on shares*. They have all lost their land, and you have got it, and yet all has been legal and fair dealing from the beginning to the end!

This is precisely the progress that things are taking here. The *productive* part of the community are just in the state that Wiggins and Sweet would be, when, after long struggling in vain, they came to give up their land, and to beg you take them in to *farm it on shares;* and, I have no scruple to say, (indeed I have, in my last Register, *proved the fact*), that those, who are called the *land-owners* here in England, have no more of real ownership in it, than your sharing man, PENNY, has in your estate at Hampstead plains.

You will say, perhaps, "well, "I really see no harm in this. "Wiggins and the rest of them "will still be well off. They "will have to work for me, to "be sure; but, here they will "be, and the people that they "used to employ, will be em- "ployed by me, in one way or in "another." This is the way in which our fundholders and our government reason. But, mark! Those whom you employ on your pleasures will be *unproductively* employed, and will, besides, *consume more* than so many productive labourers. Wiggins and his fellow suffer-

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ers will not be so careful, so active, and will not *produce so much* as they did before. You would soon see your township less fertile, the buildings less good, and all *declining*. And, should the neighbouring township make an attack upon you in order to get part of your lands or goods or stock, you would find Wiggins and the rest not very zealous to march in your defence. Besides, some of these borrowers may, before they be quite ruined, *sell out* to you; and go off with the money to another township, leaving all the labourers behind them. You will have the *land*, to be sure; but a part of your *capital* is gone away to be productively employed elsewhere; to assist in causing another township to flourish at the expence of yours. In a short time you would find the manners and morals of your people wholly changed; and, in a few years, you would be a *master* of a set of *slaves*, that you would be compelled to have whipped to their work and to have fed and lodged in the most miserable manner. The general poverty of the land and shabbiness of the dwellings and out-buildings would increase with the increase of your troops of gay servants and the grandeur of your mansion. All but your mansion and its inmates and appurtenances would be misery. Every soul would hate you; and, to preserve your life, you must go well armed, and have bands of spies in your pay. "Oh God!" you would, upon seeing this in prospect, exclaim, "let me not come to this! Here, "Wiggins and Sweet and all of "you, keep your farms! Give "me *the sixty bushels of Corn* "that you used to give me, "and let us still be kind happy "neighbours."

But, conduct like this, such forbearance, such true wisdom, is not to be expected in masses of men, who have been brought up with *interest tables* constantly under their eyes. With such men; according even to the *vocabulary* of such men, *poor* means *foolish*, and *rich* means *wise*; to *gain* is *merit*, and to *lose* is *demerit*. Besides, in our case, there is a complexity, which is quite enough to addle a very sound brain to contemplate, and which, together with the powerful interests that are at work, seem to render a *composition* wholly impossible.

You will easily perceive how

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all these difficulties must be increased by the ill-blood existing among the people. During the existence of "*rebellions*" here and there, and *alarms* (false or real) almost every where, it is clear, that the government cannot venture upon any measure likely to be *effectual* in affording that *relief*, without which all agree, that some terrible convulsion must come. It is not, therefore, *nonsense*, as some pretend, to say that *reform* would *afford relief*. Reform would, at once, render wholly unnecessary an expence of *ten millions a year*; because no army at home, not half the present navy, none of the enormous expences of the yeomanry, and other things, necessary to keep men in awe, need be wanted. The mere annual *waste*, arising from this cause, amounts to *millions*. Only think of the effect of leaving these ten millions a year in the pockets of the people to be employed in *productive labour*. Only think of the effects of a restoration to universal good-will, peace and security. And only think of the effect of putting a stop to the *transfer of capital* from this to other countries, which transfer arises, in great part, from a dread of the result of the quarrel between the government and the Reformers;

In the Prince's Speech, with which the last session was opened, he observed, in alluding to the disturbances in the North and to the conduct of the Reformers generally, that it was impossible to set about any *internal improvement, until internal tranquillity and confidence should be completely established.* This was very true; but unhappily the measures adopted were not calculated to produce this desirable preliminary effect; and we now see, that the country is in a more alarming state than ever, if we are to believe only one-tenth part of what the public prints tell us. Of course, no plans of internal improvement can be adopted or thought of. What was meant by *internal improvement* it would, perhaps, be difficult to say. Nothing can be effectual in the way of *relief*, except it include some great measure relative to the *Funds*; and, I agree readily, that no minister in his senses will venture on such a measure, unless the country be in a state, not only of tranquillity, but *good-will*; for, outward tranquillity

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may exist while all is real danger.

Therefore, the first thing is to secure *real tranquillity*; to put an end completely, to what are now called "*rebellions*," or *civil wars*. And this may, in my opinion, be easily and instantly effected; not by actually *making a Reform*; but by making the subject a matter of *discussion* and *deliberation*, upon the *recommendation of the King*. One single sentonce in his Speech, or in a Message from him, tending clearly to this point, would restore his kingdom instantly to peace and good will. The Radicals, conscious of the goodness of their cause, would wait for the completion of the measure, nor even for the discussion on it. They would fling away their pikes and their resentment both together; and the post that carried the news would return loaded with addresses of thanks. TheMinisters would not,then,be afraid of "*large meetings*" and of "*cheap publications*." They might safely open the jail-doors of the "*seditious libellers*." And they might, even before they had concluded upon any specific plan of reform, adopt, with the great mass of the people at their back, any measure, however vigorous, for affording to the country *effectual relief*, and for saving it from that ruin which now hangs over its head.

I have been told, with what truth I know not, that *all* the Ministers do not agree in opinion with Mr. Canning; and that they are *not* resolved to *preserve* OLD SARUM, let what will come of *Old England*. If this should be true, we shall have *no Civil War*; and, therefore, I hope it is true. We shall see, in a very few weeks what is likely to take place in this respect. The question is the most important one that ever engaged the attention of man. If it be settled amicably, the greatness as well as the freedom of England will be established for ages: if not, no man can foresee what misery and degradation this country has to endure.

Governments generally but listen to their *vindictiveness*, and nothing else. They have power to inflict punishments, or misery, on those who offend them; and they very seldom forbear to exercise it. They would, if they could reflect and reason, see, that, in the *end*, this must lead to their own injury. But, they

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calculate only for the present time. Men in power have, at most, but a *life-hold* in the thing. The *Stuarts* and their creatures had numerous *triumphs* over the Radicals of their day. They fined, imprisoned, hanged, quartered, and ripped up bowels at a famous rate. They *triumphed* over SYDNEY, RUSSEL, and many others as worthy as these. They discovered plots, conspiracies, treasons and rebellions in abundance: they made the gallows groan, and the scaffold stream. They cut off men's ears, split their noses, burnt their cheeks, imprisoned them for life, for what they called "*seditious libels.*" Yet, all this did not succeed in the *end*. Their system fell *at last*, the Stuarts fell beneath it, never to rise again; but the people, though grievously lacerated, remained still a people. I dare say, that, in the time of the Stuarts, the parasites of power held just the same sort of language towards the "*disaffected*" as is held towards us by the parasites of the present day. To be "*disaffected;*" that is to say, not to have *an affection for* the deeds of the government, was then, I dare say, held to be *a crime*, be those deeds what they might; and we know (for we have the trials on record) that to publish any thing displeasing to the government was deemed "*seditious libel.*"

Not only did the Stuarts *not succeed* in the end, but they themselves were defeated. And, if the people were not to be overcome in *those days*, is it likely that they will in *these days*, when the spirit of freedom agitates the whole world; and when it is now completely triumphant in a great nation, who, only in November last, was submitting quietly to the horrible tyranny of the Inquisition?

Here, in this one event, is a sufficient reason, if there were no other, for the government's yielding upon the question of reform. There is no doubt in my mind, that, in 1793, *war* against France was *necessary*, if *reform was to be refused*. For, to suppose, that the English would rest quietly *without reform*, while the French enjoyed all the benefits of a free representative government, would have been madness. But, is not war necessary, then, against Spain now, on the same principle and for the same reason? Or, is not the success of freedom in Spain a powerful motive for yielding up to us what we deem to be our rights; what we have so often and so humbly petitioned for; and which we have so many thousand times shewn to embrace nothing tending, even in the most remote degree, to destroy or impair any part of the Constitution, but on the

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contrary, tending manifestly to preserve and strengthen the whole? We, of course, have our eyes fixed upon Spain. It is not a mere reform of abuses, such as we humbly sue for, that we see taking place there. We see a despotic Prince brought down, at once, to be a mere *Official Chief*, like your President; and we see, that his brothers are called *Citizens*. We see the king with as little power as Mr. MUNRO. We see the whole of the people represented in reality, and not *virtually*. And, if this change be *established;* if it succeed, as, according to all appearance it will, is there a man in his senses, who can imagine, that the English, Scots and Irish people will ever be content until they obtain that constitutional Reform, which they have so long and so patiently been waiting for: and which they have prayed for almost upon their hands and knees?

The situation of France would, alone, one would think, be sufficient to induce the English government to conciliate the Reformers. The Bourbons have tried to bring things back to the *ancient state;* and they have tried in vain. *Alarmists, Jesuits*, all have been at work; and the result is, that nothing but *silencing* the press and *imprisoning persons at pleasure* will preserve the Bourbons even *for the present!* Who believes that this can last long, with a successful revolution in Spain to give encouragement to the friends of freedom in France? And yet, if another revolution should break out in France, what is, *then*, our government to do, if it continue to refuse reform? One of two things will happen in France: the present popular party will triumph, the press will be free, the elections will be free, France will have *a freely chosen House of Commons*, and will still have neither *tythes* nor a *dominant Priesthood:* or, the despotic party will, for a while, prevail, and will be crushed by *another revolution*. In either case how must our government find itself, unless it agree to a reform before these events arrive? And, how must it find itself then, if, instead of *yielding up something to the spirit of the age* and the example of other nations, it persist, not only in refusing to give way even an inch, but in keeping in force a new code of laws, by which the liberties, which the people enjoyed even in the days of the Stuarts, are greatly abridged? One would think it to be impossible that it should thus persist; but, after what we have seen, what ought to excite our surprize?

I have now, my dear Sir, given you a true and faithful account (as far as I *dare*) of the state of things in England. It will enable you to detect the falsehoods promulgated in America by the second-hand tools of English corruption; and the writing of it affords me the gratification of publicly expressing the sincere friendship and great respect, with which I remain

Your most obedient
And most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

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TRIAL OF SIR CHARLES WOLESLEY AND MR. HARRISON.

In future Numbers of the Register, I shall give an account of what has passed, of a *remarkable* nature, at all the late *Trials for Sedition*; but, in this trial, *all* is remarkable! It is impossible that we should not, *hereafter*, to have to recall the conduct of the actors in these scenes! I beg the reader to look *well* at the conduct of *all* the parties on this trial! I can venture to offer no opinion; to make no comment; to express neither praise nor censure! Indeed it is not necessary: the reader has only to *read!* This trial, better than a thousand descriptions, exhibits the *state in which we are!*

SEDITION.

THE KING V. SIR CHAS. WOLESLEY, BART. AND JOSEPH HARRISON.

Monday, April 10.

About half-past nine this morning, Sir Charles Wolesley, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Clifton, and two other gentlemen of the name of Eyre, entered the Court, and took their places near the table: and at ten, two other causes having been disposed of, it was called on. A Special Jury was called over, of whom the following answered and were sworn:—

James Wylde, Esq.
Booth Grey, Esq.
James Stanton, Esq.
W. Wathington, Esq.
Edward Jones, Esq.
W. H. Wathington, Esq.
James Bayley, Esq.
George Eaton, Esq.

TALESMEN.

James Allen.
Richard Woodfin.
George Rutter.
John Banks.

The pleadings were opened, and the indictment read to the following effect:

"CHESHIRE.—The Jurors of our Lord the King upon their oath, present, that Sir C. Wolesley, late of Stockport, in the "*City*" [County] of Chester, Bart. and J. Harrison, late of the same place, schoolmaster, being persons of a turbulent and seditious disposition, and wickedly and maliciously devising, and intending to excite tumult and insurrection, both in this realm, on the 28th day of June, in the 59th year of the Reign of George III. of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, at Stockport aforesaid, in the said County, together with divers other persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to the number of 500 and upwards, with force and arms, unlawfully did assemble and gather together to disturb the public peace, and being so assembled together, did, by seditious speeches and discourses, and by other unlawful and dishonest means, then and there endeavour to "*invite*" [incite] and stir up the people of this realm to hatred and contempt of the Government and Constitution thereof, as by law established, in contempt of our said Lord the King and his Laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity," &c. &c.

Mr. BENYON (Attorney-General of Chester) stated the case to the Jury. "Gentlemen of the Jury, you have heard the indictment against the defendants read, in which the two defendants, Sir Charles Wolesley and Joseph Harrison, are charged with intending to excite commotion at Stockport, on the 28th of June last, with unlawfully assembling to disturb the public peace, and by seditious speeches to stir up the people of this realm to hatred and contempt of the Government and Constitution, as by law established. The second count in the indictment charges the same offence, but is somewhat varied in the expression. Gentlemen, you are, no doubt, well aware, at least most of you must have heard that this prosecution springs out of one of the numerous meetings which were held last summer. These meetings were eminently calculated to alarm all the peaceable subjects of the realm, meetings convened and presided over by strangers and itinerant

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orators, who came from their different occupations to harangue the multitudes they were enabled to assemble. But, Gentlemen, whatever you may have known or heard upon that subject, I entreat you to banish it entirely from your recollection. I am perfectly sure you will give your decision, not on what I may say, not on any thing you have heard before, but simply and solely on the evidence I shall adduce. The two defendants, Sir Charles Wolesley and Mr. Harrison, are persons who are well known. Sir Charles Wolesley is a gentleman who has a considerable estate in Staffordshire, and he inherits a property and the dignity of a baronetage through many generations, from the time of Charles the First. Harrison, until lately, was a stranger in the county of Chester, and is described in the indictment as a schoolmaster; he formerly settled in Derbyshire, but was a resident at Stockport at the time he committed the offence charged against him in the indictment. On the 28th of June last a public meeting was announced to be held at Stockport, under the real or pretended pretext of petitioning for a Reform in Parliament. The numbers assembled on that occasion were above 5000, and according to one of the defendants exceeded 10,000. Previously to this meeting you will find Sir Charles had been acquainted, that they had been in correspondence on the day of meeting—that they had been in conversation with each other—that they were not strangers to each other or to the intended objects of the meeting, from which circumstance, as it appears to me, they must have gone upon some pre-concerted scheme. The meeting was attended by many persons armed with bludgeons, not merely meant for shew, not merely meant for intimidation, but so used as nearly to put a constable to death. Could such a meeting be considered fit for deliberation? Could it be called peaceable? Banners were carried, having on them the usual cant inscriptions, "No Corn Laws, Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot." Bludgeons were to be found almost in every hand; the crowd was more numerous than on any former occasion; and after this, could it be fairly considered as a deliberative assembly met together for a peaceable and constitutional purpose? A stage or platform was erected, on which the leaders mounted, two of the principal of whom were the present defendants. It was previously agreed, perhaps, that Sir Charles should take on him the office of Chairman, and he was clamorously called to it. He acquiesced, and took the Chair, and having taken it, you will hear what passed: you will hear the seditious words alleged to have been spoken by him for the purpose of bringing the Government into hatred and contempt. Gentlemen, there is often a great difficulty in bringing witnesses to tell all the words uttered on such an occasion. No prudent man would venture to mix in such a crowd, but curiosity in some overcame their prudence, and some did go there, from whom you shall hear the substance of what was said by the present defendants. I shall not here state word for word what their testimony will be, I merely generally advert to its character, on which it will be for you eventually to decide. After the tumult of the meeting had subsided, Sir Charles Wolesley said—

Mr. PEARSON.—My Lords, the witnesses should be sent out before the Learned Counsel enters immediately on his case.

Mr. Sergeant CROSS.—Yes, the witnesses, on both sides

The COURT then ordered the witnesses out, and after a pause of some minutes,

Mr. BENYON resumed.—Having, Gentlemen, already stated to you the erection of a platform or hustings, the numbers assembled, the bludgeons with which they were armed, the prominent part taken by the defendants, and Sir Charles Wolesley being in the chair, I shall now state to you what he said on that occasion. He said he was the first who made a kick at the Bastile in France, and he hoped he should be present at the destruction of other Bastiles in England; he declared his hatred of spies and their employers, Castlereagh and Sidmouth, and added, that as long as the people were unrepresented taxation was tyranny, and resistance was justifiable. I have here only pointed generally to what he said, and if you believe he actually made use of them, I can make use of no language, my imagination can frame none, more calculated to disturb the public peace, and

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bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt. Harrison, the other defendant, followed Sir Charles Wolesley, and declared against petitioning the Legislature, as degrading and humiliating. He said a meeting should be held at Oldham, congregated so as to form a National Union, from whence a new and enlarged representation should emanate. That the two defendants were well acquainted, I shall show you that two days after the meeting, a letter was written by Sir C. Wolesley to the Postmaster at Bridport, complaining of some delay that took place in the delivery of a letter addressed to Harrison; and though this be not necessary to prove the fact of such acquaintance, I think, for the sake of the ends of public justice, I may as well read it to you.—[Here the Learned Counsel read the letter.] To this the Postmaster replied, no letter was stopped, and generally repelled the charge made against him by the defendant. This, Gentlemen, shews a correspondence between the defendants; but if any doubt remain upon this subject, I shall read you another letter, addressed by Harrison to a man in Chester Castle, of the name of Baguely, which was opened by the direction of the Magistrates in consequence of the prisoner's improper behaviour. This letter I shall read for you; it states the circumstances of the meeting, the numbers assembled, the banners used, and the Presidency of Sir C. Wolesley. If then, Gentlemen, you consider the words of Sir Charles to be seditious, it is in vain that we may hear it said Harrison does not participate in Sir Charles Wolesley's guilt. So far, Gentlemen, I have given you an outline of the evidence I intend producing; and here let us pause, and see if it will bring home to the defendants the charge against them in the indictment. They are charged with having attended a tumultuous meeting; with unlawfully assembling to disturb the public peace; and conspiring, by seditious speeches, to excite the people to a hatred of the Government and Constitution as by law established. From what I have already said, you will see that seditious language was used; but you are not to build any thing on what I say, unless it is substantially given to you on incontrovertible evidence. With respect to the nature of the meeting, that it was a legal, quiet, constitutional meeting, for the purpose of petitioning for a Reform of Parliament, is wholly disvowed by Harrison, for he says the period for petitioning is at an end. 'Twas not then for Reform they were assembled; his letter disavows it. Nor can the other defendant, if I prove the use of seditious words against him, creep out of this prosecution by alleging he had no concert and no participation with any guilty act or acts of Harrison. If even he did not use seditious words, he was Chairman when and where they were used, and so far attaches to himself whatever criminality they naturally bring with them. I do not say it is improper to meet in order to petition for Reform in Parliament—to meet for the purpose of addressing the Legislature to obtain redress from actual or supposed grievances. Heaven forbid I should tell you, standing in this place, that such meetings are not proper, or not legal. No, Gentlemen, the right of petition has been handed to us as a valuable legacy from our forefathers, and I trust we shall ourselves hand it down unimpaired to our posterity. With respect to the banner having on one side of it the motto of "No Corn Laws," I say, if the meeting had assembled for the purpose of discussing that question, it would certainly be unobjectionable. Upon that question some of the wisest political economists differ very widely; many say they are improper; perhaps some of you, Gentlemen, may, or may not be of the same opinion, though I do not agree with them, and it is but fair that those who think them improper or injurious should be permitted to petition against their continuance. Still petitions of that kind should be conducted with quiet and decency, and not in such a manner as to threaten and intimidate and endanger the public tranquillity. Still if they petition quietly, I say again, heaven forbid they should not be allowed to do so. It will, however, be for you, Gentlemen, to say whether the meeting was or was not intended for the purpose of intimidation; whether, from its general character and aspect, and the expressions made use of at it, it was or was not calculated to bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt. I shall not now say more, at least at the present; during the pro-

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gress of the trial I may have again to trouble you.

John Kenyon Winterbottom examined by Sergeant CROSS—I saw a public meeting at Stockport on the 28th June, it was between one and two o'clock; I attended near it, at a place called Sandy Brow; I think 4 or 5000 people were assembled; I was not near enough to observe if they were of the town or not. They were very quiet when I first saw them; most of them had sticks, apparently got from hedges, newly got, and not like walking-sticks; they were generally pretty straight. The population of Stockport is about 20,000 persons. There was a hustings, or a scaffold; I saw several persons there; Sir Charles was pointed out to me as being on the scaffold; Harrison I knew; he is a schoolmaster, he lived then at Stockport. The first thing I observed was a hissing by the whole multitude; I was not aware of what occasioned it. I heard people in the room where I was say—

Mr. PEARSON objected to the witness relating any thing of what he had heard others say.

Witness—The next thing I observed, was the passing some resolutions; the Chairman was Sir C. Wolesley; I did not perceive how he got into that situation; he was there when I reached. We have many persons of common sense at Stockport to preside at a meeting. I was about one hundred yards from the scaffold, and I could indistinctly hear all that was said. I only heard Sir Charles say, "unanimous." I did not vote. I saw persons vote by holding up of hands and sticks, but on the occasion of passing a resolution, I saw no dissenting sticks held up. I saw no respectable inhabitants take any part in the proceedings; I felt perfectly secure at the time I saw the meeting, and continued to feel that confidence till the night; but if they were kept till night, then I considered it would be dangerous; I only heard Sir C. Wolseley say the word "unanimous;" I heard Harrison say, "the House of Commons were the people's servants, that it was as absurd to petition them as it would be for a master to petition his groom for his horse;" he said, "there was a barrier between the throne and the people, which must be removed, either by force from Heaven or Hell, in order that they might see whether a man or a pig was upon the throne." He said, "the united will of the people was sure to prevail, it was an axiom that could not be confuted; it might be necessary in some cases to petition the House of Lords, who were by the constitution placed in a different situation from that of the House of Commons, but in the present corrupt state of things it was useless, and he would not recommend it."

Cross-examined by Mr. PEARSON—I was about 100 yards from the hustings; there were women at the meeting, I should think a hundred or two; not so many as 500; perhaps there were children there; I don't know on the side next myself, but children were playing; I only saw the people after they had met; the whole body had sticks, but they were not held up all the time during the meeting; I say most of them had sticks.

Mr. PEARSON—Tell me, Sir, how many you think had sticks?

Mr. Justice MARSHALL—We have no number given as yet; there is no contradiction; he has already said most of them had sticks.

Mr. PEARSON—My Lords, I don't know that I am asking any improper question. I do not see what objection the Court can have to it. I think it necessary to ask it; but if the Court think otherwise, I shall not persist in it.

Witness—I live with my father and sister; they were not removed in consequence of the meeting, nor any other persons; no shops were shut; if any were, I would have heard of it.

Mr. PEARSON here read an extract from a newspaper, in order to have the distinctness of the witness's recollection put to the test, by desiring him to repeat it after him, as he had just done that of Harrison.

The COURT—This language has worked mischief enough elsewhere, not to have it repeated here again.

Mr. PEARSON—My Lords, I see nothing objectionable in it; if I had any book of prose or poetry near me, I should have preferred it. I read the passage to try the distinctness of the witness's memory. Can you repeat, Sir, the passage I have just read?

Witness—I cannot repeat it. There was nothing to distinguish the laugh from what is usually done at an absurd thing; I heard some other parts of Mr.

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Harrison's speech; I thing I heard him say, "if they petitioned at all, they should petition the Throne or the House of Lords." I do not remember his complaining that some prior petition had not been transmitted to the Prince Regent; I did not hear any one distinctly but Sir Charles.

Examined by Mr. HARRISON—I live in Stockport, at the Church-gate; I am an attorney; I took notes of what I heard; I have not got them; I heard you distinctly, and when I said, "I heard indistinctly," I applied it generally to all the speakers; I heard enough in what you said; I had no directions to pay particular attention to what you said; I took your using the word barrier as a figurative expression, that something was intercepted between you and the throne. I formed no idea as to what was intercepted; when you said, one could not know if a man or a pig were on the throne, you meant it in contempt; I read of Burke's observations calling the people a swinish multitude; I heard of an allusion to a pig in the school where I then was, but I do not know what association to that subject you might have had; I did not suppose the people were deriding the speaker, but that your observation had a tendency to deride the throne.

Again examined by Mr. Sergeant CROSS—Mr. Knight, Fitton, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Willan, were there; they were all strangers at Stockport; they appeared to be acting as leaders; Harrison was the only one I knew to be an inhabitant of Stockport.

Thomas Bolton examined by Mr. ASHWORTH—I live at Stockport; I recollect a meeting on the 28th of June; I saw numbers of country people coming into town by different roads; I have been eleven months at Stockport; they appeared strangers who came. I cannot say how many people passed; they were probably two hours in passing, but I cannot say how many; I observed they had nothing more than is usual, what I saw appeared to be walking-sticks; I was at the meeting; I saw Sir Charles going up to it, by the direct road up to John-street—a young Gentlemen, I believe of the name of Lewis, was arm in arm with him; when I reached the meeting I observed a flag, on one side was, "No Corn Laws," on the other, "Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot;" when I first saw it, it was furled—I afterwards saw it lowered, for the purpose of putting on it a red cap of liberty; I followed shortly after Sir Charles; I got so near the hustings as to be within ten yards; I was for five minutes about thirty yards from it; I saw Sir Charles on the hustings; the Rev. Mr. Harrison was there; I knew him; Mr. Fitton, Willan, Johnson, and several others were there also, but I did not know them; those I have mentioned as not inhabitants of Stockport; Harrison was on the left of Sir Charles; there was speaking; I observed a conversation passing on the stage; Sir Charles bore a part in it; Harrison apparently joined in it; I can't tell what was said; I was observing the meeting before he mounted the hustings; I don't recollect any thing particularly being done; Sir Charles was received by loud huzzas; great numbers at the meeting I knew to be townsmen; I saw no sticks unusual with the people; they were not more numerous than I should expect; I stood amongst the crowd, but I gained high ground when I could; I could not hear as distinctly as those more elevated; I did not observe a chairman, my curiosity was to hear Sir Charles; the first attention I paid was to Sir Charles; I heard him; I took a minute of what it was he said within an hour after it was spoken; I can produce it if necessary. [Here the witness produced it, and read from it as follows:]—"Sir Charles was happy at addressing the people at Stockport from the present place, Sandy Brow. It was a place consecrated to the cause of liberty by the absence of friends he should have been happy to meet there, and he trusted Sandy Brow would be more famed in history than the field of Waterloo. Was there a peace officer present, he trusted they came to keep the peace, and not to break it. But was there any of your spies, your note-taking or Black-book gentry, tell your employers, the tools of a Castlereagh and a Sidmouth, that I hate them, that I detest them, that I eternally execrate them. He (Sir C.) was proud to say he was at the taking of the Bastile in France, and he should be happy to be at the taking of a Bastile in England. And were all hearts but as firm in the cause as his own, they

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should soon put an end to the present tyranny and corruption." This was all I took notes of.

Cross-examined by Mr. DICKENSON—I am a cotton-broker at Stockport; I have only a small part of Sir Charles's speech; it was not all uttered at a time; he called upon the peace officers to keep the peace; his address was generally to be peaceable. At the time of the cap being put on, Sir Charles turned round, and there was a demur; the cap was then put on, and afterwards the flag was hoisted; I did not hear Mr. Willan object to it, he might have done so, for any thing I know. Upon Sir Charles turning round, there was a stop or a demur, it might have been in consequence of his being displeased; it was put on and hoisted, and the meeting continued; it was quite peaceable.

John Johnson examined by Mr. WILLIAMS—I am a Land Surveyor at Stockport. I was at the meeting in question. I got there before Sir C. Wolesley. Harrison was there when I went up. I do not know how many persons were present. There was no speaking before Sir C. Wolesley arrived. When he arrived, he got upon the hustings, and was appointed to take the chair.—I do not know who proposed him.—There was no chair on the hustings. Sir Charles began to speak immediately. I was within six yards of him: he said he was the first at the taking of the Bastile in France, and he hoped he should soon be at the demolishing of the bastiles in this country. When he said this, he pointed north-west. He told the people to be firm and united, for in a few weeks the great struggle would be made and ended. He said the ground whereon they were was sacred to the cause of liberty, as they had there once defeated their enemies. He said more, but I do not recollect it. Mr. Harrison stood next to him; he also spoke. He said they wanted to get to the throne, to see if there was a pig or a man on it, and if there were 10,000 walls between them they would blow them up either to heaven or hell. When he used the words "man or a pig," they were received with acclamations. Sir Charles was then on the hustings.

Cross-examined by Mr. PEARSON—I first mentioned these words to George Bullock, about a fortnight ago. I have a father and brothers, but I never mentioned it to them. I lodge with the father of Bullock. [Here witness repeated what he said in his direct examination relative to Sir C. Wolesley's speech]. I cannot say who spoke immediately after Sir Charles. I do not recollect what the other speakers said. Sir Charles spoke more than once. I do not know whether what I have now said of his speech was uttered all at once or in separate speeches. What Mr. Harrison said about a pig or a man, was received with merriment.

Examined by HARRISON—Bullock is here as a prisoner for felony. I had no hand in it.

Johnson again called—Said he was in the New Bailey Prison on a charge of felony. I was discharged by Mr. Phillips, the Magistrate.

Thos. Walsh examined by Mr. DEACON—I am a clerk at Manchester. I was at the Stockport meeting on the 28th of June. I heard Mr. Harrison reading a letter to the multitude. I do not recollect the words of it. I made some minutes on my return from the meeting. (Here the witness produced a paper). These are not my original notes. I wrote this from the notes.

Mr. PEARSON objected to the reading of the paper. It was necessary that notes to be evidence ought to be taken at or soon after the time the words were spoken. If there was a report given by any of the public papers, it would serve to refresh the memory of a witness, yet it would not be contended that a witness could be allowed such a reference.

Mr. PARK followed on the same side.

By the JUDGE—I made this memorandum about a month since.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL submitted that the witness had a right to refresh his memory from this paper. It was not intended that it should be put in as evidence *verbatim* of what passed. If the witness could take upon him to swear that the paper now in question contained the substance of his original notes it was sufficient, but if their Lordships had a doubt on the subject he would not press it.

The COURT decided that the witness ought not to be allowed to refer to this paper.

Examination continued—The substance of the letter was, that the Deity had created man for happiness, and a

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sufficiency of all good things to render him happy; but as the majority of that meeting were extremely unhappy and miserable, and rendered so by their rulers, the intentions of the Deity had been frustrated, and rebellion against that Government became almost a duty. Sir Charles was not present at this time. This was the general text upon which Harrison went. Sir Charles arrived while Mr. Harrison was reading. He was proposed as Chairman, I think, by Mr. Harrison. They shook hands.—Sir Charles next spoke. He thanked them for the honour they had done him in appointing him Chairman. He said he was no orator, but a determined friend of the people, and a friend to Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, and if any spies or informers were about him, let them tell the Castlereaghs and Sidmouths who employed them, that he abhorred and execrated them and their proceedings. This was received with much applause. He was then silent, and the business of the day was proceeded in. Several resolutions were proposed by different persons. They were read by Sir Charles. One of them was, that Lord Sidmouth was guilty of high treason. I cannot say that Sir Charles put this resolution. There was no opposition to any of the resolutions.

Mr. PEARSON said, the resolutions had been on paper, and ought to be produced.

The COURT over-ruled this objection.

Examination continued—Another resolution was, that there should be a general meeting of delegates at Oldham, or some other place agreed upon, to consider the best means of obtaining their rights. Another resolution was, that a subscription should be entered into to prosecute his Majesty's Ministers. The resolutions were read separately. I do not recollect who read the resolutions. They were read by some one on the hustings. He was near Sir Charles. Several persons spoke on various subjects; I think Sir Charles put the question on the resolutions to the meeting. Several had full sized walking sticks. They occasionally brandished their sticks as they cheered.—Mr. Wilkin, of Dewsbury, and Mr. Fitton, of Royton, also spoke. Sir Charles spoke again, he said he was a determined friend of the people, and should remain so while the last drop remained in his heart. He said his political career commenced in France, and he was one of those who mounted the ramparts at the destruction of the Bastile in that country, and he would not shrink from attacking the Bastiles in his own country. This was spoken with much warmth. I do not recollect what Wilkin said. Johnson read a very dull speech. A person in sailor's dress, in alluding to the panic which prevailed at a former meeting at Manchester, said that such conduct would not do at Oldham, they must boldly lay hold of the rope, and they would soon capsize Commodore Sidmouth and his crew.—This was said in the hearing of Sir Charles. There were some flags, one was surmounted by a Cap of Liberty. The mottos were, "No Corn Laws," and "Annual Parliaments." Harrison spoke after Sir Charles. He said that a deputation from the delegates should present their petitions in person, and to remove all obstacles in the way, for he did not know whether there was a man or a pig there. He said, as Ministers had procured a Bill of Indemnity to protect themselves, this meeting indemnify all the speakers, if any thing seditious be said. This resolution was passed with cries of "we do, we do."

Cross-examined by Mr. PEARSON—The public dispersed quietly about four o'clock. No mischief was done. I remained all the time of the meeting. I was not molested, nor did I feel any alarm for my safety. I should think the sticks I saw troublesome to carry; they might think otherwise. I was sent by Mr. Harrop, the proprietor of a Newspaper, to watch the proceedings. Harrison was reading from a paper when Sir Charles arrived. I will not swear to the precise contents of it. My memory might have been assisted by the paper I have. I will not pretend to swear exactly to what passed. To the best of my knowledge Sir C. did not read the Resolutions. I do not recollect his recommending that peace and good order should be preserved. I think that one Resolution was, "That as the Stewards of the Crown were amenable to the people, a subscription should be entered into to enforce the law. They could not be so silly as to think of holding a general meeting of the nation at Oldham. I cannot swear

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that the Resolution did not say "a general meeting of all the people." Several persons spoke. I did not hear any one say that peace should be their first law, for their enemies would have a strong hold of them if they committed violence. Johnson's speech went to shew from the Statutes that Annual Parliaments were part of the law of the land. I did not like his speech—I thought it dull.

Re-examined—I did not hold up my hand against the Resolutions, because I did not like them; besides, if I had, it would very soon have been put down. —Hearing an alarm that the military were coming, I saw a great number of sticks held up, as I thought in defiance. I have not the least doubt but what I have stated is true [Through the Court]. —Sir Charles's arrival was announced by a shout from the people. I saw no troops there. I did not go away when the sticks were held up. I felt no alarm.

Redmond Shawcross examined by Mr. J. LLOYD—I was at the Stockport Meeting. As soon as I arrived on the field, a man named Collier, from the Police Office, was knocked down by a number of people. They said he was a spy, and they would do all the rest so. Sir Charles was not there at the time. I did not notice Mr. Harrison. When Sir Charles arrived I got within 30 yards of the hustings. Then saw Harrison. I heard Sir Charles say he had begun his military career in France. I'll not be sure of the word military, but it was some career. I took minutes of what he said. He said he was at the taking of the Bastiles in France, and hoped he would soon be at the taking of the Bastiles in England. Then there was a great shout.

Cross-examined—I am the son of a clerk at the Police Office. My father took me to the meeting with him. I am 16 years of age. I am not positive the word military was used, but he said something to that effect.

John Stavely Barrett examined—I am a constable at Stockport; I was at the meeting of the 28th of June, a little before 12; I went as a spectator, but I was well known as a spectator. I saw Sir Charles in company with Parson Harrison; they were standing together, and appeared to have known each other; they stood near the Union Rooms. I saw Sir Charles mount the stage. He said he commenced his political career in France. He was the first to mount the Bastile in France, and he hoped soon to do so in this country. There was a report that the cavalry was coming; Sir Charles told the people to stand, he waved his hat, and the people shouted. I saw some very stout sticks, larger than walking sticks. They looked as if they were cut out of Kidd Wood, or from the tops of oak trees. I saw several people at a public house, whom I afterwards saw at the meeting; they talked about Sir Charles W. They were wishing that the cavalry would come, for they were prepared for them on that day. They had very large sticks. They said that Sir Charles was a great friend of theirs, and that many other gentlemen would shortly turn to their side. I did not take notice of what Harrison said.

Cross-examined—I was at the meeting; I saw nine or ten people in the public house; they all had sticks. They knew me to be a constable, for any thing I knew. I knew three of them; I had one of them in custody before that. There was a crowd of about 5000 persons at the meeting. The alarm was without foundation; no military came. I did not hear Sir Charles direct the people to keep the peace; if he said so to the people I must have heard him. I did not hear all he said. I was not at Mr. Prescott's that morning. I left the meeting before it concluded. I saw one man with a pistol in his pocket.

Examined by HARRISON.—I saw the handle of the pistol; it was not the handle of a knife. I should imagine it was not the handle of a tinder-pistol.

Mr. Sergt. CROSS—Perhaps he wanted to strike a light there.

Thomas Cartwright examined by Sergeant CROSS—I was a householder in Stockport in June last. I am a mercer and draper. I saw many persons coming into town from the Ashton side on that day. I saw all, or many of them, furnished with large sticks; many of them appeared to have been fresh cut from the trees, the bark was recently peeled off; some of them had large heads. I felt an apprehension of fear at seeing such large weapons. I went to Mr. Lloyd's office, where the Police meet, to represent what I had seen. I then went to the Meeting; I there saw many of the people with sticks. I saw

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a Gentleman on the stage who was pointed out to me as Sir C. Wolesley. The body of the Meeting was composed of men; I did not see a child or female, except on the outskirts. I heard Sir Charles say, "Three hisses to the prosecutors of Baguely, Drummond, and Johnson." I knew that these persons had been prosecuted for a Conspiracy. I think there were 5000 persons in the crowd. I was afraid that if the minds of the multitude were inflamed by the speeches usual on those occasions, the consequences might be serious.

Cross-examined.—The people were so furnished with weapons that it indicated to me a greater apprehension of danger than usual. The sticks were large boughs of trees. All the people had not sticks, but some thousands had them. The people gave three hisses. I swear, that the Gentleman pointed out to me as Sir Charles came forward and hissed. The same person directed the people to hiss. The women and children were so placed that, in a conflict between the people and the cavalry, they must have been destroyed; but there were not many women or children.

Re-examined—The women and children could go away if they pleased.

Mr. PARK begged to know if the witness Barrett might not be called back? He understood that that witness had, on going out of the box, made use of words which would shew the character of his evidence.

The COURT said, that they might call witnesses to discredit the witnesses for the prosecution, and to prove the expressions used by Barrett, if they pleased.

Ralph Oldham, Postmaster, at Stockport, produced a letter which reached him on the 3d of June. Mr. Lloyd proved it to be Sir Charles's writing. Here the two letters alluded to in the opening speech were put in and read.

Aaron Collier examined.—I am a constable. I was sent to watch the meeting on Sandy Brow. I got there between twelve and one o'clock. I saw the hustings erected. I did not see Sir C. Wolesley arrive. I do not know Harrison. I was standing in the crowd. Some one said, pointing at me, "that is Nadin's runner from Manchester." I walked on without taking any notice. When I had got about 10 yards I was struck with something. I heard some one say that I was a spy. Not half a minute after this I was hit on the head and knocked down senseless; on recovering I found myself in a house, and a woman was washing my head.

Cross-examined.—I had come from Manchester that morning. I did not on the way search a man. I had no suspicion of any one. I do not know who said that is Nadin's runner. The people were all strangers to me.

Re-examined.—I do not recollect molesting or speaking to any of the people.

Here the case for the prosecution closed.

Mr. PEARSON then addressed the Jury on behalf of Sir C. Wolesley. He commenced by stating that he never felt himself more embarrassed than he did on that occasion. His embarrassment, however, did not arise from any doubt of his client's case. He felt no dismay at the evidence given for the prosecution; he had not the slightest doubt but his client would be accquitted on the merits. It was a matter of congratulation to his client that the day had at length arrived when he could vindicate himself to the public of the many rumours and reports which had gone abroad respecting him. The Learned Counsel felt a satisfaction in knowing that what he then uttered, as well as what passed that day in Court, would be sent before an enlightened public, who would rejudge the judgment given in the case. His apprehensions, then, arose from a feeling that the Gentlemen of the Jury must all of them have heard observations made and opinions given; nay, not knowing that they were to be called on as jurors, must have made observations and given opinions upon the charge pending against the defendants. Let it not at the same time be understood, that he meant to infer from this, that the Gentlemen of the Jury had come into Court with their minds made up, as to the verdict they were to give; far from him were any such opinions. But the numerous reports sent through the country, must inevitably have biassed their minds in some measure, and this bias was formidable only from its being unperceived by the Jury themselves. That the Gentlemen of the Jury were men of education, and of strict honour and integrity, he had not the slightest

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doubt; but all this was necessary, in order to remove from their minds in one hour that which had been accumulating for months past. This was not a political question, nor were the Jury to expect from him a dissertation on political subjects. In a Court of Justice, neither politics nor party should ever be introduced. If he abstained then from giving any political opinions, in urging his clients, how more imperative on the Jury to dismiss any such, if they existed, from their minds. They were in that box in the exercise of the highest and most glorious privilege of Englishmen, the administration of justice. His Learned Friend, the Attorney-General, who, in opening the case, had conducted himself with that honour and liberality of feeling which always characterised him, had stated that the first count charged the defendants with unlawfully assembling, to the disturbance of the public peace, and having so assembled, with attempting, by certain speeches, to excite his Majesty's subjects to insurrection against the Government. Another count charged them with having assembled, for the purpose of disturbing the public peace. He knew it was not necessary for him to say much in order to shew that no conspiracy had been proved. If, however, the indictment had any meaning, Sir C. Wolesley must be acquitted unless a conspiracy was proved. How then was this charge of conspiracy made out? He felt surprised from the opening speech of his Learned Friend, as well as from what had fallen from the different witnesses, that this part of the case had not been abandoned altogether. He did expect a confession from his Learned Friend, that the ground had mouldered from beneath his feet. Where, he repeated, was there any proof of conspiracy? The only evidence of the previous acquaintance of the parties, was their having been seen together a few minutes before the meeting was held. But was a casual conversation in the streets, the substance of which nobody knew, to be tortured into a conspiracy? The Learned Attorney-General had, in the course of his speech, alluded to other trials; he hoped, therefore, he should be allowed to refer to a trial of great interest, and which attracted public attention for a considerable time—he meant the late proceedings at York. On that occasion the Learned Judge who presided, and who conducted himself on that as well as on all other occasions with a dignity and an ability which commanded the admiration and esteem of the public. Mr. Justice Bailey, laid it down as the law, that the defendants could not be convicted of a conspiracy unless it was shewn that they acted in the attainment of a common object by previous concert, and with the privity of all the parties. Where had it been shewn that the parties in this case had any previous concert? It was not denied that the parties had spoken a few moments before the trial, but was this legal proof of a conspiracy? If not, then there was no proof at all. Oh, but, said his Learned Friend, I shall prove beyond a doubt that a conspiracy did exist; but how did he go about proving it? Why he put in a letter written two days after the meeting, referring to a letter written from one of the defendants to the other, but which it was proved had never been received. There was no evidence of what the contents of this letter were; but even supposing that it was an invitation to attend the meeting, how could that be called a conspiracy? Sir C. Wolesley never saw it—he did not know it was written until the meeting was over. The whole case therefore must fall to the ground. He cared not whether Mr. Harrison was a friend to Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, or if similar opinions were entertained by Sir C. Wolseley. He did not argue in defence of such doctrines; he argued the case on a much more important ground, namely, that according to the law of the land no conspiracy existed. It was, in fact, a waste of time to dwell longer upon this part of the case. The next question for the Jury would be, whether the meeting was a legal one? and of this he trusted he should convince them before he sat down. On this point he should refer to the opinions of Mr. Sergeant Hawkins, who was an authority much looked up to upon this subject. He did not feel it necessary to go back to other great authorities, though the opinions of such great men as Hall would be strongly in his favour. Mr. Sergeant Hawkins said, "that any meeting assembled in such numbers, and under such circumstances as to create terror in the public mind, was

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unlawful." These were the words of Hawkins, who was pronounced by the Learned Judge as the best authority.—Did they think a man like Sir Charles Wolesley would stake his large property, his family, his country, upon the hazard of a die? To think so, would shew little of the feelings of human nature. In conclusion, the Learned Counsel said he had to thank the Jury for the patience with which he had been heard, and said he committed his client with the most entire confidence to the hands of the Jury. Sir Charles Wolesley desired him to meet the calumny contained against him in the indictment in the face of day—to plead for nothing—to urge no pleas of his family or liberty, or his station in society; but to meet the case upon its merits. Again he thanked the Jury for the indulgence they had shewn him, and committed his client to their impartiality and their sense of justice.

Mr. HARRISON spoke nearly as follows:—Gentlemen, I stand before you in a very particular situation. I was compelled by force to plead to the indictment, and I pleaded not guilty. The cause was afterwards removed to the Court of King's Bench, and as I stand before you in the manner that I do, I think it necessary to say a few things, perhaps many things, even for three or four hours. So I beg of you, Gentlemen, to exercise the greatest patience. And first, I must call your attention to the speech of Mr. Marshall, one of the Judges on the Bench, as it seems particularly addressed to my case, humble individual as I am. (Here the defendant read some extracts from the Learned Judge's speech, and in commenting on that part which talked of desperate adventurers being abroad, he said it would be for the Jury to determine from the evidence they heard, whether he was one of those classed under the title of desperate adventurers.) It could never have been designed for the Honourable Baronet; and if it were not intended for me, it was wholly irrelevant to the business of the Assizes, I being the only person charged with the crimes alluded to. If it were not for this speech, I do not know, Gentlemen, that I would have addressed you; and not having money to fee a Counsel, I was obliged to defend myself. But if I fall the earth shall quake as I do; I shall not fall without violence—that is, the violence of my prosecutors. If in the heat of my discourse my figures may have been too strong, what public speaker can escape? Did I stand before you conscious of crime, my conscience would feel it. Had I any intention of producing a sanguinary Revolution, I would take the Bar and plead guilty. When I considered the sham indictment—when I considered I was bound hand and foot with the Honourable Baronet, I looked to see where I was to be plunged, aye, even into hell. For the indictment, it is not worth reading. Had I been unjustifiable in my conduct, I should not object to being tried, but I am conscious of no crime. I love my country, and if I am asked what is my country to me, I say I love it, and it is necessary for me to vindicate my character. I wish not for rapine, I wish not for plunder; and however Reform may be called "nostrum," I say that whatever makes knaves honest, and bad men good, must prove a service to the community. Reform would, I know, in a great measure effect these desirable objects. I do not want the riches of others, nor do I think parliamentary reform would make poor men rich, or rich men poor. If I give a wrong direction to my Lord's speech, I hope he'll rectify it. Once the Constitution is gone, it is gone for ever; so say I; and "military despotism will ensue:" that is what the Reformers have all along dreaded. I take it for granted, Gentlemen, that you read the newspapers—that you read what is done in the House of Commons; and you can judge of the propriety of what is said of it by the Judge. I take it also for granted that you have read the *Chester Chronicle*, in which his charge is contained, and it is on that account I dwell so much upon it. That the Constitution of Great Britain is excellent none of us doubt, but not that as established by law, or else it would be a most fluctuating Constitution.—And if any laws be added to it, it cannot remain the Constitution, but must change, and sometimes be better and sometimes worse. "Vagabond orators," says the Speech, were to effect improper things—harsh expression in any sense, but more so as applied to me. I have endeavoured to stop the progress of vice and irreligion, which are abounding in the present day. The cheering doctrines of redemption have been my constant theme, and are still the delight of my soul. If it be blas-

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phemy to glory in the truths of the gospel; to be grateful that our divine Saviour came down from Heaven, and took on him the nature of man, for the purpose of securing us a victory over Sin, Hell, and the Grave—then indeed have I been a "Vagabond Orator"—then have I been a blasphemer. Pamphlets, containing improper things, have been circulated; but I consider it an Englishman's right to read every work, and then think of it as he feels proper. That cannot be considered as a right in any man, for the exercise of which he may be punished.—Mark the "buts," Gentlemen, we have rights, but if once they are exercised, they render men liable to be punished. At the meeting at Stockport one-fourth of the inhabitants only were at the meeting. Surely one is not a match for four; but, indeed, it has not been proved that any *terrorem populi* was used. I hope it will not be said here, as it was said in Scotland, that Scotch law is not English law, and that Cheshire law also is not English law. It is not from your prejudices, Gentlemen, that I expect or fear for any thing. I hope you will not defile your oaths; and if you give a verdict contrary to the evidence, you will do so. The leaders of Reform are charged with sanctioning military training; I know of none who do so; and if such practices were now followed, it would be against the law, that I know; but then it is because of a recent enactment that makes it illegal. But the Reformers are charged with every thing to bring them into disrepute. What is said of large meetings of the people, equally applies to election and other county meetings. I shall not say the indictment was framed to murder two innocent individuals—no, that would be too strong; I dare not say so; but I say, the sabre has pierced to the vitals, and was only prevented killing because it could not reach far enough. Then we have something on the Cato-street conspiracy, as it is called, I suppose to connect me with those foolish, absurd, rash men, who engaged in such an enterprise. Some gentlemen behind me won't let me speak. Perhaps there are some men who would accuse me of participating with the men on whom sentence was so solemnly pronounced this morning, but of that I am quite guiltless. Why was sentence pronounced on them this morning, if not in some measure or other to be connected with me by some association of ideas? The attempt at Birch was an injury to me, an injury to the cause of Reform, and if I saw the man lift the pistol against him, I would have interposed and saved him: Birch behaved to me like a gentleman, like a friend, and I hate the man who could attempt to assassinate him. If we had base designs, if we were such villains as are described in the Learned Judge's speech, we would deserve the punishment that impends upon us. I do not think it worth while to comment on the praises given to the Magistracy. The Chester Yeomanry "flew to arms,"—civil war gentlemen "flew to arms," not against the Spanish, not to cut down the French or Germans; and should not I be very neglectful to myself, if, as it may be, you are some of these praised people, not to notice this speech. You are all strangers to me, but you are Englishmen, and every Englishman I love. But we are "pretended Reformers;" still hypocrites—that hurts me; we have been zealous and sincere, and we have shewn ourselves in earnesst to obtain redress for our grievances. We have grievances, and while we use every zeal to procure Reform, I cannot abide it that we should be called hypocrites, pretended reformers [involuntary laughter here burst forth, from the vociferous manner in which the last passage was expressed.] You might have hitherto heard that Juries have done their duty; so far good. I hope all Juries will do their duty. So much for the Learned Judge's speech, as far as refers to one individual. I can't suppose my dilating on his speech will offend the Learned Judge, for he looked upon me while I was doing so with a very pleasant countenance [loud and continued laughter throughout the Court]. Gentlemen of the Jury, I hold in my hand another help, unbought, unasked, unsought, and unexpected, as if that Providence who knew my condition had given me a help when I most needed it. That help is—"A few brief Remarks by Jeremy Bentham" (a laugh), a great lawyer, one of the ablest men in England, perhaps I might say in the world, and I dare say, if their Lordships spoke of him they would say the same. But, Gentlemen, I have not

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yet read over the indictment, and I shall proceed to read it (laughter). [He here read it as we have given it in the early part of our Report, and as he read, it excited the continued risibility of the crowds who heard him.] He now commenced reading Bentham's Remarks, and after he had gone through several pages, he was persuaded by some gentlemen who stood near him, not to proceed further in their perusal; but he observed: "I like these remarks; they are free, and I like freedom; I look upon them as a help sent me by Providence. I shall now then come to a close; my cause, Gentlemen, is in your hands. I had a great deal to say, but to accommodate friends, I shall not make the observations I intended. My cause is in your hands, there may be some doubts in your minds, and by the law of the land you will give the benefit of them to the defendants. It cuts me to the heart to think upon the conduct of some Juries in this part of the country. It has struck me that they take too little time to consider of the fate to which their verdict may consign a party; even six months' imprisonment would be a serious loss to me; but you cannot convict me without forfeiting your oaths. I ask no favour; I only want justice, and I demand it. But what if the Jury have beforehand made up their minds? Why, rather had I bear what I must suffer on account of their errors, than see the glorious right of Trial by Jury done away. If you find me guilty, look at what will be my fate, taken from my family, without the comforts of a letter, unless liable to be opened, as you have seen done this day, without my leave; not that it contained any thing wrong, but let it be on ever such secret business, it would be the same. What I have said has never been fairly reported; that is, no reporter ever wholly followed me throughout any one of my speeches. I do not know if the Learned Counsel for the Honourable Baronet intends to bring forward evidence against evidence; but for myself I would do so. If I do not bring forward evidence, my enemies will say I had none; and not producing it, may tell their Lordships it is enough to make me guilty. I shall leave the case where it is; I know there will be a verdict, and I hardly know that it will concern me much whether it be one of Guilty or Not Guilty. I do not despair, my heart knows not despair; and whether the verdict be for me or against me, I say, the will of the Lord be done."

Thomas Garnett was some time ago a reporter to *The Manchester Chronicle*. It is generally considered a Ministerial Paper: I attended the meeting in Stockport to report the proceedings; I have no doubt there were 5,000 persons present; one circumstance rather alarmed me, it was a person in the employment of Mr. Nadin, who was employed before Sir Charles Wolesley came there; if Sir Charles Wolesley had told the people to be patient for a little time and that all would then be well, he must have heard it.

Cross-examined by Mr. BENYON.—The paper he reported for is of Ministerial politics; he was within three yards of the hustings, and went to take an account of the proceedings.

Robert Thomas Hanson attended the Meeting at Stockport for *The Manchester Observer*. I felt no terror at any thing I saw; the shops were open; all that I saw were; I heard Sir Charles address the police-officers to keep the peace, and then to the people to be so; he said, he often found peace officers break the peace, and he now begged them to keep it; if he said in a few weeks the great struggle would be made and ended, he must have heard it; he heard no such thing.

Cross-examined by Mr. LLOYD.—Remembers Harrison saying, "it was as foolish to petition the House of Commons as if a master were to go down upon his knees to entreat his menial servant to do that duty for which he is engaged and paid;" remembers his saying, "to petition them as they now are, is absolutely folly;" he said "it is a grand principle that a whole nation cannot err, and if there be a thousand walls between us and our Prince, we shall blow them all down, either to heaven or hell, but we will have them down;" those are not exactly Harrison's words, but the effect is substantially the same; he remembers Sir Charles Wolesley's saying something about the Bastile, but witness could not exactly mention what he said.

Re-examined by Mr. PARK.—Harrison said it was useless to have petitions addressed to the Throne, as Lord Sid-

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mouth refused to present them; it was with reference to Lord Sidmouth that he used the expression of "ten thousand walls;" he does not recollect Harrison's having objected to petition the House of Lords.

James Swindon examined by Mr. PEARSON.—I am a draper in the town of Stockport; I felt no alarm that day; my shop was not shut, and business was going on that day as usual.

Here the case for the defendants closed; and the Court adjourned at a quarter after eight till to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY, APRIL 11.

A few moments after the arrival of the Learned Judges this morning,

Mr. BENYON (Attorney-General for Chester) commenced his reply. Gentlemen of the Jury, I now beg leave to entreat your attention while I reply to the observations made by the defendants, and offer such comments on the evidence as the nature of my case demands. We must first, Gentlemen, recur to the charge made against the defendants, for it has been endeavoured to put a different interpretation on it, from that which it requires; and we shall also have to consider the legality of one of the counts of the indictments, to which some objections have been taken by the Learned Counsel by Sir C. Wolseley. We have alleged, first, that these parties assembled an unlawful assembly, an assembly calculated to disturb the public peace, and by different means to excite in the minds of the people a contempt and hatred of the Government and Constitution of the Realm, as by law established. This general allegation appears to me to contain two offences—First, that of assembling an unlawful assembly; and secondly, by seditious words and other means inciting the people to contempt and hatred of the Constitution, as by law established. My Learned Friend has, Gentlemen, endeavoured to impress it on your minds, that the assembly was not unlawful, because not so stated on the record, because it did not appear that it was in terror of the people, and that it was not proved in evidence to have any tendency of that nature. But it is not because people of nerve were not alarmed, that it may therefore be pronounced not unlawful. If the number of people was so great; if they had weapons in their hands; if they were attended by such banners and insignia, as must naturally produce terror;—if all this be proved in evidence, then the meeting at Stockport was unlawful. If ever there were a tumultuous assembly, it is that to which our attention has been attracted yesterday and this day. The Learned Counsel for the defendants made several allusions to the trial of Mr. Hunt at York, and I did not attempt to stop him. But whatever was done at York, the Juries of Chester have nothing whatever to do with it. I am obliged to the Learned Counsel for his mention of the case of the King and Hunt, and I say, if that were a case for conviction, the one before us is ten times stronger. Hunt was taken from the meeting at Manchester before he spoke. Here seditious words have been used; this Meeting had considerably more of terror in it—and, in short, it has every one concomitant circumstance, with one exception, namely, that here seditious words were actually used. If, then, we are to call to mind what was done by others at that meeting, we find the case ten times stronger as to this. Hawkins, and other learned authorities, have been cited as to the legality of one of the acts charged in the indictment: with that you have nothing to. There seems to me no necessity for dividing the case, the facts of it are perfectly clear before you. With respect to the legality of the meeting, one may say it was assembled under the specious pretext of petitioning for Parliamentary Reform. Parliamentary Reform! I check myself; for though many of these unhappy meetings were assembled under such apparent motives, the mask was here completely thrown off, and there was no man who heard of the meeting of the 28th of June but must know that it had no more to do with petitioning for Reform than it had with any other purpose that the imagination of man could suggest. In this case the defendants stood together on the hustings—they were each participators in the whole of the proceedings, and if any thing unpleasant to Sir C. Wolseley had occurred, if he found he was not in good company, would he not have left them? He gave his complete assent to whatever was said by Harrison; and if the language used by him was seditious in its nature, Sir C. Wolseley was, in point of law, equally guilty with the

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person who uttered it. The meeting was also attended with flags.

Mr. PARK here observed that there was no evidence of more than one flag having been used.

Mr. BENYON proceeded—"Well, one flag is as good as one hundred. The inscriptions upon it sufficiently prove the objects of the meeting. Crowds attended from distant places, and even from different counties, armed with sticks and other offensive weapons. And then can it be gravely contended, that such an assembly was met together for the purpose only of obtaining Parliamentary Reform? It has been set up as a justification of this meeting, that every man has a right to meet for the purpose of petitioning. It has even been said that people may proceed to such meetings with flags and other insignia, provided their object be petition. But, Gentlemen of the Jury, will you believe that this is the way to obtain a Repeal of the Corn Laws, if they be objectionable? And as to all the farrago of Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot, if any man, or set of men, were gravely and quietly to petition for their adoption, I should lament their folly, while I pitied their judgments, and should think they meant not a Reform, but a complete overthrow and revolution. For, depend upon it, if ever these things are granted, this will no longer remain a happy country, with a mixed and balanced Constitution, but will become a wild and dangerous Republic. If, however, there are persons who think that these things will prove of service, I should find no fault with their quietly assembling to procure them, but I do find fault with those who attend such meetings with insignia only calculated for the purposes of intimidation. Harrison said, "we don't come here to petition the House of Commons," and Sir C. Wolesley assented to it. "We won't," said Harrison, "petition the Sovereign, nor the House of Lords, in its present corrupt state."

Mr. HARRISON—I hope, my Lord, you will keep the Learned Gentleman to the truth.

Mr. BENYON.—I wish you, Gentlemen of the Jury, to take nothing from me. If I inadvertently state any thing inconsistent with my notes of the evidence, it will be in the power of their Lordships and yourselves to correct it. It will be, however, in your recollection, that Harrison did not advise the petition to the House of Lords or Commons. Then add to that the *barriers* and the "ten thousand walls," and ask yourselves if I am wrong in stating, that it was no more a meeting for the purpose of petition than any thing that the imagination of man can suggest? Now we come to the seditious expressions. I shall not draw your attention to them further than this:—You recollect the expressions used by Sir Charles Wolesley, relative to the Bastiles, as well as those of Harrison about his ignorance, a man or a pig filled the Throne, as well as the other expressions of contempt of the Sovereign, and it will be for you, as men of education, as men of sense, to say whether those expressions were not seditious, and were not used, as the language itself imports, for the purpose of bringing the Royal Authority into contempt. The second count charges the defendants with a conspiracy, and I shall convince you that it is not vulnerable either in law or in fact, but made out in many different ways by the evidence; by what occurred before and at the meeting, as well as by what was anticipated from the contemplated meeting at Oldham to be held on a future day.—If the witnesses are to be believed, I shall demonstrate a conspiracy. All this, Gentlemen, is to depend—must depend on the evidence you have heard, and not upon what learned men have said. Mr. Bentham, every one admits, is a clever man, but he might as well talk of what occurred at China, as of what was going on in this Court. He might certainly write or comment upon the nature of an indictment, but he could not know the nature of the facts to be proved, and not knowing this, he was totally incompetent to form a just opinion of the case. It was urged that Sir C. Wolesley could not be made responsible for what was said or done by any other persons at the meeting; but let me ask you, Gentlemen, whether he might not, if he disapproved of what was said, have retired; and whether his remaining was not an approval of the observations used by Harrison? I give Sir C. Wolesley credit for wishing to preserve peace in the meeting. A regard for their own safety would have prevented them from meeting the constables face to face. As

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to the expressions relative to the Bastile in France, had Sir Charles gone no further than expressing his satisfaction at its destruction, I should not have objected to it, but I object to his instituting a comparison between that and any gaol in this country. At that time, a man could be immured in prison by a *lettre de cachet*, without any opportunity or means of inquiring into or vindicating himself from the charge against him; but here it was not in the power even of a King to commit a man to gaol without leaving him his right of *Habeas Corpus*—of demanding his trial, or his immediate discharge. Where then is there any similitude between either the prisons or constitution of the two countries? But I will tell you what was meant by the mention of the Bastile. One of the first steps to the French Revolution was the destruction of that establishment. I may be deceived—I may be warped in my opinions, but I cannot help urging; I cannot conceive but that he meant a similar stir should take place here. Great as was the evil of Harrison's language, it was light in the scale compared with that of Sir C. Wolesley. The language of Mr. Burke on the French Revolution, was quoted to shew the innocence of the expressions of Sir. C. Wolesley, but was there any similitude, any resemblance between the occasions or the manner in which the different expressions were used? Every man is accountable for his words, and if the words of Sir C. Wolesley can bear an innocent interpretation, let the defendants have all the advantage of it in a criminal prosecution. I think them highly criminal. The evidence on the part of the prosecution, has been corroborated by that for the defendants, and under all the circumstances of the case, I cannot but feel satisfied that we have demonstrated the meeting to have been unlawfully assembled, and that such seditious expressions were made use of as to bear on the first count of the indictment. With regard to that for conspiracy, I think we have satisfactorily proved it. We have given in evidence a letter of Sir C. Wolesley, where he complains of a letter to Harrison having been delayed in its progress. We have shewn them to have been together before the meeting, to have been together on the hustings—Sir Charles Wolesley, as chairman, taking a leading part, assenting to all that was said by Harrison; and we have given you beside a letter from Harrison to Baguely, who is confined in Chester Castle, in which he details the numbers who attended and the general circumstances of the meeting. Could Sir Charles Wolesley have come to that meeting, and be called by acclamations to the Chair, without a previous knowledge of what was to be done? But even though he had no such knowledge, I say that at that meeting they conspired to bring the Government and Constitution of the country into hatred and contempt. This, of itself, I allege, constitutes a conspiracy. Gentlemen, I need not labour the question further. I think it is as clear a case as ever was submitted to a Jury. I beg pardon for detaining you so long. I leave it wholly in your hands, knowing you will shew no favour to the Government on the one side, or to the defendants on the other. If you have any reasonable doubts on your minds, give the benefit of it to the defendants. Justice must be done, without any consideration as to the parties immediately interested; and I hope you will give such a verdict as will prove satisfactory to the county of Chester, as well as to your own consciences and to the kingdom at large.

The CHIEF JUSTICE (Mr. Warren), in recapitulating the evidence to the Jury, said, that any meeting or great number of people assembled together, armed in a warlike manner, was illegal, for no one could foresee what might be the effect of such assemblies. This was laid down by Hawkins, and with it he concurred. In reading the evidence of Winterbotham, his Lordship said it would be useless; it would be an idle waste of time to say that Harrison's expressions were not seditious. Their natural import was of that character. It was forcibly said by the Attorney-General, commenting on the use of the word Bastile by Sir Charles Wolesley, that there were no Bastiles in England. And coming from such a man as Sir Charles Wolesley, it would be for the Jury to decide what construction should be put on them. The Jury would see there was an evident allusion to there being some prison in England, where men were treated as if in a Bastile. And taking all his words, it was contended they were not seditious; but if

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they considered the effect such words as his must have had upon an assembly of 5000 people, how could they even in the largest charity be otherwise estimated than as seditious? They had only a part of the speech spoken offered in the evidence of Bowerman, and if there were any thing else said, some one on the part of the defendants would certainly have been produced. Although Sir Charles Wolesley did not himself put the cap of liberty on the flag, he yet suffered it to be done; he assented to it, and doing so was answerable for any criminality attached to such an act. It would be absurd to suppose that Sir Charles Wolesley, a man of fortune, rank, and family, would have mounted a scaffold by some accident. It would be trifling with the most ordinary understanding to think he there met Harrison and Fitton, without some previous understanding that he should have done so.

HARRISON here said, it was not given in evidence that any previous meeting had taken place between him and Sir Charles Wolseley.

CHIEF JUSTICE—He would leave it to the Jury to see what Sir Charles Wolesley meant by the "great struggle." With whom was it to be? With tyranny and corruption; and who were the tyrants? Why, the rulers of the land. What is the great struggle? Are these words of peace or consolation, or have they any possible bearing on the question of Reform? If for Reform, they substitute violence and revolution, then they would come more nearly to the real character of the meaning of the words. In his view that was the only meaning that could be put upon them. Sandy Brow was, it appeared, sanctified by Baguely, a man who was now imprisoned for his crime; it was consecrated to the cause of liberty by Johnson, also imprisoned; and it was to become greater in their annals than the glorious plain of Waterloo. Couple this with the contemptuous derision which Harrison expressed towards the person of a Sovereign to be respected by every good and loyal subject.

Mr. HARRISON—My Lord, the witness first said laughter; another said my allusion was received with acclamation; and there is a difference between them and another, who said it was meant in derision.

CHIEF JUSTICE—Let him, Gentlemen, have the benefit of this difference: one witness said, his allusion to the Sovereign, as not knowing if a man or a pig were on the throne, was received with derision, another with acclamation. But it was trifling with the Court thus to interrupt a summing up.

MR. PARK—I am sorry, my Lord, to interrupt your Lordship; but there certainly appeared to me to be this difference in the evidence as to the manner in which these expressions of Harrison were received; Sir C. Wolesley was not present when they were used.

CHIEF JUSTICE—Well, let me pursue the evidence, the contradiction as to these words could scarcely be called so; whatever was said shall not be forgotten. I wish to act fairly by all parties. Harrison said he did not know what sedition meant, but his words were evidently seditious. Sir Charles Wolesley heard all this—

Sir C. WOLESLEY—No, my Lord, I did not hear this; I was not there.

CHIEF JUSTICE—You are right. Gentlemen, Sir C. Wolesley was not there when Harrison said it was almost a duty to resist the Government of the country, but Sir Charles put the Resolutions to the Meeting, one of which said that Lord Sidmouth was guilty of high treason; another was, that a general meeting of delegates should take place at Oldham, to consider the best means of obtaining their rights; another was, to make a collection for the purpose of defraying the expences of a prosecution against his Majesty's Ministers, and all this to an assembly of five thousand people, many of them armed with sticks, which they brandished in approbation of them. He would leave it to the Jury to decide the meaning of the sailor's phrase, "that they must all pull the rope together, and thereby capsize Commodore Sidmouth." It appeared that the meeting at Stockport was not only a meeting for what went forward at it, but for money, for the encouragement, for the protection of those who might engage in similar pursuits, or be prosecuted for their sedition. The moment the people heard the soldiers were coming they held up their sticks, which shewed the use for which they brought them. They knocked down a police officer in proof of what they would have done, and

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could that be a peaceable meeting when such deeds were done? Sir Charles told them to stand firm when the military were reported to be coming, so that he assumed to himself to be their leader. If they were afraid of the cavalry coming, their meeting they must have supposed to be illegal; and when they said they were prepared for them, what did they mean but that their sticks should have been used to meet them? "Rebellion is almost a duty," was the sign to which gentlemen were invited by Sir Charles Wolesley and Mr. Harrison. "Give three hisses for the prosecutors of Baguely, Johnson, and Drummond," said Sir Charles, and thus marked out persons who had done their duty to the vengeance of five thousand people. Letters passed between the two defendants, one four days before the meeting, which fixes them in correspondence; and a second addressed to Baguely from Harrison, giving an account of the Stockport Meeting on the 28th of June, which evidently shews an acquaintance between Harrison and Sir Charles Wolesley. A police officer sent to watch their proceedings, was knocked down and bruised as a spy. But if the object of the meeting were peaceable, if it were constitutional, why should those assembled have had any terror of a spy? From the necessity of the case, the learned Counsel for the defendants kept out of sight the main objects that pressed against Sir Charles. He confined himself to the mottoes on the flag, he endeavoured to shew the meeting was not to the terror of the people; but it was the duty of the Jury to look at the numbers assembled, the weapons they had, and, under all the circumstances, see if it was calculated to excite terror in the mind of any reasonable man. The Jury would recollect, many at the meeting were strangers, and it was not left in doubt that they said they were prepared to meet the cavalry on that day with bludgeons, which were by several Acts of Parliament considered most offensive weapons. The number of people, the place whence they came, their conduct, their arming, would all be considered by the Jury. So far as to its illegality, the first question they would have to try; and secondly, if any seditious speeches had been uttered, and uttered by the defendants. Mr. Harrison, in his defence, commented on what he called an improper speech of the learned Judge (Marshall), but which he (the Chief Justice) considered as very proper, and made quotations from Jeremy Bentham, which he called a help from Heaven. Bentham, doubtless, was a clever man, but it was lamentable to see so silly a book come from so able a man. It was unpleasant to see a man like Sir Chas. Wolesley—a man of fortune, family, and private virtue—it was lamentable to see such a man as the companion of Harrison; but all that should not prejudice the course of Justice. If they believed the evidence, they were bound to convict the defendants, and not let the generosity of the heart and feelings of the mind have any influence upon their deliberation. The second count in the indictment charged the defendants with conspiracy. It was urged that previous communication was necessary to be established before that charge could be made out; but a conspiracy sufficient to support the indictment was made out in this case; from the whole tenor of the proceedings Sir Charles was the man who took the leading part, and excited the people to tumult and the overthrow of the Government. Was the coalescence of the actions and opinions of defendants a matter of mere accident? or will it not appear they acted in concert, and, therefore, conspired to effect the most dangerous objects. In his view the second count of the indictment was sufficiently supported. The evidence for the defendant did not at all shake the testimony given on the part of the prosecution; for, although the Reporters did not hear certain words, it might so happen to them from the place in which they were situated, or from lapse of memory; but the use of seditious expressions was positively sworn to by two witnesses for the Crown. They were now called upon, first to consider if the meeting were an unlawful assembly, and then, if seditious speeches were uttered to excite contempt. In that case the Jury should find a verdict of guilty against both the defendants. And if they concerted a scheme and used seditious expressions after, they should also find them guilty. Gentlemen, you will consider of your verdict.

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During the progress of the Learned Judge's charge, he was occasionally reminded of some variations between his Lordship's notes of the evidence and that taken by the defendants, and suffered some other interruption, of which he complained.

The Jury, on retiring, wished for a copy of the indictment, which was handed to them; and after remaining in consultation for nearly three quarters of an hour, returned with a verdict of GUILTY AGAINST BOTH THE DEFENDANTS.—They were immediately called upon to give bail for their appearance on the next Term, which was immediately complied with on the part of Sir Charles Wolesley, and Mr. Harrison was allowed to leave the Court in order to procure his, the Attorney-General, intimating to him, that he had no doubt of his speedy return.

COBBETT'S

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER,

OR

REPORTS

OF THE

DEBATES, PROCEEDINGS, AND ACTS,

Of the First Session of the First Parliament of

KING GEORGE THE FOURTH,

Begun and holden at Westminster, on Friday, the Twenty-first Day of April, in the year 1820.

The First Number of this work will be published on Saturday, the 6th of May. It is intended to publish one Number on every succeeding Saturday, during the Session; and to have the Volume complete in two weeks after the close of the Session. The measures of the next Session must necessarily be of extraordinary interest, involving as they probably may, the very fate of the country. To make a work of this kind as useful as the case admits of, the compiler must himself have a tolerable share of knowledge of the several matters discussed; and especially when present measures grow out of past measures, and have reference to facts, well known amongst those engaged in the discussion, but not familiar to the understandings, or recollection, of the public in general. This observation applies with particular propriety to discussions relating to questions of Finance, Paper-Money, and, indeed, all questions of great national importance. It is intended, therefore, to give explanations in the way of NOTES, wherever it may be found necessary, in the course of this work; and thus to put it in the power of every reader fully to enter into the merits of every question, as to which men in general must naturally desire to be well-informed, and on which they must wish to form a correct judgment. The price of each Number, containing *two sheets and a quarter*, will be SIX PENCE, and as it will always be published at the same time and place as the POLITICAL REGISTER, it may be conveniently obtained both in town and country. The numbers during the Session (probably twenty) will make a Volume of convenient size, the referring to the several matters in which will be rendered easy by a perspicuous arrangement and by every aid that can be afforded by Tables, Lists and Indexes.

BROOM-CORN SEED.

In one of the Registers, published here, while I was in America, and in the last PART of my Year's Residence, there is an essay on this beautiful and useful plant, which produces the *wisk*, of which the *carpet brooms* are made. Brooms, made of this same wisk, are used to sweep *the streets*, in New York, while the best of cloathes-brushes are made of the same thing! The plant requires strong summer heat. The *seed* of it will not *ripen* in England; but, I am of opinion, that the *wisk* would arrive at a state of perfection sufficient for broom-making; and, indeed, a gentleman has sent me a specimen, grown in

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England, last year, which convinces me that this opinion is correct. At any rate, the plant is beautifully ornamental, and would to a certainty answer the other useful purposes, mentioned in my essay; and which I will fully detail in the *Register*.—The time of sowing is now approaching; and I have imported some seed, which is now for sale in *small quantities* by Messrs. CLEMENT and BENBOW, No. 269, Strand.—There are some of these *brooms* to be shewn as specimens.

N.B. There was a gentleman, whom I saw at Coventry, who talked to me about the broom-corn *wisk*, of which I have *a quantity for sale*. I will wait *a week* before I sell it, or offer it, to any body else. The *hubbub* made me forget both his name and address.

INDIAN CORN SEED.

This is an *early* kind, such as I grew at Botley for many years, and had very fine indeed. Some of the seed is for sale by Messrs. Clement and Benbow. —This is a very *rare* kind, even in America, and is cultivated only for the *table*.

WATER MELON SEED.

Those only who have been in hot countries are, perhaps, to be persuaded, that this is the finest of all summer fruits. I used to grow it at Botley in great perfection; and I have imported a little of the seed. *Now* is a very good time to sow it. It may be had as above in *very small quantities*. I have very little; but I wish somebody to *try* it.

Printed and Published by C. Clement, 269, Strand.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

Vol. 36.---No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, May 6, 1820. [*Price*, 6*d*.

TO

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT,

AT NEW YORK,

On the Death of Mr. Arthur Thistlewood, James Ings, William Davidson, John Thomas Brunt, *and* Richard Tidd, *condemned for High Treason; and executed in London, on Monday, the 1st of May*, 1820.

London, 2d May, 1820.

My dear Son,

I told you, many weeks back, that this country was in such a state, that it was impossible for the wisest man in it to be able to say, on any day, what would happen the next day. The *Six Acts*, which were passed in December last, were, it was said, intended to insure the *peace* and *harmony* of the country. They have answered no such end; and, as you will have seen, long before you will see this, *smothered thoughts* are much more troublesome to a government than thoughts which are freely uttered.

Numerous proofs of this might be produced; and another long lesson might be read to the foes of the press. But, at present, I shall, in addressing you, confine myself to an account of an event which has just taken place, and which has deeply interested, and which will long interest, every soul in this kingdom; and which has, indeed, produced a *shock* in the public mind, greater than any other, which this kingdom has felt for more than a century past.

I send you The Trials, as published by Messrs. Clement and Benbow, in an octavo form. Read them carefully through; and pray give them to some

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printer, who will *re-publish* them in America, together with the observations and the account which I now address to you. These Trials will give you and the American public a pretty correct notion of *the things intended to be done* by the Conspirators; their *motives* you must gather from their own declarations; and these you will find in the account, which I shall presently insert for your and the public's perusal.

To do *justice* to the memory of the dead is one of those acts, which must receive the applause of all good men. None but black-hearted villains would ever wish that such acts should not be performed. By *justice* I do not mean the *bestowing of praise* merely: what I mean is, the speaking of *truth* of the dead. Setting them forth and sending them down to posterity in their *true* light. And I say, that any man, who is an enemy to this, is a villain.

The mode that I shall pursue, in order to effect this object, as far as I am able, is to give you, from other public prints, or from relations which are undeniably true, an account of what passed at the condemnation and execution of Mr. THISTLEWOOD and his associates. And it is the more necessary to do this, as it is notorious that, from the moment of their apprehension to the day of their trial, the daily press of London and the Country Newspapers, had been teeming with the most shocking abuse of them. In these vehicles they had continually been described as *murderers, assassins, bloodthirsty monsters*, and as every thing calculated to excite public hatred against them; while no man, who had the smallest regard for his own safety, dared to utter a syllable, tending to stem this torrent of cruel calumny; or even to hint at the *possibility* of the calumniated persons being innocent of wicked intention. At last, however,

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they are *dead*; and we may now, surely, be permitted to relate, to peruse, to remember, and to think of, their *dying declarations*. If we find it prudent to refrain from saying any thing ourselves, we may, surely, repeat to one another what the Conspirators said for themselves. We may, too, point out to one another, the import and tendency of particular parts of their declarations; and see whether these agree with the principles and motives which have been imputed to the Conspirators.

There is another reason for this, besides that of doing *justice* to the dead; namely, to shew the falseness of the pretence, that this Conspiracy rose ont of the *instigation of the press*. The moment this Conspiracy was discovered, the corrupt part of the press began a new howl against "*seditious and blasphemous publications*." This was done, in order to pave the way for urging the necessity of still further restraint on that part of the press which still stood out for Reform. What *further* could have been done, or can be done, short of a *Bourbon Censorship*, it would be hard to say. But that this was the motive of the writers in question there can be no doubt. It is, therefore, of great importance to shew, that the Conspirators were actuated by things, with which the Radical Press had had nothing to do. Every effort possible has, as you will see, been made to trace the conspiracy to the press; and, as you will also see, all these efforts have failed.

You will bear these things in mind as you read the *Trials*. And here, I should tell you, that I believe *we never should have had the Trials in print at all*, had it not been for Mr. CLEMENT, the Proprietor of the OBSERVER newspaper. The Court, on the opening of the Commission, issued an order, forbidding any publication of

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the evidence, *until the whole of the trials should be ended.* In consequence of this, the *daily* papers published nothing but *garbled sketches* of the proceedings; and, therefore, the public in general had no means of coming at any thing like the truth. But, when the first *Sunday* came, by means of a double sheet of his immense newspaper, Mr. C. sent forth *the whole* of the trials of Mr. THISTLEWOOD and of INGS! And for this the Judges ordered him to pay a *fine to the King* of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS. He had no *trial* you will observe: no *jury* had any thing to do with the matter: is was a fine, inflicted by the Judges themselves, on their authority as Judges.

Whether Mr. CLEMENT will make a stand against this is more than I can say; but, at any rate, the *relations of the prisoners* have, as Mr. CLEMENT says, expressed *their* satisfaction at his conduct; and, I am decidedly of opinion, that, had it not been for him, these trials never would have been placed within the reach of the Labouring Classes of the people. And yet, was it not desirable that *they*, in particular, should be made fully and speedily acquainted with *all* that was brought out at these trials?

Bear these things in mind as you read the trials. *Observe well who the witnesses are;* and pay particular attention to all that is said about EDWARDS. Observe, too, that the CONSPIRATORS were not convicted upon the *Old*, but upon the *New*, Treason-Law. The Old Law of Treason was all embodied in one act, passed in the reign of King EDWARD THE THIRD. But, during PITT's administration, in 1796, no longer than *twenty-four years ago*, a new Treason-Law, brought in by Lord GRENVILLE, was passed, to last *during the life of the late King.* This law was, in 1817, by another act, made to extend to the end of the life of the

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Prince Regent, and made applicable to him as well as the King. This law makes it High-Treason to conspire *to use force to compel the King to change his measures.* According to this law, it is High-Treason to conspire to use force, or to urge by *writing*, to use force to *overawe either House of Parliament.* This was the law on which the conviction of these Conspirators took place; and not, as has been asserted, on the laws that have been "in existence in this country, *for ages.*"

Having said this much by way of preface, I shall now suppose you to have read the Trials attentively, and shall give you an account of the DEATH of the Five Conspirators, beginning with what passed at

THE CONDEMNATION.

Sentence of Death passed upon the Conspirators.

Friday.

This morning, at a quarter after nine, Lord Chief Justice Abbott, Lord Chief Justice Dallas, the Chief Baron, Mr. Justice Richards, Mr. Justice Best, and the Common Serjeant, took their seats.

Mr. Brown, the gaoler, was immediately requested to bring the prisoners to the bar. In a few minutes the clank of chains was heard, and the eleven prisoners entered the court. They were all double ironed, with the exception of Ings, who has been much indisposed since his conviction. Thistlewood came first, and advanced to the bar. There was a melancholy resignation in his countenance. He appeared considerably altered since the last time of his being in court.

All being in readiness,

Mr. Shelton (the clerk of the arraigns), addressing himself to Thistlewood, said, — "Arthur Thistlewood, you stand convicted of high treason: what have you to say why you should not receive judgment to die, according to law?"

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Thistlewood immediately drew forth a manuscript address, which he proceeded to read in a mournful tone, and with a strong provincial accent, as follows:

"My Lords,—I am asked, my Lord, what I have to say that judgment of death should not be passed upon me according to law. This to me is mockery—for were the reasons I could offer incontrovertible, and were they enforced even by the eloquence of a Cicero, still would the vengeance of my Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth be satiated only in the purple stream which circulates through a heart more enthusiastically vibrating to the impulse of patriotism and honor, than that of any of those privileged * * * to their country, who lord it over the lives and property of the sovereign people with barefaced impunity. The reasons which I have, however, I will now state—not that I entertain the slightest hope from your sense of justice or from your pity. The former is swallowed up in your ambition, or rather by the servility you descend to, to obtain the object of that ambition—the latter I despise. Justice I demand. If I am denied it, your pity is no equivalent. In the first place,

"I protest against the proceedings upon my trial, which I conceive to be grossly partial, and contrary to the very spirit of justice,—but, alas! the judges who have heretofore been considered the counsel of the accused, are now, without exception, in all cases between the crown and the people, the most implacable enemies of the latter. In every instance the judges charge the jury to find the subject guilty; nay, in one instance, the jury received a reprimand, and that not in the genteellest terms, for not strictly obeying the imperious mandate from the bench.

"The court decided upon my trial * * * * rather than depart in the slightest degree from its usual forms. Nay, it is

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with me a question, if the form is usual which precluded me from examining witnesses to prove the infamy of Adams, of Hiden, and of Dwyer. 'Ere the Solicitor-General replied to the address of my counsel, I applied to the court to hear my witnesses. The court inhumanly refused, and I am in consequence to be consigned to the scaffold. Numerous have been the instances in which this rule of court has been infringed; but to have infringed it in my case would have been to incur the displeasure of the court, and to forfeit every aspiring hope of promotion. A few hours hence and I shall be no more: but the nightly breeze which will whistle over the silent grave that shall protect me from its keenness, will bear to your restless pillow the memory of one who lived but for his country,—and died when liberty and justice had been driven from its confines by a set of * * * * * * For life, as it respects myself, I care not; but while yet I may, I would rescue my memory from the calumny which I doubt not will be industriously heaped upon it, when it will be no longer in my power to protect it.

"I would explain the motives which induced me to conspire against the ministers of his Majesty, and I would contrast them with those which these very ministers have acted upon in leading me to my ruin. To do this, it will be necessary to take a short review of my life for a few months prior to my arrest for the offence for which I am to be executed without a trial—or at least, without an impartial one, by a jury of my peers.

"'Tis true, the form, the etiquette of a trial has been gone through; but I challenge any of the judges on the bench to tell me, to tell my country, that justice was not denied me in the very place where justice only should be administered. I challenge them to say that I was fairly tried. I challenge them

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to say if I am not murdered according to the etipuette of a court (falsely denominated) of justice. I had witnesses in court to prove that Dwyer was a villain beyond all example of atrocity. I had witnesses in court to prove that Adams was a notorious swindler, and that Hiden was no better; these were the three witnesses, indeed, almost the only ones against me; but the form and rules of court must not be infringed upon to save an unfortunate individual from the scaffold.

"I called those witnesses at the close of Mr. Adolphus's address to the jury, and before the Solicitor-General commenced his reply, but the court decided that they could not be heard. Some good men have thought, and I have thought so too, that before the jury retired, all evidence was in time for either the prosecutor or the accused, and more particularly for the latter; nay, even before the verdict was given, that evidence could not be considered too late. Alas! such people drew their conclusion from principles of justice only—they never canvassed the rules of court which have finally sealed my unhappy doom!

"Many people who are acquainted with the barefaced manner in which I was plundered by my Lord Sidmouth, will, perhaps, imagine that personal motives instigated me to the deed; but I disclaim them. My every principle was for the prosperity of my country. My every feeling,—the height of my ambition was the welfare of my starving countrymen. I keenly felt for their miseries: but when their miseries are laughed at, and when, because they dared to express those miseries, they were * * * * * * * * * * * my feelings became too intense, too excessive for endurance, and I resolved on vengeance—I resolved that the lives of the instigators should be the requiem to the souls of the murdered innocents.

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"In this mood I met with George Edwards. And if any doubt should remain upon the minds of the public, whether the deed I meditated was virtuous, or contrary, the tale I will now relate will convince them, that in attempting to exercise a power which the law had ceased to have, I was only wreaking national vengeance on a set of wretches unworthy the name or character of men. This Edwards, poor and pennyless, lived near Picket-street, in the Strand, some time ago, without a bed to lie upon, or a chair to sit in. Straw was his resting place: his only covering a blanket. Owing to his bad character, and his swindling conduct, he was driven from thence by his landlord. It is not my intention to trace him through his immorality—suffice it to say that he was in every sense of the word a villain of the deepest atrocity. His landlord refused to give him a character. Some short time after this he called upon his landlord again; but mark the change in his appearance—dressed like a lord, in all the folly of the reigning fashion. He now described himself as the right heir to a German Baron, who had been some time dead; that Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth had acknowledged his claims to the title and property, had interfered in his behalf with the German government, and supplied him with money to support his rank in society. From this period I date his career as a government spy.

He got himself an introduction to the Spenceans—by what means I am not aware of—and thus he became acquainted with the reformers in general. When I met with Edwards after the massacre at Manchester, he described himself as very poor; and after several interviews, he proposed a plan for blowing up the House of Commons. This was not my view—I wished to punish the guilty only, and therefore I declined it. He next

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proposed that we should attack the ministers at the *fete* given by the Spanish Ambassador. This I resolutely opposed, because the innocent would perish with the guilty; besides, there were ladies invited to the entertainment, and I, who am shortly to ascend to the scaffold, shuddered with horror at the idea of that, a sample of which had previously been given by the agents of government at Manchester, and which the ministers of his Majesty applauded. Edwards was ever at invention; and at length he proposed attacking them at a cabinet dinner. I asked where were the means to carry his project into effect? He replied, If I would accede, we should not want for means. He was as good as his word; from him came, notwithstanding his apparent penury, the money provided for purchasing the stores which your Lordships have seen produced in court upon my trial. He who was never possessed of money to pay for a pint of beer, had always plenty to purchase arms or ammunition. Amongst the conspirators he was ever the most active; ever inducing people to join him, up to the last hour, ere the undertaking was discovered.

"I had witnesses in Court who could prove they went to Cato-street, by appointment with Edwards, with no other knowledge or motive than that of passing an evening amongst his friends. I could also have proved that subsequent to the fatal transaction, when we met in Holborn, he endeavoured to induce two or three of my companions to set fire to houses and buildings, in various parts of the metropolis. I could prove that subsequent to that again, he endeavoured to induce men to throw hand grenades into the carriages of ministers as they passed through the streets; and yet this man, the contriver, the instigator, the entrapper, is screened from justice and from

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exposure, by those very men who seek vengeance against the victims of his and their villainy. To the Attorney and Solicitor General I cannot impute the clearest motives. Their object seems to me to have been rather to obtain a verdict against me than to obtain a full and fair exposition of the whole affair since its commencement. If their object was justice alone, why not bring forward Edwards as a witness, if not as an accomplice; but no, they knew that by keeping Edwards in the back ground, my proofs—aye, my incontrovertible proofs of his being a hired spy, the suggester and promoter, must, according to no rules of court, also be excluded.

"Edwards and his accomplices arranged matters in such a manner as that his services might be dispensed with on the trial, and thus were the jury cut off from every chance of ascertaining the real truth. Adams, Hiden, and Dwyer, were the agents of Edwards, and truly he made a most admirable choice, for their invention seems to be inexhaustible. With respect to the immorality of our project, I will just observe, that the assassination of a tyrant has always been deemed a meritorious action. Brutus and Cassius were lauded to the very skies for slaying Cæsar; indeed, when any man, or any set of men, place themselves above the laws of their country, there is no other means of bringing them to justice than through the arms of a private individual. If the laws are not strong enough to prevent them from murdering the community, it becomes the duty of every member of that community to rid his country of its oppressors.

"High treason was committed against the people at Manchester, but justice was closed against the mutilated, the maimed, and the friends of those who were upon that occasion indiscriminately * * *

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* Albion is still in the chains of slavery—I quit it without regret—I shall soon be consigned to the grave—my body will be immured beneath the soil whereon I first drew breath. My only sorrow is, that the soil should be a theatre for slaves, for cowards, for despots. My motives, I doubt not, will be justly appreciated. I will therefore now concluded by stating, that I shall consider myself as murdered, if I am to be executed on the verdict obtained against me, by the refusal of the Court to hear my evidence. I could have proved Dwyer to be a villain of the blackest dye, for, since my trial, an accomplice of his, named Arnold, has been capitally convicted at this very bar, for obtaining money under circumstances of an infamous nature.

" I seek not pity; I demand but justice: I have not had a fair trial, and upon that ground I protest that judgment ought not be passed against me."

Mr. Shelton next addressed himself to Davidson, and put to him the same question which he had put to Thistlewood. Davidson advanced, and spoke to the following effect:—

" My Lords, you ask me what I have to say why I should not receive judgment to die for what has been said against me? I answer that I protest against the proceedings in this trial in toto. In the first place, I always thought that in a court of justice the balance of justice was held with an even hand. But this has not been the case with me; I stand here helpless and friendless. I endeavour to shew that the evidence against me was contradictory and incredible, and I hoped I had made an impression on the gentlemen in the box; but the moment I was done, the Attorney-General got up, and told them that the evidence was pure and uncontaminated, and

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to this I may add, that Mr. Baron Garrow almost insisted that they should pronounce me guilty. I would ask, has any person identified me but the officers? who, every one knows, have at all times been instrumental to the death of innocent persons. I do not now plead for my life; I know I must fall a victim to the vengeance of my enemies. But in what manner have I been guilty of high treason? It would seem I was a silent spectator; none of the witnesses impute to me a single observation. Now is this probable? I had always got a great deal to say for myself, consequently I was not the person who would stand by without uttering a word; and yet such has been the testimony of Adams. Then, with regard to the blunderbuss, I have already explained that this was not mine, and that I acted in that affair entirely as the agent of Edwards. I have also declared how I came by the sword, and I now declare upon my soul, which will shortly appear before its maker, that I never made any blow at any man, or discharged any carbine. As for Munday, the man who swore that I had a long sword, with a pair of pistols in my girdle, who is he? He is a poor labouring man who comes here for his day's pay and his victuals to swear away the life of a fellow creature, and to support the unfounded charge against me that I meant to assassinate his Majesty's ministers. I appeal to any man, whether it is upon such evidence the life of an innocent man is to be sacrificed? But even supposing, for the sake of argument, that the lives of his Majesty's ministers were threatened, it did not follow that this was to extend to the King himself. In a passage of Magna Charta, it was ordained that twenty-five barons should be nominated to see that the terms of the charter were not infringed, then four barons were to call upon them for re-

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dress. If this were not granted, then the four barons were to return to their brethren, by whom the people were to be called together to take up arms, and assert their rights. Such an act was not considered in old times as an act of treason towards the King, however hostile it might be towards his ministers. But this does not apply to me. I had no intention of joining in any scheme whatever, either to put down my King, or to murder his ministers. I was entrapped by Goldworthy and Edwards, in order for some private purposes of their own, that they might have my life sworn away, I have no objection to tender my life in the service of my country; but let me at least, for the sake of my children, save my character from the disgrace of dying a traitor. For my children only do I feel, and when I think of them I am deprived of utterance—I can say no more."

James Ings was next asked what he had to say why he should not receive judgment to die? He replied: "I have very little to say. My abilities will not allow me to speak. If Mr. Edwards had not got acquainted with me I should not be here; he came to me, unfortunately, when I had no business, nor no means of getting a living for my family. I entered into the conspiracy only through him, and it was only necessity and the want of the means to support my wife and family that brought me here. It is only through Edwards that I shall lose my life. I do not mind dying, if you will let that man come forward, and die with me on the scaffold. It was through him that I was going to do that which, I must allow, was of a most disgraceful and inhuman nature. On the other hand, his Majesty's ministers conspire together and impose laws to starve me and my family and fellow-countrymen; and if I was going to assassinate these minis-

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tess, I do not see that it is so bad as starvation, in my opinion, my Lord."

Here Mr. Shelton began to address the prisoner Brunt, but

Ings said: "I am not done. And there is another thing, my Lord: a meeting was called at Manchester, under the protection of the law of England, for which our forefathers died, and which King John signed in the open air. This meeting was called under the protection of that law, for the people to petition Parliament to give them their rights; but, previous to the business of this meeting, the Manchester yeomanry rode in among them, and cut down men, women, and children, in a manner that was a disgrace to the very name of Englishmen. These yeomanry had their swords ground before hand, and I had a sword ground also, but I do not see any harm in that. I shall suffer, no doubt; but I hope my children will live to see justice done to their bleeding country. I would rather die like a man than live like a slave. I am sorry I have not the power, gentlemen, to say more; I shall therefore withdraw."

John Thomas Brunt, in a particularly bold and unembarrassed manner, said he had intended to *have written* the observations which he should make, *but he had not the benefits of ink and paper*. He would repeat what he had before stated to jury on his trial which had been so ably knocked down by the Solicitor-General, whose sophisticated eloquence would make even crime a virtue. He then proceeded to recapitulate the circumstances already stated by him in his defence. He protested against the verdict, not that he valued his life; no man valued it less when it was to be sacrificed in liberty's cause. Looking around him in this Court, and seeing the sword of justice and the inscriptions which were placed on the walls above the

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learned Judges, he could only say, that he felt his blood boil in his veins when he thought how Justice was perverted, and her sacred name prostituted to the basest and vilest purposes. He was a man of his word, and not a shuttlecock, as some might suppose. If he pledged himself once to destroy a tyrant, he would do it. Edwards, that infamous villain whom the Solicitor-General had not dared to bring forward, had preyed on his credulity, and Adams had betrayed him. Where was the benefit which would result to Christianity from the able defence made of it by the Solicitor-General? What was Christianity? Why, did its doctrines promulgate so horrid an idea, as that supposing a man to have been a Deist, and all at once to have been converted by seeing the halter staring him in the face, he would therefore be strengthened by Almighty God to become a villain and a perjured betrayer of his associates? That this was the case with Adams was evident from his own confession. Was this then Christianity? If it was, he prayed God he might die without it; for very different, indeed, were the ideas he had formed of religion. The prisoner then attacked the character of Hale; he was interrupted by

The Lord Chief Justice, who said he would not allow persons and witnesses not before the Court to be vilified in that manner.

Brunt proceeded.—He had an antipathy against none, but the enemies of his country. He was a friend to the lower orders, and, as an honest man, had a fellow feeling for his countrymen, who were starving thro' the conduct of ministers. Lord Castlereagh and Lord Sidmouth had an antipathy against the people, and if he did conspire to murder them, was that high treason? He readily acknowledged that he had agreed to assassinate ministers, but he de-

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nied having ever conspired to dethrone or injure the Monarch. But if resisting the civil power, or opposing wicked ministers, was treason, then he confessed he was guilty. He was no traitor to his country—he was no traitor to his King, but a loyal and dutiful subject, who had never suffered his Sovereign to be abused when he was present; but he was an enemy to a boroughmongering faction, which equally enslaved both the King and the people. The happiness, the glory, and the safety of the King, depended on his being free as well as his people, but this was not the case now. A faction ruled both King and people with lawless sway. He had, by his industry, been able to earn about £3 or £4 a-week, and while this was the case, he never meddled with politics; but when he found his income reduced to 10*s*. a-week, he began to look about him, and to ask to what that could be owing? And what did he find? Why, men in power, who met to deliberate how they might starve and plunder the country. He looked on the Manchester transactions as most dreadful, and thought that nothing was too severe for men who had not only caused, but even applauded, the dreadful scenes which had occurred there. With pleasure he would die as a martyr in liberty's cause for the good of his country; and to have been avenged on her tyrants, would have given him pleasure to have died on the spot. He was not a traitor, nor the friend of a traitor, and he was only a villain who could call him so. While a nerve of his body could move, that should and would be exerted against the enemies of the people. He had joined the conspiracy for the public good. He was not the man who would have stopt. O no: he would have gone through with it to the very bottom, or else have perished in the attempt. Their death was necessary for the pub-

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lic good. They might quarter his body, they might inflict on him every species of torture, but they could not shake his resolution nor subdue his spirit. He would mount the scaffold with the same intrepidity he now evinced, and if his life was called for, if his wife was to be made a widow and his child an orphan, in this mighty cause he would cheerfully sacrifice it. He would die as the descendant of an ancient Briton.

Richard Tidd was the next called upon. He spoke as follows: "My Lords and Gentlemen, being only found guilty so late last night, I have not had an opportunity to make up any defence. All I can say is, and I positively swear it, that the evidence that has come before you, with the exception of that of Capt. Fitzclarence, is utterly false."

James Wilson said, "I am not gifted with the power of talking much, but I mean to say that I was drawn into this by Edwards."

John Harrison—"I likewise was brought into it by Edwards."

John Shaw Strange—"I have this much to say to the evidence of Mr. Brunt's apprentice, likewise that of Adams: I declare solemnly to God they are both perjured villains."

James Gilchrist—"What I shall say in the presence of my God and you is, until the Wednesday evening at four o'clock, I knew nothing about the business. I was going to look for work, and I had neither money nor bread. So I went to what I was told was to be a supper of the Radicals. (Here the prisoner was overcome by his feelings.) At six o'clock, I met C. Cooper, who was the only man I knew, and I borrowed a halfpenny of him, which, with another, enabled me to get a penny-worth of bread, and this I eat very sweet. I wish I may never come out of this place if I tell false. We then went into the s table and up stairs, where

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there was some bread and cheese. I took an old sword and hewed down the loaf, of which others who were as hungry as me partook. I then asked what all these arms were about, and when I heard, I was so shocked that I was determined to get away as fast as I could. Soon after the officers and soldiers came, and I thought it my duty to surrender. I now stand here convicted of high treason, after I served my King and country for twelve years, and this is the recompense!—O God!—I have nothing more to say."

Here the prisoner stood back in an agony of tears. He is a Scotsman, and spoke with his native accent. His manner altogether was extremely impressive, and his language seemed to be that of simple truth.

Charles Cooper said he had much to say, but his friends thought it would be imprudent. He could only declare that he was not guilty of the crime imputed to him.

Gilchrist again came forward, and said he was very willing to give up his life if it could save that of a fellow-creature. He had already tendered it to save one of the poor men by his side. He never thought of such a thing as to take any man's life.

The Crier of the Court now proclaimed silence in the usual manner, while sentence of death was passing upon the prisoners—

The Lord Chief Justice then proceeded to address the prisoners separately by their respective names, making a distinction between those who had withdrawn their pleas of "Not Guilty," and pleaded "Guilty," and those who had been convicted by juries of their country. If any of them should ultimately have their lives spared, which he trusted would be the case, he hoped they would always bear in mind that they owed that life to the benignity and merciful disposition of their Sovereign, aided and seconded

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also by the merciful dispositions of those very persons upon whom they had contemplated the foul crime of assassination. One of them, Arthur Thistlewood, had upon his trial proposed to call certain witnesses, whom the Court had refused to hear. This refusal was according to the due course of justice, as it was administered in this country. The witnesses he proposed to call, were for the purpose of impugning the testimony of a man of the name of Dwyer, and no other. His learned counsel had previously called witnesses to the same effect. It could not be allowed to him, according to the ordinary course of proceeding, to do more. Indeed, even if he had been allowed so to do, it could have been productive of no advantage, because his case did not depend upon the evidence of that witness alone. This observation was confirmed by the fact, that, in subsequent cases, where the evidence of Dwyer was altogether omitted, a similar verdict was returned. Some of them had thought fit to say much of the character of a person who had not appeared as a witness upon this occasion. The Court could proceed only upon the evidence which was brought before it. Of the person, therefore, to whom they alluded, or of the practices of which he had been guilty, they could have no knowledge. Upon the testimony, however, which had been adduced against them, there was abundantly sufficient to induce a jury of their country to come to a conclusion that the whole of them had taken an active part in the crimes imputed in the indictment. From all that had appeared in the course of these trials, as well as from much of that which they had then heard, it was plain to see, that they did not embark in their wicked designs unti they had first suffered their minds to be corrupted and inflamed by those seditious and

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irreligious publications, with which, unhappily for this country, the press had but too long teemed. He did not make these remarks to aggravate their guilt, or to enhance the sufferings of persons in their situation. He made them as a warning to all who might hear of their unfortunate fate, that they might benefit by their example, and avoid those dangerous instruments of sedition, by which their hearts and minds were inflamed, and by which they were drawn from every feeling of morality—from every sense of obligation towards their Creator, and of justice towards society. The treason of which they were charged and found guilty, was that of compassing and imagining to levy war against his Majesty, for the purpose of inducing him to change his measures and ministers;—the first step towards effecting which, was to have been the assassination of the cabinet ministers. They had endeavoured now to complain of the testimony of those persons who had been examined as witnesses on the part of the prosecution. Some of them were accomplices in their guilt. It had there happened, as it had upon other occasions, that the principal instruments in the hands of justice were the partners of their wickedness; and he trusted that circumstance would have its due weight and consideration with all those who became acquainted with their situation, and with the circumstances of their trial. He hoped, that for the sake of their own personal safety, if they could not be restrained by any other consideration, that they would abstain from evil communications, and from evil connexions, such as had brought the prisoners in the unhappy position in which they stood. Some of them had avowed their intention to have taken away the lives, and to have steeped their hands in the blood of fourteen persons, to many of them

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unknown—a crime of a character so black, that it was hitherto without parallel in the history of the country, and he hoped it would remain unparalleled hereafter.—(His Lordship here appeared considerably agitated:) —It now, he said, only remained for him to pass upon them the awful sentence of the law; but before he did so, he exhorted them, he implored them, to employ the time yet left to them in this life, in endeavouring, by prayer, to obtain mercy from that Almighty Power, before whom they would shortly appear. The mercy of Heaven might be obtained by all those who would unfeignedly and with humility express contrition for their offences, and seek that mercy through the merits of their blessed Redeemer.

[This appeal seemed to be lost on Thistlewood, who, with careless indifference, pulled out his snuff-box, some of the contents of which he took, casting his eyes round the court. His indifference was the more conspicuous when contrasted with the solemn manner in which the Lord Chief Justice addressed the prisoners.]

His Lordship having once more solemnly exhorted the prisoners to repentance, pronounced the sentence of the law in the following words:—

"That you, and each of you, be taken to the gaol from whence you came, and from thence that you be drawn upon a hurdle to a place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until you be dead; and that afterwards your heads shall be severed from your bodies, and your bodies be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as his Majesty shall think fit. And may God of his infinite goodness have mercy upon your souls!" The cried said aloud, "Amen!"

The prisoners were then removed from the bar. They did

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not seem much affected, but departed with great firmness and resignation, particularly Davidson, Thistlewood, and Brunt. Tidd complained of the weight of his irons.

The Chief Justice said he was sure the gaoler would grant him every indulgence consistent with his safety.

Such, my dear Son, was the scene at the *Condemnation* of these courageous men. Read the account all over again. Mark every word that was said by them. And now, what do you think of *Edwards*? *Who employed* him, do you think? *Who gave him the money*? *How did he get* the money to give to them? I shall show you, in another letter, that the base wretches, who own the COURIER newspaper, have been, within these few days, JUSTIFYING the *employment of spies*, and even of *spies*, whose business it is *to seduce!*

The *Judge*, you see, said a good deal against conspiracies; against *assassination*, and against *seditious and blasphemous publications*: but not a word did he say against *spies*, or against the *hirers of spies*; though all the accused have complained, that EDWARDS had been kept out of Court; and though divers witnesses had sworn to his attempts *to seduce them!* You have read a great deal about the *deluders* and *seducers* of the people; but, here we have a *proved* seducer. He was not only the seducer of the Conspirators themselves; but he was proved to have *endeavoured to seduce* others, who did not become Conspirators, who resisted his attempts; and yet, nothing do we hear said by the Judge *against this nefarious miscreant*, who is mildly called "a PERSON *not before the Court.*"

The Judge observed, that the conviction had arisen out of the evidence of *accomplices*; and this he held out as a *warning*

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to other conspirators; as if he had said: "Take warning by this, ye Radicals all; for, if you attempt any thing of this sort, you will be *sure to be betrayed.*" This was like the notices stuck up on garden and park fences: "Beware of steel-traps and spring-guns." However, this may possibly have a *contrary* effect. It may make men more *distrustful*, and that is all. It may make them BELLINGHAMS and LOUVELS, instead of THISTLEWOODS. The best mode of preventing acts such as the Conspirators had in contemplation is to prevent *the wish to commit them*; and the best way to prevent this wish, is to restore the laws to the state in which they were before any such acts were ever heard of in England.

It was observed by the Judge, that the object of the conspiracy was *without a parallel* in the annals of this country, and that he trusted in God it would remain without a parallel. Very good; but so was the *Manchester attack* without a parallel: the *Six Acts* are without a parallel: the *Clergy Indemnity Act* is without a parallel: *banishment for libel* is without a parallel: *bail before-hand*, to pay libellers' fines, is without a parallel: punishment for publishing *cheap pamphlets* is without a parallel: the *Bank protecting Acts* are without a parallel: the *Ellenborough Act*, under which Maggenis was tried and executed, is without a parallel: nay, the *very act*, under which the Conspirators were convicted, and for which they suffered death, is without a parallel: *Oliver, Castles, Edwards, and their acts*, are without a parallel: all these, and numerous other things that we behold and endure, are *without a parallel in this country*, which, as to its *laws*, and as to the *rights* and *liberties* of the people, has, within these thirty years, undergone a *great revolution*. Therefore, is it very surprizing,

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that the manner of acting amongst private men should have undergone a change too? As long as the people could *freely and safely meet* to petition, and to discuss *publicly* all the subjects of their complaint, we heard of none of these conspiracies. As long as the press was even tolerably free, we heard of none of them. Yet, this is a train of thought that appears never to come athwart the minds either of prosecutors or judges. Obvious as the facts are; inevitable as is the conclusion; never does either appear to present itself to the minds of these persons.

You will perceive, that, all the way through, great efforts were made to trace the conspiracy back to the "*seditious* and *blasphemous*" publications, as they are called; and that the Judge, in passing sentence, ascribed the conspiracy principally to this cause. Now, observe, that neither witnesses nor prisoners said that this was the case. During the examination of CHAMBERS, one of the witnesses on the trial of TIND and DAVIDSON, there happened something well worthy of public attention. He had sworn, that "ADAMS and EDWARDS "brought to his house a quan- "tity of weapons, on the morn- "ing before the 23d of Fe- "bruary, and wished to leave "them there; but which he re- "fused to allow; and also, that "these two *invited him to a* "*meeting on the twenty-third.*" —Mark this. When CHAMBERS was leaving the court, the Judge (GARROW) called him back; and then the following dialogue took place:

"JUDGE—Do you know what "*book* you have been sworn "upon?

"CHAMBERS—I suppose it is "the Prayer-Book.

"JUDGE—No: it is not: it is "the Bible.

"CHAMBERS—That is all the "same, I suppose?

"JUDGE—Pray, *what books* "do you generally read?

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" CHAMBERS—I read no books, " except *the Bible and Cobbett's* " *Register*, and I believe I have " read all of them.

" JUDGE—You could not read " *worse books than Cobbetts' Re-* " *gister*.

" CHAMBERS—I think, my " Lord, *I could not read a bet-* " *ter*; for, by *following Cob-* " *bett's advice* I have kept out " of many hobbles and squab- " bles. *(Excessive laughing* " *in the court.)*

" JUDGE—You *may* go."

But, what say the conspirators themselves? Do they say, or can it be inferred from what they say, that they were *urged on by the reading of my book*, or of any book, or any paper, whatever? No such thing. They all say, that they were made discontented by the miseries of their country, which they traced to the government; that their minds were inflamed with indignation by the proceedings at Manchester, and especially by the letter of Lord Sidmouth approving of the conduct of the Magistrates and the Yeomanry, and by the impunity of these persons; that, when they were in this state of mind, they were urged on by EDWARDS, who not only advised them to kill the Ministers, but who found money to purchase arms and ammunition with, and who gave Thistlewood money besides.—This is what they say; this is their dying declaration; and, what *ground* is there, then, for ascribing the conspiracy *to publications* of any sort?

The speeches of these men were, I dare say, unexpected by the court. The admirers of *aristocracy* and the despisers of the " *Lower Orders*" may say what they will about *Russell* and *Sidney*; but, how low do these " great men" sink, when compared to these " Lower-Order" men! These were found *guilty* and *condemned*, and so were Russell and Sidney; but, the former behaved with a thousand times as much courage and

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calmness as the latter; and a thousand times as much *talent* too! There is this to observe also: that they all disclaimed every *private consideration*.—They all said, that they had *no personal revenge to gratify*.—They all said, that they intended the blow *for the good of their country*. It signifies nothing that their opinions and views were erroneous. It is with the *facts* that we have to do, on this occasion; and, it does seem to be a monstrous inconsistency to charge men with *levying war* and to call them *assassins* at the same moment.

Observe, moreover, that they disclaim all thought of conspiring against *the king*. No idea of hostility to him, or any of his family, appear to have entered their minds. His *irresponsibility* appears to have made a practical part of their political creed. If they had imbibed this from the Cheap Publications, surely this was one good effect of those publications.

Further comment on their conduct at the *Bar* is unnecessary; only justice to the memory of BRUNT demands, that I state, that the speech, above given as his, and which I take from the newspapers, does not, I am well informed, contain a *tenth part* of what he really said. His speech has, by a gentleman who heard it, been described to me as one of the most eloquent that ever was heard. He entered fully into the evils of the country; into the causes of discontent; and concluded by arguments, in justification of his conduct, which astounded all around him. *All* that he said ought to be in *print*: the *king ought to have it to read*: the people ought to have it: the world ought to have it. But, the *press* is in such a state *now* that such a speech, though necessary to be read by all, will be read by no man in England.

EXECUTION.

If the last words of even men who die of *a dropsy* are looked

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upon as of importance, what must the last words be of such men as those, of whose end I am now giving an account?

From the time of *conviction*, the Prison-Parson, called the Ordinary, whose name is COTTON, began, as is usual, I suppose, to tender his services to the Conspirators, which services they declined to accept of; and this, with the exception of DAVIDSON (who was a *Mulatto*) they continued to do to the last. There needed nothing more to set the charitable press to work to revile them as *Deists*; and to recommend their being *separated*, and shut up *singly in cells*, in order to "*bring them to their senses.*" And these cells and their accompaniments are sufficient to subdue the stoutest heart that ever beat in human body! The cells are by the side of a long, dark, arched passage, which has a feeble lamp, glimmering at each end of it. Out of this horrid cavern you go to each cell, which is very small, which is lighted by a little faint lamp, and which has a little hole in the wall against the passage, to let in air. The walls are several feet thick of stone, bound together with iron. The door of massy iron. Yet, such were the *precautions*, that, though in such cells and with irons on their limbs, *two armed men were stationed in each cell*. If all this could not *convert* them, it is hard to say what would have done it.

In this situation they were again visited by the Parson, whose services they declined to avail themselves of; but DAVIDSON wished to have a Methodist Parson to visit him, which, as the COURIER informs us, was *refused* upon the ground, that so *illiterate* a person was not fit for the thing. At last, *as we are told*, he took the sacrament, or, as the COURIER calls it, "the *sacred elements*," from the hands of DOCTOR COTTON. This shows, pretty clearly, that *religion* had nothing to do with the matter. And, indeed, though

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these men have been called *Deists* in the way of abuse, not a man of them ever made any declaration to justify such an assertion.

They were all married men, and, on the *Sunday* afternoon, they were permitted to see their wives for *an hour*, and no longer; and *no friend* was suffered to go near them. All the Sunday was employed in preparations for the work of death on the next morning. Strong fences of posts and rails were put up, at several places, across the streets leading to the little square, or rather triangle, called the *Old Bailey*, on one of the sides of which the prison of Newgate stands. A scaffold was erected opposite, but very near to the door, out of which the Conspirators were to be brought. Baricadoes were erected at some yards distance all around this scaffold, so that the people, when forced beyond these, could not hear what the Conspirators might say.

It was (as even the COURIER tells us) the intention, at first, to erect a scaffold *upon the flat top of the prison*, and pieces of timber were really seen there on the Sunday Morning. If that had been done, Mr. HORNE TOOKE's prophesy would have been completely fulfilled. It was, at last, however, resolved to erect the scaffold on the ground. But, the MILITARY PREPARATIONS were, in consequence, prodigious. There had been a *considerable body of soldiers in the prison*, during the whole time that the conspirators had been there. But *now* all the streets leading to the place of execution were filled with soldiers. A body of soldiers was stationed at about *forty yards from the scaffold*. CANNONS, with a *body of Artillery men*, were stationed a little way off, with every thing in readiness for action. In short, if it had been the design of the government, to cause a belief that the Conspirators were dear to a great part

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of the people; to make their deaths a matter of great national importance; and to cause their memories to live down to late posterity; had this been its design, its measures could not have been better contrived to answer those ends.

When the time of execution arrived, the people, who had got within the nearest barricade, were driven out; so that, on the average, they were, by one means or another, kept at *thirty yards* from the scaffold. This almost precluded the possibility of hearing what the Conspirators should say; but, there were some persons permitted to remain, and, from these some account has been gathered and published.

Mr. THISTLEWOOD marched up to his post on the scaffold with a composed countenance, and bowed to the people. Before he was turned off, he said, in a firm tone of voice, "*I desire all here to remember, that "I die in the cause of liberty, "and that my last breath is "given to that cause.*"

TIDD said nothing. Just before he ascended the scaffold, he uttered, "*My poor wife and* . . "....." but could proceed no further. He behaved in the most calm and firm manner. He surveyed the MASKED Executioner, the halter, the knife, the coffins and the block, with a steady eye. Not a muscle of his face appeared to move.

DAVIDSON appeared to pray; but said nothing that any body could hear.

INGS jumped boldly up on the scaffold, singing, "*O, give me "death or liberty;*" which is the chorus of a famous old English Song. He gave *three cheers*, which were returned by the people. Seeing a newspaper reporter taking notes, he said: "*I die an enemy to tyrants. "Write down that, Sir.*"

BRUNT, who was kept till last, asked the reason of that, and said, he supposed that *they "were afraid to give him time*

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" to speak to the people." When he came on the scaffold, and saw the soldiers, *" What!"* he exclaimed, *" Soldiers here! " Dare they not execute us with- " out the aid of an army! Ah! " there must be a military go- " vernment then, I see. No- " thing else will do for this " country, unless there be a good " many such as we."*

The executioner, who wore a MASK, cut off the heads with a knife. The people testified *" their evil spirit,"* as the COUSIER calls it, *" by hissing, " groaning, and by crying out, " murder, murder, murder."*

The dead bodies and heads were put into coffins, and *carried into the prison.* The people soon dispersed, and the army was marched away, by degrees, in the course of the day.

The wives of the deceased were naturally anxious to obtain the dead bodies of their husbands, that they might have them buried. But, these bodies even were, it appears, objects of *precaution.* Mrs. THISTLEWOOD, on the morning after the execution, presented a petition in the following words:

To his Majesty King George the Fourth.

The Petition of Susan Thistlewood, widow of the late Arthur Thistlewood,

Most Humbly Sheweth,

That your Majesty's dutiful subject, the deeply afflicted widow of the late Arthur Thistlewood, has made most earnest applications to the Sheriffs of Middlesex for the body of her late beloved, faithful and affectionate husband, and that, alas! she has made this application in vain: That your humble Petitioner, previous to the death of her beloved husband, made, jointly with him, the humble request of being permitted to sever and to take into her keeping a Lock of his Hair, and that

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this request was refused her: That she, therefore, with all humility, makes this effort to cause her supplications to reach the ear of your Majesty, and she most humbly implores your Majesty to be graciously pleased to grant, that the now cold and mangled remains of her dear departed husband, which the law has placed at your Majesty's disposal, may be delivered to her, in order that she may have the consolation of performing towards them the last mournful duties.

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

SUSAN THISTLEWOOD.

To this petition she received for answer, at the office of LORD SIDMOUTH, to whom the petition had been delivered, that her husband WAS BURIED! It is *said* that the bodies are buried IN THE PRISON; but, so closely is every thing kept; so awful does every creature in authority look; so penetrating are they become; such a dread seems to hang over their minds, that people do not *venture to ask questions* about any thing of the sort. What do you think must be the state of England, when the wives of these men were not permitted to see them until the women had been examined from the crown of their heads to the sole of their feet; till their stockings and shoes had been taken off, and even their *caps taken off* and their *hair untied and let down?* Why not give the bodies to the wives? Ah! you must *guess*; for I dare not tell you what *I think* was the reason!

Great efforts have been made to make the world believe, that the Conspirators were *wholly destitute of religion.* What ground is there for this? They refused, four of them, to accept of the services of the Prison-Parson. What of that? Would not a *quaker* have done the same thing? Aye, and so would

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any man, who understood religion as well as the Parson could understand it; or, at least, any man might *reasonably* so act and, observe, these men were not in a temper to do any thing, which they supposed might be a sort of concession to any one in *authority*, be he who or what he might. They all said, that they believed in God, and relied on his forgiveness for any *offences* that they might have committed; but, they would not acknowledge, in any shape whatever, that what they were to die for was *an offence against God*. This appears to have been the real ground of their objection to accept of the services of the Parson.

No proof has been produced of either of them being men of *immoral characters*. Strong presumptive proofs of the contrary appear in the whole of their conduct. INGS has been called *brutal*, *ferocious*, and every thing that is bad. And where is the *proof*? Why, he almost *bantered* with the executioner. And you know, when SIR THOMAS MOORE was executed for High Treason, he *quite bantered* with the executioner. He, who wore a long beard, as was the fashion in those days, told the fellow to stop, till he pulled his beard out of the way: "Do not chop that off too," said he, "for my *beard* has not committed treason." This has been *admired*, and trumpetted up, for ages, as a proof of extraordinary *bravery* in meeting death; but INGS, who very far surpassed, in this respect, SIR THOMAS MOORE, is charged with *indecent* and *hardened* and *brutal levity!* But what INGS was as a moral and religious man; what he was as a *husband* and a *father* and a *son*, let the following letters, written by him on the night before his execution, proclaim to the world.

TO HIS WIFE.

"My dear Celia—I hardly "know how to begin, or what "to say, for the laws of tyrants "have parted us for ever. My "dear, this is the last time you "will ever hear from me. I "hope you will perform your "duty without delay, which is "for the benefit of yourself and "children, which I have ex-"plained to you before. My "dear, of the anxiety and regard "I have for you and the children, "I know not how to explain "myself; but I must die accord-"to law, and leave you in a land "full of corruption, where jus-

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" tice and liberty has taken their " flight from, to other distant " shores. My dear, I have heard " men remark that they would " not marry a widow, not with- " out her husband was hanged.— " Now, my dear, I hope you will " bear in mind that the cause of " my being consigned to the " scaffold was a pure motive.

" I thought I should have " rendered my starving fellow- " men, women, and children, " a service; and my wish is, " when you make another " choice, that this question you " put before you tie the fatal " knot. My dear, it is of no " use for me to make remarks " respecting my children. I am " convinced you will do your " duty as far as lies in your " power. My dear, your leav- " ing me but a few hours be- " fore I wrote these few lines, " I have nothing more to say. " Farewel, farewel, my dear " wife and children, for ever. " Give my love to your mother " and Elizabeth: I conclude a " constant lover to you and " your children, and all friends. " I die the same, but an enemy " to all tyrants.

" JAMES INGS."

" P. S. My dear wife, give my " love to my father and mother, " brother and sisters, and aunt " Mary, and beg of them to " think nothing of my unfortu- " nate fate, for I am gone out " of a very troublesome world, " and I hope you will let it pass " like a summer cloud over the " earth.

" Newgate, four o'clock, Sunday " afternoon, April 30, 1820."

TO HIS DAUGHTERS.

" To my dear Daughters,— " My dear little girls, receive " my kind love and affection, " once more, for ever, and adhere " to these my sincere wishes, " and recollect, though in a " short time, you will have no- " thing more of your father. " Let me entreat you to be " loving, kind, and obedient to " your poor mother, and strive " all in your powers to comfort " her, and assist her whilst you " exist in this transitory world, " and let you conduct through- " out life be that of virtue, ho- " nesty, and industry; and en- " deavour to avoid all tempta- " tion, and at the same time put " your trust in God. I hope " unity, peace, and concord will " remain amongst you all. Fare- " wel,—farewel, my dear chil- " dren, your unfortunate father,

" JAMES INGS."

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TO HIS SON.

"My dear little boy, Wm. "Stone Ings, I hope you will "live to read these few lines "when the remains of yr. poor "father is mouldered to dust. "My dr. boy, I hope you will "bear in mind the unforte. end "of your father, and not place "any confidence in any person "or persons whatever; for the "deception, the corruption, and "the ingenuity in man I am at "a loss to comprehend—it is "beyond all calculation. My "dear boy, I hope you will "make a bright man in society; "and it appears to me the road "you ought to pursue is, to be "honest, sober, industrious, and "upright in all your dealings; "and to do unto all men as you "would wish they should do "unto you. My dear boy, put "your trust in one God; and be "cautious of every shrewd, de-"signing, flattering tongue.— "My dear boy, be a good, kind "and obedient child to your "poor mother, and comfort her, "and be a loving brother to "your sisters. My dear boy, "I sincerely hope and trust you "will regard these, my last in-"structions.—Yr. loving and un-"forte. father,

"JAMES INGS.

"Newgate, Sunday night, 8 o'clock, April 30, 1820."

Was *this*, my dear James, an *immoral* and *impious* man? Let the Parsons club their talents, and see if they can produce any thing to surpass this. You see, he wrote at *four o'clock* and again at *eight o'clock*. See how anxious he was for the welfare, the happiness, the good behaviour and good character of his wife and children! Consider his situation; and then admire the mind that could, under such circumstances, so busy itself! If these letters had, under similar circumstances, been written by some royal or noble person, the world would never have heard the last of them. His mind seems to have been wholly intent upon his *real duties*. He was going to leave the world; and yet how anxious he was, that his children should be dutiful to their mother, kind and loving to each other, and that his "dear little boy" should make a *bright man!*" This was true *disinterestedness*, and an infallible proof of *real greatness of mind*; aye, greatness of mind far, and very far surpass-

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ing that of any man of whom history gives us an account. Yet INGS was one of the despised "*Lower Orders*;" and was born, I believe, in some little thatched cottage on the skirts of *Sherril Heath!*

Mr. THISTLEWOOD and TIDD were Lincolnshire men; BRUNT was a Welshman; INGS was a Hampshireman, born, we are told, at Sherril Heath, only about two miles from Botley; DAVIDSON was born at Liverpool.

Thus, my dear Son, I have given you a fair account of this really important event. It has not been my object to offer *opinion*; but merely to lay facts fairly before you. This is the best way to proceed in such cases, and under such circumstances. Dismal as things appear, no man ought to despair. England must still be a great and free country; and, I trust, that nothing will ever make you cease to wish for her happiness and prosperity.

God bless you.

WM. COBBETT.

This day is Published, with Explanatory Notes, price 6d.

TO BE CONTINUED WEEKLY DURING THE SESSION,

NUMBER I. OF

COBBETT's PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER;

OR,

REPORTS OF THE DEBATES, PROCEEDINGS, AND ACTS,

OF

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF KING GEORGE THE FOURTH,

Begun and holden at Westminster, on Friday, the twenty-first day of April, in the year 1820.

Printed by C. Clement, 269, Strand.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 36.---No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, May 13, 1820. [Price, 6d

LETTER III.

TO

Mr. CANNING,

ON THE MORALITY AND RELIGION OF EMPLOYING SPIES AND BLOOD-MONEY MEN.

London, 10th May, 1820.

SIR,

The lecture, which you gave us, some time ago, on the *immorality* and *irreligion* of us RADICALS, is still ringing in our ears. You were alarmed lest we should "cut morality and religion from under the feet of *future generations*," besides eradicating them from the hearts of the present race of men. It was, as I stated to you, not at all clear to me what *you meant* by the words *morality* and *religion*. It appeared to me that, in your view, they included *bribery* and *corruption*; but the recent remarks on the fitness of *hiring spies*, developes, in a great measure, the real meaning which you attach to those words. The grand battery of Corruption has been the charge, against the Reformers, that they were *irreligious* men; that they were *blasphemers*; and that it was principally to their *want of religion* that their complaints were to be ascribed. Shocking hypocrisy this was, to be sure; but still it *took*; it had its *effect*; it assisted Corruption; for, there are hundreds of thousands of persons, who will almost cut one's throat, if one dares to hint, that they are wrong on the score of *religion*, upon which subject the most foolish of mankind generally think themselves the most wise. And I am very certain that bribery and corruption, and all the other sources of our misery, have had no ally so firm as this spirit of superstition and bigotry.

It is, therefore, our duty to let the people see what *your* morality and religion mean, and to shew this by pointing out some of the *acts* which you justify. You have, in your late pamphlet, put yourself forward as our *accuser*; and, therefore, in an inquiry into the nature and tendency of the morality and religion of our opponents, I address myself particularly to you.

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The newspapers have told us, that on the 2d instant, Mr. Alderman WOOD moved, in the House of Commons, to have EDWARDS, the SPY, brought to the bar of the House. The Alderman stated, that several affidavits had been sworn to before him, asserting that this Edwards, besides having been the grand projector of, and instigator to the Cato-street Conspiracy, had also proposed to others, and urged them to act upon, a scheme for blowing up the Parliament House; and, it will be observed, that Mr. THISTLEWOOD, when about to die, declared the same thing. The Alderman, upon having this information communicated to him, communicated it to Sidmouth, the Secretary of State; and he says, that the Secretary did not take any steps to bring Edwards to trial. Indeed, it is very clear, from the Alderman's statement, as well as from the whole tenor of the evidence on the trials, that this Edwards was the chief instigator; that it was he who recommended the plot; that it was he who furnished the pecuniary means.

The motion was, at last, *withdrawn*, it having met with support from nobody. But, before this took place Mr. BROUGHAM is reported to have said: "I am perfectly ready to believe "that Edwards was employed "as a spy, and, like other spies, "did not satisfy himself in giving information of what he "saw others doing, but went "to work himself *to widen the* "*circle*; that he was actively "employed in *inciting as well* "*as espying*, and went further "than the line of his instructions; all this I can easily "imagine. *I do not, however,* "*blame government for employing spies*; for acting upon "their information; for not producing them in courts of justice on particular trials; or "for not prosecuting them for "high-treason afterwards. As "long as society can furnish "such desperate characters as "Thistlewood and Ings, government is not only *justified*, "but *bound*, to employ such "men as Edwards. He viewed "the case of such men in the "same way in which he should "look at the occupation of the "last officer of the law. So long "as men would commit great "crimes, so long the office of "executioner was necessary, "and would, of necessity, continue to be an odious one. The

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"circumstances, then, of the "case, had called for the em- "ployment of spies; to which "he would only wish to add "one limitation. He who did "employ them had a grave, a "difficult, a responsible under- "taking on his hands: he stood "deeply answerable to his coun- "try, and to the administration "of justice, if he did not use "the utmost possible caution "that he employed those who "would give him information "only, and not practice arts of "instigation upon others. The "existence of desperate charac- "ters, like Thistlewood and "Ings, made it *justifiable* and "*necessary* to employ, some- "times, such wretches as spies; "but the excesses of Thistle- "wood and Ings surely made it "equally unnecessary to em- "ploy instigators of fresh crimes. "*(Hear.)* He confessed that "he was not disposed to join in "*the common clamour* and *vul- "gar outcry against spies*, see- "ing that frequently they were "*proper* and *necessary instru- "ments*. If it should be made "to appear, indeed, that this "man had gone beyond the of- "fice of informer to become an "instigator of sedition; if it "should appear that he went "so far beyond the limit, as to "have actually instigated men "to great and grave offences, "the interests of justice would "not be satisfied if he were not "either immediately brought to "trial, or some explanations "given, to satisfy the country "that measures had been adopt- "to prevent his withdrawing "from the reach of justice on "the question of these new "charges brought against him."

"Mr. CANNING.—The Hon. "and Learned Gentleman seem- "ed to have collected what he "(Mr. Canning) was sure the "House had not—that there "was a disposition on the part "of some Honourable Members "to treat the whole affair with "levity and ridicule. Really he "had not seen any such dispo- "sition. He was sure that no "such disposition had been ma- "nifested, either by himself or "his Honourable Friends about "him. As little could he plead "guilty to the other charge, of "a predisposition to accuse the "Hon. and Learned Gentleman "of joining the *popular cry* a- "gainst informers, a subject on "which the Hon. and Learned "Gentleman had just made the "most *just* and *manly observa- "tions*. He could assure the Ho- "nourable and Learned Gentle- "man that he never entertained "such a predisposition; and, if "he had, it must have been en- "tirely removed by the Ho-

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"nourable and learned gentle-
"man's candid statement of his
"opinion. On that statement,
"without wishing to add a sin-
"gle word to it, *he was per-*
"*fectly content to rest the de-*
"*fence, not only of the present,*
"*or of any particular Govern-*
"*ment, but of all Governments*
"*that had ever existed in this*
"*or in any other civilized*
"*country*, for taking the means
"which circumstances rendered
"necessary to defeat, by the
"prostitution of wicked men,
"the plots of men as wicked."

Now, here we have the whole doctrine out. And, we will, with your leave, examine it a little. This is a specimen of *your* morality and religion; and, as such, we will take a view of it. As a matter connected with the character of the government and the country it is hardly worth notice. It is useless, also, to dwell on the circumstance, that the employment of spies was one of the things, which the English nation used to hold most in abhorrence, and for doing which the Bourbon Government used in our books and news-papers, to be held up to detestation; and though one might laugh at the assertion, that a constitution, "which is the envy of "surrounding nations and the "admiration of the world," stands in need of spies to preserve it, the laugh would be misplaced, for all the world is laughing at the boast itself without this pretty companion-piece. Of the *policy* of employing spies a good deal might be said; and something I may say, by-and-by; but, on that part of the subject I shall only say here, that *spies*, as well as fortified barracks and banishment for libel and all the other new measures, and even *harsher* measures are necessary, *unless* there be a *Reform of the House of Commons*. And, I hold it to be a proof of the greatest folly, or of the greatest hypocrisy, for any man, who is not *decidedly for a real Reform*, to complain of any of these measures. In a letter, which I addressed to Lord FOLKSTONE, in July, 1817, I shewed how absurd his conduct was in opposing the Absolute-Power-of-Imprisonment Bill, and in complaining, or pretending to complain of the deeds perpetrated under it; while he, at the same time, most cordially joined in *opposing Reform*, from which opposition the dungeon, the gag, and the spy-system

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were, in my opinion, inseparable.

I then said, that, if it were resolved not to *refuse Reform*, those measures were *absolutely necessary*; and that, therefore, it was inconsistent, stupid, and factious to blame the Ministers for adopting the measures, if he joined them in the refusing of Reform. Nay, I then said, that, if the Power-of-Imprisonment Bill should be repealed, some *other measure* equally restrictive and coercive must be adopted; and that, in short, these measures must go on regularly increasing in their severity, in the extent of their operation, and in the promptness of their application, until the thing (call it what he would) become *precisely what the Old Bourbon Government was*. Whether this was correct or otherwise, whether we have, since the summer of 1817, not made some pretty bold strides towards this amiable end, the public can very easily form a correct judgment.

The public think with me upon this point. Some are *against a Reform*; but all agree, that, if Reform be not granted, a thundering standing army with fortified barracks; an armed yeomanry; power to search for arms; banishment for libel; and the employment of spies: the whole of the people agree, that, unless a Reform take place, *all these are necessary*; and therefore it is that the WHIGS are so unpopular and so much despised throughout the country. There are two systems: one *concession to the people*, the other of *repulsion of the people and a governing of them by mere force*. The WHIGS are decidedly against the former, and pretend to be against the latter, when all the world knows, that *one or the other must be pursued*. And, therefore, while the WHIGS are hated by the corrupt for their affected love of lenity, they are hated by the Reformers for their hostility to reform and for their hypocritical affectation of dislike to harsh measures; while, it is also evident, that, if they had the inclination to do good, they do not possess the talent to do it.

The people have long seen, that there is, in fact, *no Opposition* in the Parliament as far as relates to what the people need care a straw about; and, if they had not seen this clearly before, they would certainly see it *now*; for *you* and the "gentlemen *opposite*" perfectly agree as to

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this question relating to *spies!* It appeared likely to come out, even in parliament, that EDWARDS had been employed by the government to act as a spy; and, just as this was coming out, the "*gentleman opposite*" makes a *regular justification of the employment of spies;* and you, as one of the *Ministers*, thank him for the MANLY declaration of his sentiments! It required a good deal of *manliness*, to be sure, to make this declaration in a place where there was not one single soul, no, NOT ONE, to utter a single syllable in answer to him, and where the disgraceful and horrid facts stated by MR. ALDERMAN WOOD had been treated with *ridicule*. It required a deal of *manliness*, to be sure; almost as much as it did in MR. ADOLPHUS (in his defence of Mr. Thistlewood) to extol the Ministers, and especially the *Chancellor*, to the skies, and to declare that *he himself was an enemy to all designs for unhinging any part of the frame of the Constitution*. Great *manliness*, to be sure; but let that pass, and let us come to the *morality* and *religion* of the declaration.

You say, that it is *right in a government to employ spies* upon persons that it may suspect of intentions inimical to it, these persons being living under this same government, and subject to all the ordinary restraints and penalties of the law. By a *spy* something is meant more than *a watcher;* mind *that*. The case before us is, indeed, a case of *aiding*, of *abetting*, of *incitement*, of *instigation*, of *shewing how*, of *furnishing the means*, and, indeed, of *paying men* to be conspirators. But, we will take your spy in his least odious, least detestable light. A *Spy* must, even in this light, be something more than a *watcher*, more than a *looker-after*, more than a *finder-out;* for, all these offices are performed by persons *known to the law*. There are the constables, watchmen, justices, judges, jurors, and others. There is the power of taking up *on suspicion;* there is the power of *committing on suspicion;* there is the power of *taking up and committing to compel people to give an account of the way in which they live*. There are all these and many other powers for the protection of the government against conspirators and traitors. And, these are quite enough for any *good government;* because it is a proposi-

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tion that no man will venture to deny, that nearly the whole of the people will always set their faces against men, who shall attempt to conspire against a *good government*, which they must necessarily desire to uphold.

A spy, then, is to do something more than all this; for all this work of watching, detecting, denouncing and suspecting *the law* takes care to provide for, and that, too, without encouraging any thing wicked in its agents. But a spy *must* do *wicked* acts. He *must*, to effect his business, be guilty of *deliberate lying*. He must pretend to be himself a conspirator, for instance, in order to get at the secrets of conspirators. He must make the most solemn declarations of his devotion to them and their cause. And, he must do all this with a settled resolution *to betray* the persons that have confided in him. He must know, before he undertakes the office, that the *blood* of the persons who confide in him is to be the price of their confidence; and, as he must be *paid*, he must know, that the money that he takes is the price of that blood.

Is this a true description of the functions and motives of a Spy? Deny it if you can, Sir. Are, then, are his acts and motives *moral* and *religious*? Say if you dare. And yet, unless you be willing to go this length, how are you to justify a government in the employing of Spies? It is a rule of the law as well as of reason, that "*he who does a thing by another, does it himself.*" If I hire another to *lie*, to *betray*, to *shed blood*; I myself am a liar, a traitor and murderer. And a government is more wicked than its spy; because the spy may be, and generally is, under the strong temptations occasioned by misery and by sharp-biting hunger. The government has, too, more time for deliberation and reflection; and, observe, that the Spy, when he has once touched the thirty pieces of silver, *dares not retreat*, whatever his conscience may tell him, knowing that his own life is not safe for a day, unless he succeed in his perfidy!

What, then, you will ask, are conspiracies to go on, till they have "destroyed the government?" No: if the government *be worthy of support*, they will not go on, even if they have begun. The many-eyed people will not fail to see them in time. Con-

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spirators must have wives, parents, children, bosom friends, as all other people have; and, if the government *be good*, these will, some of them, interfere in time. Besides, the government, you will observe (and it is material to observe it) *has information* about the disaffected parties, *before* it sets its Spy to work. So that, it can, without the aid of a Spy, proceed to adopt measures of *prevention*. The Spy is employed, *not to prevent crime*, but to get at *blood!* First to get at proof of crime; and then to *insure the shedding of blood*. And is it *moral* and *religious* to give employment of this sort? Is this a specimen of that *morality* and *religion*, which you told the assembled oafs at Liverpool the Reformers were about "to cut from under the feet of future generations?" Is this a specimen of that morality and religion, which you said the Reformers wanted to "eradicate from the human heart?"

Mr. BROUGHAM compared a *Spy* to a *Hangman*; represented both as being *odious*, but both as being *necessary*. Now, the Hangman tells no *lies*; he *betrays* nobody; he *sells no man's blood*. He performs a very disagreeable office; but no man imputes *wickedness* to him.—This, therefore, is mere sophistry, that will mislead very few indeed. And, as to the observation, that such men as Edwards are necessary *as long as there are such men as Thistlewood and Ings*, it is as much as to say, that such men as Edwards are *always* necessary; for, there will *always* be such men as Thistlewood and Ings: or, at least, a government may always say that there are such. If he had said, that there must always be Edwardses employed *after such an affair as that at Manchester*, he would have been a little more to the point; for, both these men declared, and the crown-witnesses swore, that the affair of Manchester screwed them up to the resolution of doing what they contemplated.

The question, as far as relates to *morality* and *religion*, is, I think, pretty well settled. You are welcome to the honour of such morality and such religion. The Radical creed is precisely the opposite of yours. And, now, a word or two as to the *policy* of employing spies. We will say nothing about the *odiousness* and the *infamy* of an intercourse between a govern-

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ment, and the venders of human blood; we will say nothing about the meanness and dastardliness of such an intercourse; but, will ask, whether it is likely to tend to the *safety* of a government, especially in a country, where it has always been held in the greatest abhorrence.

In the first place, the adoption of a *Spy-system* argues, if not conscious guilt in a government, at least consciousness of being *deeply hated* by a considerable part of the people. To listen secretly is always regarded as a proof of conscious unworthiness. To *ewes-drop* is a crime. Nothing is truer, than that listeners *seldom hear any good of themselves;* and certain it is, they never ought. The very act of employing a spy, argues a consciousness of being hated and the existence of danger from that hatred. Disguise the matter how we may, to employ a spy argues both *guilt* and *fear*. The thing is so odious and detestable in its very name, that no impulse short of a dread of destruction will induce men to resort to it; and, there are, I hope, men in the world, and many men too, who would expose their throats to a thousand knives, rather than sit one single moment in council with such a man as Edwards. Now, Sir, whatever you may think of the matter, no government ever insured its *safety* by giving cause to believe, that it was full of *fears* for that safety.

Then, in the next place, there are the *used spies* to be provided for. If, indeed, these would have the complaisance to *die*, as silk-worms do, or undergo a transfiguration, the matter might not be difficult. But, they wish still to *live*, and to *live well* too. They may, indeed, be *sent* to foreign countries; but, they may not choose to *remain* there. At any rate, they may divulge, and even publish all the secret transactions with their employers; and, to *pay them for doing this* would be highly meritorious; as it was in the President of the United States to pay CAPT. HENRY, whom you remember, I dare say, for divulging the history of his mission from Canada to the United States! The old French government and the Italian governments used to be accused of *dispatching their spies*; or as the old king of Prussia used to call it. "suck the orange, and *throw away the peel.*" Nothing was, and, I dare say, is, more com-

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mon in some countries, (not those, of course, belonging to the *holy alliance*,) than to have spies *murdered* privately, and buried privately, *after they have done their business!* Indeed, this appears to be a natural end to the undertaking; for who can *trust* such villains, while they have life in them? And, who can believe, that a man, or set of men, who can buy the blood of other men of spies, will scruple, in the least, to take the blood of the spies themselves? We know that it is very common, in some parts of Europe, for rich men to employ poor starving creatures, to way-lay and stab persons whom they wish to destroy; and, when this is done, to get the stabbers into some place, where the rich men and their friends murder them snugly, and bury them in some cellar, or other private hole.

This is the *short way* and the *sure way* to deal with spies; and I defy you and Mr. Brougham both together, to find out any thing that shall be a *justification* of the employment of spies, which shall not serve as a justification for the murdering of spies when they have done their work.

It is said, they may *change their names*. This is very little. They must change their nature before they can be trusted by their employers. They can serve no more in the capacity of spy. They are like a last-year's almanack as to their employer's benefit; but, they may *betray him*, and in that case the use of them is *lawful*; for then they are *accomplices*. Change of *countries* is not much. A spy may come back to his native land. He may talk; he may write; he may do a hundred things more dangerous to a government than were the conspirators, whose blood he has sold to that government. No change but change of *shape* will do. The spy must be turned into *dust*, or his employer can never be safe. He must *wholly disappear*; and to make him do that, there is but *one way*.

There are, you see, Sir, some nice points of morality and religion, which naturally arise out of the doctrine, boldly put forward by Mr. Brougham, and as boldly applauded by you. But, in Mr. Brougham's *Education Digest* I hope we shall have the doctrine clearly laid down and fully illustrated. His is to be, it seems, a general plan of *Edu-*

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cation. He proposes to teach us all, from the highest to the lowest, from the papa in spectacles to the baby on the knee. The "*Dames' Schools*" are, I understand, to be particularly attended to. In his grammatical rudiments he may give them a fine instance from the king's speech, delivered to both Houses the other day; and may show the pupils of the "*Dames*" the beauty of our language, when it drops from the pens of great men; as thus: "Have secured "to the British nation the en- "joyment of *a larger share* of "practical freedom, as well as of "prosperity and happiness, than "*have* falleu to the lot of any "other nation in the world."

This will be a fine opportunity for him to show how elegantly and correctly the "Higher Orders" can write. He may, in order to illustrate the meaning of *practical freedom*, give a short account of the *six acts* and of those of 1817. He may touch upon prison-discipline, upon the New Treason Bill, upon the Soldier-seducing Bill, upon the Barrack and Military College System, upon the Alien Laws, the cheap-publication Act, the Search-for-arms Act, Public-meetings Act, and innumerable other matters, connected with "*practical* freedom," never forgetting the affair of Manchester, and not skipping over that fine specimen (though in a small way) of "*practical* "freedom," by which a man, at Bolton, in Lancashire, was taken up, and *held to bail*, for having gone round the town to announce, that "*William Cobbett* "*was arrived at Liverpool in* "*good health.*"

But, what I, and, I believe, the public in general, are on tiptoe for, is that part of the "*Digest*" which will treat, and, doubtless, most fully, of the justice and necessity of a government employing spies to bring men to the block or the gallows. The "*Digest*" ought to be very ample upon this subject; and, if it be not, I, for one, shall be cruelly disappointed.

In conclusion, Sir, I beg leave to call your attention to some remarks, which I subjoin, on the *death of Maggenis.* And, do you really believe, that the people of England are now to be *cajoled* by such tricks as those, which were played at Chester over this man? *Think* a little! Look round the world, and ask yourself, whether it be possible for *such tricks* to succeed amongst the countrymen and contemporaries of Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, and Tidd. If you answer the question in the affirmative, you are far more "*deluded*" than any portion, or any man, of those, whom you call "*the deluded people.*"

One word on a different subject. I see, by the debate of

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the 8th, that LORD MILTON (Burke's Corinthian Pillar) begins to think, *that we may not be able to pay the Fundholders in specie, after all!* Indeed! He says, that he does not think it just that the Fundholder should *receive more than he lent!* He does not see, perhaps, that *Mortgagees, Annuitants* on lands, and all *lenders*, are in the same advantageous state! Ah! the Bill (Mr. Peel's Bill) of last year, has made a pretty mess of the thing! Mr. BARING doubts, too, whether we can *get along with that Bill!* And even "the ORACLE" appears to have his scruples! Mr. BARING says, that he thinks he shall bring the subject forward to the House, next session, at latest; and I know that I shall bring it forward *to him, next week!* This is the subject. The *Six Acts* will do nothing here. If I had been in parliament, I should have *shown you the way out of the labyrinth before this day.* Intrigue, bloody violence, bribery and perjury have kept me out; and, perhaps, all is for the best. I shall now *propose nothing*; but shall "disport myself" in observing on what passes. Come, come, Sir! Don't be conceited. Read my "*Letter to Tierney*," written in Long Island in 1818. I told him that I addressed it to him merely to give it a *name* to be known and distinguished by. There you will find the *truest prophesy* (except in the Bible you know) that ever was put into print. I have not a single copy of it in the world, or, I would send you one. You will there see exactly foretold those very effects of attempting to pay in specie, that we now witness. If any one will send me a copy of this Letter to Tierney, I will *republish it* next week, to do which the *Sixpenny Pamphlet Act* affords me the easy means. In the mean while "*the Ladies at Huddersfield*" are subscribing to give grand dinners to the "*non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 4th Dragoon Guards and the 85th regiment*," as a reward for their "*meritorious services during the late alarm.*" And the "*respectable inhabitants* of *Oldham*" are about to do the same! This will thicken the mess famously. Soldiers are *no fools!* They will well understand what these caresses all mean. However, *let it go on*; and let you and I look after the affairs of *morality, religion*, and *cash-payments*. You will remember what I said: that the two Houses had *resolved unanimously*, and had *enacted*, that the Bank should *pay in specie*; and that, if it did pay in specie, *I would suffer myself to be broiled alive.* I stand to my word, and, I can clearly see that my opponents, "Oracle" and all, begin to shuffle and twist. "It is in the *last twenty* "*years* of the system," says PAINE, "that all the *great* "*shocks* will be felt." Do we not feel them *now*? And how much wiser a man would Mr. PEEL have been, if his father, instead of bidding him listen to PITT, had taught him to read PAINE! Where is now, Sir, "that glorious sun of *prosperity*" which, in 1816, you said was

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"merely hidden, for a moment, *behind a cloud!*"—But, I must stop. Plenty of occasions will offer for addressing you. I am *not in Parliament*, but, I am resolved that by the means of this work and my *Parliamentary Register*, the proceedings, for *this session* at least, shall be *well understood*.—The debate of the 9th has just met my eye.—Sir F. Burdett has *once more* merited *your anger*. I hail this as the beginning of good. The people's gratitude is due to Mr. Alderman Wood.

Yours, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

DEATH OF MAGGENIS.

Such multitudes of *sentences* and of *executions* meet our ears and eyes now-a-days, that they attract little attention. We hear of trials for "*sedition, blasphemy*, and *treason*;" of convictions, fines, imprisonments, hangings and quarterings, with feelings much like those, with which we hear, or read, of the *killed and wounded* in land or sea battles, after a war has been going on for some time. In this latter case the *General Officers* only are *named*. The historians, or reporters, content themselves with giving us merely the *numbers* of the *rank and file*. This is pretty much the case now with regard to the killed, wounded, and captured Radicals, of whom there are, perhaps, at this moment, some hundreds in prison, or under conviction, or under indictment, or under bonds to appear to be tried. It would be an useful thing to get and publish a list of *their names*, their *imputed crimes*, their *sentences* (if sentenced), and any other circumstances belonging to them, or their cases. *History*, as it is called, is generally a great *liar*. It suppresses all that is displeasing to *power*. But, we now live in times that give a chance of *improvement*; and, if we collect and put on record, *facts*, they will be sure to be greatly useful.

MAGGENNIS, or M'INNIS, or whatever his real name was, who was lately executed at CHESTER, has been made a subject of most curious statement on the part of the *corrupt press*, especially as relates to *religion*. This young man was, it appears, an *Irishman*. He was living at STOCKPORT at the time when BIRCH, the policeman, took down Mr. HARRISON from London. A crowd assembled round Birch in the street, and somebody shot him, wounded him, but did *not kill* him, and the man is *now alive*.

The offence was imputed to

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a Mr. BRUCE, a school-master, and also to MAGGENIS as an accomplice. They were both tried before JUDGE WARREN, at the last Chester Assizes, found guilty and condemned to be *hanged*. These men have been, by the corrupt press, called, up to this day, *murderers* and *assassins*. That they were neither is notorious; for nobody was *killed;* and, according to *law*, to constitute a *murder*, there must be *a killing*: the party attacked must actually be *dead*. As to *assassination*, it means *murder*, and something *more*. It means a *private* and *vindictive killing* to satisfy *private revenge*. Yet the foolish and corrupt press of this country, which is just as bad as that of France under a Bourbon Censorship, calls, now-a-days, every thing *assassination*, which is committed by those who are called *Radicals*, and which consists of physical *violence* of any sort, or in any degree. The moment a man is seen with a *pike* in his hand, or even in his house, he is called an *assassin*. The Scots Radicals, who fought the troops in the open field, were called *rebels;* but they were called *assassins too*.

However, the laws of England do not yet know any thing of *assassination;* and they allow nothing to be *murder*, unless there be an *actual killing*: there must be proof of *a death*, or else there can be no *murder*. Yet, though Birch *is alive, two men have been condemned to die* for the shooting of him! How can this be? Why, the late JUDGE ELLENBOROUGH brought an act into Parliament, which was passed, to make it death to cut, stab, wound, and so forth, with intent to kill. This is called the "Ellenborough Act;" and, under this act, these two men were tried, convicted, and condemned. Bills of indictment have been presented against several of the Yeomanry Cavalry, who acted at Manchester on the 16th of August; but, those bills have all been thrown out by the Grand Juries; which shews, that there may be cases when it is not criminal to cut and wound, and even to kill. But, the case before us was, of course, not one of those.

According to the "Ellenborough Act," then, BRUCE and MAGGENIS were accused and found guilty. But let it always be kept in mind, that they were *not guilty of murder;* and that

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if they had done the very same thing *only about fifteen years ago*, their punishment would not, and could not, have been death; and, I believe, nothing more than *fine* and *imprisonment*. And yet, from the moment that the shooting of Birch was heard of, up to this day, the crime of *murder*, and even that of *assassination*, have been, from one end of the kingdom to the other, imputed to these men! Many persons thought: I thought: and, I dare say, the people in general thought, that Birch was *dead!* We were told that a pension of a hundred a-year was settled by the Prince on Birch's *widow!* We were told of a message of condolence to her from the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg! In short, I thought the man was *dead*; and I believe ninety-nine hundredths of the people thought the same. But now, behold, after the corrupt press has had the benefit of his death; after the "widow," as they called her, has got the pension, and a pension, too, *equal to that of a general officer's widow*; after the Radicals have had to bear the charges of *murder* and *assassination* for six months; after all this, Birch is as alive and as merry as PLATT, who was "*murdered* and *assassinated*" by YOUNG WATSON, and who tried hard for, but did not get, *a pension!*

Having thus placed MAGGENIS's deed in its true light, I now proceed to notice some statements of the corrupt press, relative to his conduct, during the last days of his life. BRUCE had always been charged with the shooting of the Police-man, and Maggenis with aiding and abetting Bruce. When they had been found guilty, Maggenis told the Court, that *he*, and *he alone*, had done the deed, though the witnesses had shewn Bruce to be the most guilty man. MAGGENIS declared BRUCE to be wholly innocent, not only of the act of shooting, but of all participation in it, and all knowledge of the intention to do the deed.

Not to applaud, and even *admire*, this act, one would think to be next to impossible. It was an act of pure, unadulterated virtue. It was being *just* at the certain expence of all chance of escaping death. Both were *found guilty*; both would be *condemned*; but one's life might, and *probably would*, be spared. Nay, there was every

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reason to believe, that this would be the case, as there had been no murder committed. And, as the aider and abbettor, which the *evidence* had showed MAGGENIS to be, was the *least criminal* of the two, his was the life to spare. Yet, in spite of all these considerations, he bravely avowed the deed, and took the whole of the offence upon himself, saying: "it was I who did the deed: let me suffer if you will: but put not this innocent man to death."

If any man has ever witnessed a more truly virtuous and noble act than this, I should be glad to be informed of it; and yet we read, in the newspapers, that WARREN, the Judge, when he passed sentence, spoke of this avowal as an *aggravation* of Maggenis's offence, and as a reason for *shortening* the short period of his remaining existence! It is not said, indeed, that Judge WARREN found fault of the avowal *itself;* but of the *bold* and *daring* manner of it. Not having been present, it is impossible for me to say, how MAGGENIS *looked* and what *tone of voice* he used on the occasion; but, as far as his reported *words* go, even according to the version of the corrupt press, there was nothing but a plain and positive declaration, that he alone did the deed, and that Bruce had nothing at all to do with it: and this, I repeat, was as virtuous and noble an act as ever was performed by mortal man. It was giving up all chance of preserving life, rather than suppress the truth: it was actually preferring death to the doing of an act of injustice: it was scorning life secured by the death of an innocent man, though that man was neither relation, friend, nor even acquaintance: it was a deed, to surpass which nothing is to be found in the annals of greatness of mind.

This appears to have been perceived, too, by the Corrupt Press, which two words mean a great mass of infamy. This press, *after a few days of reflection*, appears to have perceived, that this brave and generous act on the part of a "Radical Assassin," as they had so long been calling him, would cause it to be believed, that there was, at bottom, something *good and great* belonging to the Radicals. Besides, they had taken uncommon pains to represent both MAGGENNIS and BRUCE as INFIDELS! The COURIER, in the very same page that it recorded

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the *avowal* of MAGGENNIS, asserted, that he was an *Infidel*; and said: "thus it *always* happens; the *Infidel* always ends "by being a *murderer*. Unbelief is the *sure forerunner* of "*assassination*." And then he went on to shew, that this history of MAGENNIS afforded a specimen of the *Radical creed*, and of the effects of it.

This was altogether false in fact; for, in the first place, there was *no murder*; and, in the next place, we always find *real* murderers *extremely religious* as soon as sure of death. The woman, who murdered her mistress lately in Warwickshire, was deeply read in religion and far gone in grace, as they call it, unless, indeed, she died with a lie on her lips. The man, who so shockingly murdered Bonner and his wife, said, at the gallows, that, in *a few moments, he should be in the bosom of his Saviour*. And this is notoriously uniformly the case with bloody and selfish and cruel murderers. Then, in some other countries, is it not well known, that murderers and assassins run into *Churches* and *Convents*, and implore the protection of the Priests, who give it them, and wash them of the sin for a sum of money? Will the COURIER deny this? And, will he say, that this makes any part of the "*Radical creed*?" Let it be borne in mind, too, that Mr. BELLINGHAM, who killed PERCEVAL, sent for his *Common Prayer Book*, the moment he got into prison. So that *he* was not only a *religious* man, but a *Church of England man* into the bargain! We know that two kings of France were stabbed; and we also know, that the stabbers were not only *religious* men, but *priests*, and not only priests, but priests avowing that they were actuated by *a zeal for religion*. CROMWELL and his fellow-labourers were, we all know, some of the most *religious* men that ever lived. They did nothing without a *prayer* to begin with. Whether they bilked a bawd, or killed a king, they began with a long prayer. So that this doctrine of the COURIER, that *Infidelity* is the cause of murder and assassination is wholly destitute of foundation.

Therefore, the facts are false; but, then there came this fact; namely, that *Infidelity* induced a man to make the avowal that MAGGENIS made! Infidelity, if the COURIER had spoken truth about MAGENNIS's creed, had

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inhabited the same mind that was capable of the great and generous act of scorning life, if held by the suppressing of a truth, which justice demanded! Yea; this *Infidel* had said: "I "*can* live; but I will die, rather "than suffer an innocent man "to die for me." This was something, which, upon reflection, the Corrupt Press did not like to suffer to go forth to the world. This was an ugly tale for the out-criers against "*blasphemy*" to send forth amongst the "*deluded people.*" The public, all of whom can now *read*, would reason upon the whole of the interesting story; and the result of their reasoning would be this: "either the "Corrupt Press has told a *false-*"*hood* to blacken the Radicals, "in asserting MAGGENIS to have "been an *Infidel*; or, *Infidelity* "*is compatible with the purest* "*morality and most heroic vir-*"*tue.*" Nay, MAGGENIS was, the COURIER said, not only an unbeliever, but an *Atheist!* "Shocking to relate," exclaimed the pious scribe, "this "wretched man does not be-"lieve in the existence of a "God!" This was going far beyond Mr. PAINE, who most eloquently urges the belief in a God. So that here is even an *Atheist* acting, on his trial, the most honourable, the most generous, the most noble, the most virtuous part that man ever acted.

The inferences, so obviously growing out of these facts, the Corrupt Deluders appear quickly to have perceived. The inferences must, indeed, have forced themselves upon their own minds, and, of course, they would conclude, that the same operation would take place in the minds of others. Therefore they speedily *tacked about*, and, in the course of only a few days, made a *convert*, a *penitent*, and almost *a saint*, of this identical MAGGENNIS! How they have gone to work to do this, it is my business now to relate; and, as the reader proceeds, he will certainly think himself carried back to the time, when the fat, lazy, rascally MONKS were cheating the people by selling their miracles, and by receiving payment in the bread, cheese, eggs, butter and bacon, that ought to have gone into the bellies of the poor, "*deluded*" creatures and their children. Since the fall of Napoleon, monstrous efforts have been made, by despots

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and priests, to regain the ground which had been lost by the French Revolution. The Pope lost no time in recognizing the *Jesuits*; the *Holy Inquisition* found apologists in *Protestant Priests*; and, monstrous to relate, even the Calvinistical Priests of *New England* joined in processions and other gaudy shows to commemorate the re-exaltation of "*Anti-Christ*," and "the *Whore of Babylon*." What could be the *cause* of this? What could induce these *protestant* priests to rejoice, to exult, to be half mad with joy, at events, which restored the Pope and the Inquisition? Come, ye hypocrites! None of your shuffling! None of your lies! Give an answer. "*Any* religion is better than *none*." Oh! it is, is it? It is better that "*Anti-Christ*" should exist; it is better that "*the Whore of Babylon, drunk with the blood of the saints*," should resume her place and power, than that the people formerly under her power, *should live without any quarrelling, or burning, for religion's sake*? This is what you say, is it? You will find, in a very few years, that your real motives are not only seen into; but that they will be completely defeated.

To return to MAGGENIS, I shall now insert, from the COURIER news-paper, an account of this almost miraculous conversion. I beg the reader to go through the whole very *attentively*; and to notice particularly the passages, which I have marked by *italick characters*; for, ir is clear to me, that a deep scheme is laid to make out of this matter a *humbug* of great extent and influence. It will fail; but, in order to make it fail, it must be *detected* and *exposed*. The COURIER takes, or pretends to take, its information from the "*Chester Courant*," which is one of those vehicles, which the Corrupt encourage and support in the *Country parts* of the kingdom, and which are even more slavish and detestably base than the grand vehicles of Corruption in London. I have not the smallest doubt, that the whole is a *hatched story* from the beginning to the end. The name of *Keeling* is mentioned; but, *who* is he? *What* is he? Where are his *vouchers*? Who was *witness* of any of the scenes? However, let us *hear* the story first, and then let us make our remarks on it. I have *numbered the paragraphs*, that I may save time and space in quoting them as I proceed.

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"1. It will be recollected "when, in our last, we noticed "the passing sentence on M'In- "nis, we adverted to the insen- "sibility and hardihood of the "prisoner, who, upon the con- "clusion of the Chief Justice's "address, replied, in the ac- "cents of bravado, to the Bench, "'Thank you, my Lord, it is a "good cure for a spinning in "the head.' Of his subsequent "behaviour, in the intermediate "space between his condemna- "tion and execution, it is in our "power to furnish some parti- "culars, for which our readers, "considering the above, as a "specimen of his moral condi- "tion, will be *quite unprepared*, "and which must prove as *gra- "tifying* as they are *extraor- "dinary*. We beg to add, "that the following details rest "on an authority *unquestion- "able*, being communicated by "a *pious gentleman*, who had "constant access to him in his "cell during the period of "which we now particularly "speak, and whose Christian "zeal and perseverance, in "bringing him to a suitable "sense of his awful condition, "are as commendable, as his "efforts were successful.

2. "Mr. Keeling, the indivi- "dual in question, immediately "on the removal of M'Innis "from the bar, after his convic- "tion, on the evening of Satur- "day week, *followed him to his "cell*, and humanely offered his "services, to assist him in his "devotions, and a preparation "for the fate that awaited him. "Mr. Keeling's proposal was "met by the prisoner with the "most determined repulsion; "he *blasphemed in the most "horrid manner*; said, that his "sufferings would soon termi- "nate; was sure, that when his "body was dead, *his being "would be annihilated*; and de- "clared, that in the mean time, "*the Almighty had neither the "power to save or to destroy "him*.

3. "On the following day (Sunday) Mr. Keeling renewed "his visit, but no improvement "was visible in his moral con- "dition. On being asked, whe- "ther he would permit prayer "to be made by him, he sternly "refused; observing, '*that he "detested preaching and priest- "craft, and that he would have "none of it*; that he was *an "Atheist*, and was determined "to leave the world with the "persuasion, that *no Supreme "Power existed*.' Before the

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"close of this interview, however, M'Innis became somewhat more disposed to listen "*to the evidences* which his friend adduced in support of "the Christian system, and to "the expostulations, which with "a feeling solicitude, he addressed to him; and finally "admitted, that if Mr. K.'s doctrine was correct, *he was lost* "*for ever.*

4. "On Monday morning, "M'Innis received sentence of "death, and was apprized, that "the law would be executed "upon him on the following "Saturday. Mr. Keeling again "attended him; he found him "neither surprized, nor apparently appalled. During this "conversation, M'Innis's confidence in his infidel principles *seemed to be staggered*, "when Mr. Keeling *pressed* "*home* with redoubled energy "the truths of Christianity; "and with such effect as produced an acknowledgment, "that possibly it might be true. "He now consented that his "spiritual adviser should pray "with him; he seemed for the "first time to join in devotional "exercise; on rising from his "knees, he evidently appeared "more thoughtful and requested that Mr. Keeling would "soon repeat his visit. Accordingly at four o'clock in "the afternoon of the same day, "that gentleman attended him, "when he expressed an earnest "wish *to be corrected if he had* "*embraced error.* On this occasion, the unhappy man appeared more cordially to enter "into the spirit of devotion, "*and wept.* When leaving him, "Mr. Keeling obtained a promise, that he would address "himself to God in private "prayer; and with this assurance, Mr. Keeling departed.

5. "We do not think it needful to make any further observation here, than to remark, "that it was in reference to this "precise period that the following letter alludes, in the description it gives of his conflict, after bowing his knee in "private. This letter was written on the following day; and "addressed *to a young woman* "*of his acquaintance in Stockport.* We copy it exactly as "written, only correcting the "orthography:—(This letter "has already appeared in a "Courier.)

6. "However the infidel or "the profane may be disposed "to treat the scene described

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" above, as the visionary frenzy " of fanaticism or delusion, we " dare not deny to it *the genuine* " *marks of a divine interposi-* " *tion*, vouchsafed in an extra- " ordinary manner, upon an ex- " traordinary occasion. There " was nothing in the character " or manners of the man to jus- " tify an imputation that his " sensations of horror were pro- " duced from previous weak " prepossessions or prejudices; " for these leaned all in an op- " posite direction; nor from the " impulse of fear arising from " his approaching dissolution, as " neither before nor after this " occurrence, did he ever betray " the slightest symptoms of re- " luctance to meet his fate. Mr. " Keeling was called in to visit " him in his distress of soul, (not " having left him above an hour " before) and found him pros- " trate on the floor of his cell, " weeping, and most bitterly re- " proaching himself for his in- " fidelity and wickedness; and " now beholding in him the " character of *a true penitent.* " directed him to the Lamb of " God that taketh away the sins " of the world. From this hour " the rays of hope beamed upon " his heart—the gloom of scep- " ticism receded from his coun- " tenance; and with a cheerful " submission which could only " be inspired by a well-grounded " hope of a better world, he de- " voted his few remaining days " to religious purposes.

7. " There was one prominent " feeling that seemed greatly to " afflict him, namely, *the injury* " *he had done to many of his* " *acquaintances, by instilling* " *into their minds his infidel* " *principles, exclaiming, 'What* " *multitudes have I been the in-* " *strument of ruining!—How* " *shall I make reparation for* " *the injury I have done!' His* " *judicious adviser* recommend- " ed him *to state his present* " *altered views and convictions* " *in writing which he would* " *engage to see published, con-* " *ceiving that the declarations* " *of a dying man would be likely* " *to have influence with those* " *whose minds he had contami-* " *nated. To this he consented;* " *and the above letter is the first* " *fruits of that design.* All the " remaining hours of his life, " that were not employed in the " more immediate acts of reli- " gion, *were occupied in pre-* " *paring a memoir of his life,* " *or rather of the more promi-* " *nent causes and consequences* " *of his erroneous principles,*

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" *which is now in the possession* " *of Mr. Keeling, and which,* " *after its correction and ar-* " *rangement by a pious clergy-* " *man of the establishment, will* " *be given to the world in the* " *form of a pamphlet.*

8. " That we have been so " minute in the account of this " unfortunate man, may receive " an apology from the peculi- " arity of his circumstances, " whether in reference to the " destructive principles he had " imbibed, the striking evidence " of his conversion, or the mag- " nitude of his crime. A news- " paper may be thought an im- " proper medium through which " to introduce moral disserta- " tions; but who that *loves his* " *country*, or *reverences his* " *Maker*, will be offended at our " deprecating the doctrines of " infidelity, which, while they " deprive men of the hopes of a " better world, *unloose every* " *obligation of morality, and* " *give them the unrestrained* " *license of sporting with the* " *lives and property of their* " *fellow-men.* The subject of " this mournful narrative *as-* " *cribed to the adoption of these* " *principles all those evils he* " *had been guilty of—and par-* " *ticularly that which brought* " *him to the gallows.*

9. " In Mr. Keeling's inter- " course with M'Innes, he " greatly deplored the influence " of infidel principles upon his " conduct. He said, that he " *never connected himself with* " *the Radicals, that he thought* " *too meanly of their spirit;* " but he had deeply drank of " the essence of disaffection, " and was prepared to go any " lengths in resistance to Go- " vernment. It will be recol- " lected, that in January last, " M'Innes made an attempt to " escape out of the Castle: in " adverting to this circumstance, " he said, that if he had effected " his purpose, it was probable " many lives would have been " lost; that his first intention " was to assassinate *Mr. Lloyd* " *of Stockport*, and then Birch; " and he declared the pistol " actually fired at the latter, " was loaded with an intent to " kill the former: that he had " been looking about for Mr. " Lloyd that evening, but could " not find him; and afterwards " meeting with Birch, he di- " rected his vengeance against " him, whom he knew to be an " *active agent in the suppression* " *of rebellion.*

10. " M'Innes was an Irish- " man by birth, and was from

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"the county of Down. Was "brought up a Protestant; has "been in England about three "years; a very good-looking "young man, of about twenty-"five years of age; and was "said to be on the point of "marriage with *a young woman* "*of Stockport*, when he com-"mitted the crime, for which "his life has been forfeited.

11. "On the night before "execution, M'Innes retired to "rest about ten o'clock, and on "Mr. Keeling's visit in the "morning at seven, he found him "occupied in writing. He ap-"peared placid and collected, "said he had had some refresh-"ing, comfortable rest, and that "his meditations had been de-"lightful. At ten o'clock, Mr. "Keeling accompanied M'Innes "to the Chapel in the Castle, "and joined with him in par-"taking of the Holy Commu-"nion, during which M'Innes "was observed to weep: and "in explanation of this circum-"stance, said to Mr. K. after-"wards, they were tears of joy. "Returning from the Chapel to "the cell, prayer was again of-"fered; and it may be interest-"ing to observe, that in this act "of devotion, Thomas Miller, a "malefactor under sentence of "death for burglary, who it is "understood *will suffer next* "*Saturday*, was permitted to "join! this scene is represented "as very affecting. Nor ought "the circumstance we are just "going to mention, to be omit-"ted. Soon after eleven o'clock, "*a clergyman* came to M'Innes, "who stated, that he had been "*expressly sent by the Bishop* "*of Chester* to the prisoner, to "say, that 'his Lordship *was* "*extremely gratified to hear* of "the happy change which had "taken place in his mind; that "he had been *pleasingly af-*"*fected* by the information; *and* "*had sent his blessing by the* "*messenger.*'"

12. "The hour now ap-"proached when the prisoner "had to leave the Castle. One "important affair was yet to be "completed. From the time of "his trial, he had constantly "affirmed, *that Bruce had not* "*shared* in the criminality of "his attempt upon Birch's life. "*Whether upon his own motion,* "*or upon the suggestion of* "*others*, we know not, but at "this awful period *he drew up* "and signed with his own "hand, a declaration, purport-"ing—"*That no person what-*"*ever was connected with, or*

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" *knew of his intention, of shoot-*
" *ing Birch.*"

18. " M'Innis held a bible in " his hand during his progress " through the streets, in which " he unremittingly continued to " read, without taking any no- " tice of the surrounding multi- " tude. The portion of scrip- " ture on which his attention " was fixed, as recommended to " him by Mr. Keeling, was the " 27th chapter of St. Matthew's " gospel. That gentleman *as-* " *sisted him in descending from* " *the cart*, and on asking how " he felt his mind supported, " he answered, that he found " himself quite comfortable.— " About half an hour was oc- " cupied in the House of Cor- " rection before he ascended " the scaffold, during which he " preserved the utmost compo- " sure and firmness. *Mr. Keel-* " *ing first ascended the drop,* " and was followed by M'nnis, " *assisted by another person.* " Mr. Willan, chaplain, followed, " and read the service. In the " mean time, the former gentle- " man *placed himself exactly in* " *front of M'Innis, as if with* " *a view of preventing discom-* " *posure of mind, from beholding* " *the vast concourse of peo-* " *ple* Mr. Keeling remained " with him on the drop a few " minutes, *reading to him from* " the 23d chapter of Luke, the " short history of the penitent " thief, and encouraging his " hope in Jesus Christ. To the " last moment he continued to ex- " press his unshaken confidence " of the mercy of the Redeemer. " *It was expected that he would* " *address the people*: on this sub- " ject Mr. Keeling had conversed " with him, and he said, that " *he should be guided by his* " *feelings at the time.* All that " he said, just before the cap " was pulled over his face, was, " with a firm and audible voice, " '*Gentlemen, farewell.*' After " his devotions were concluded, " he appeared in *great haste to* " *be gone*; and before the hang- " man had time to lower the " drop, he had given the signal " by dropping his handker- " chief."

In the *first paragraph* the writer seems to be aware of the *surprise* that his tale will naturally excite in the public mind; and, like all those who have lies to palm upon the world for truth, he sets out with saying that his "*authority is unquestionable.*" But this is not enough; especially when we

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are threatened with *a book of confessions*, as we are in paragraph No. 7. It is not enough, nor nearly enough, to *tell us*, that the authority is unquestionable. This should be *proved* to us. We must not be satisfied that it was "a *pious* gentleman" who communicated it; for there are such things as "*pious* frauds." RAHAB, the harlot's example, wrong interpreted, lead to great errors and mischiefs! It is not enough to tell us, that Mr. KEELING saw this and that, and heard this and that. We must know who this man is. We must have some vouchers for *his vouchers*. He may be a real corporeal being, or he may be an *imaginary* man. If a real man, he may be in his right senses; or he may be a half or a whole madman, whose rantings and reveries are wholly unworthy of belief. In short, until we have detailed certificates, that this Keeling is a man of sound mind, perfect veracity, and *not an enemy to Reform*, and until these certificates be signed by some one or more *Reformers*, this man's story, unsupported by other evidence, is not worth a straw; especially when we find no talk of *any other witness* to any part of the transactions, except the convict, *Thomas Miller*, who is now, we suppose, *hanged!*

Paragraph No. 2.—How came Keeling to be *permitted* to "*follow the man to his cell?*" Could *any body else* do this? Were MAGGENIS's *friends* allowed to do this? Was the poor fellow permitted to have his *friends about him?* We hear of no such thing; and yet, why not *they* follow him to his cell as well as this undescribed Mr. KEELING? Why was no friend from Stockport present? But, we shall have more to say about this bye-and-bye.—MAGGENIS blasphemed in a most horrid manner; and declared, that "the *Almighty* had neither the *power* to save or to destroy him!" This part of Keeling's story *must be false*. For, if MAGGENIS was an *Atheist*, how came he to talk of an "*Almighty?*" And, if he believed in one that was *almighty*; that is to say, *all-powerful*; that is to say, *having power to do all things*; how could he believe, that that same being had "*neither the power to save nor destroy him?*" —Ah! Mr. Keeling, Mr. Keeling! Persons who tell tough stories ought not only to have *good memories*, but ought also not to be wholly blind.

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Paragraph No. 3.—Here we have the poor fellow an *Atheist* again, and "*resolved* to leave the world with the belief that no supreme power existed." *Resolved!* What a thing for any man to say! How *incredible upon the face of it!* It is a sort of language that no man ever makes use of. It was, in this case, something monstrous. It showed a determination to listen to nothing on the other side. And after this, at the very *same interview*, this same man began to *soften!* Nay, *at this very interview*, he admitted, "that "*if* Mr. Keeling's doctrine *was* "*correct*, he (Maggenis) was "*lost for ever.*"—Now, reader, mark the richness of the culmsiness of this fabrication! MAGGENIS had, we are told, in paragraph No. 10, "*been brought up a protestant.*" So he might, to be sure, and yet be brought up an *atheist*; for a *protestant* merely means, *not a catholic.* But, it is clear, that it must have been meant, that Mr. KEELING's "*convert*" was brought up in a belief in the Protestant Christian faith. Well, he had become an *atheist.* He could not have become such without *reasoning* upon the subject. Reasoning *falsely*, if you please; but, he *must* have become an atheist by reasoning. He must have *examined* the grounds of his old and those of his new belief. No matter *how* he did this: he *must* have done it, and especially as he was so firmly fixed as to his new creed, as to be "*resolved*" to die in it, and that, too, after he had been expostulated with by this surprizing Mr. KEELING.—Now, is it to be believed, that, in the short space of one visit, infidel principles, so firmly rooted, would be shaken? And, then, what is the result? Why, MAGGENIS says. "if your doctrine is correct. I am *lost for ever.*" The deuce he was! Why, it was just the *contrary!* For Mr. Keeling's doctrine told him, that he might be saved, if he would repent *even at the gallows.* So that, if the *conversion* had taken place, the senses of the convert must have taken their leave of him.—He was softened and shaken, it seems, by certain "*evidences* adduced by Mr. Keeling." We shall have these, probably, bye-and-bye, in print. They must have been extremely *efficacious*, and also perfectly *new to Maggenis*; for, if he had ever heard of them *before*, they would, of course, have had no effect now; whereas

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it appears, that they had a very wonderful effect; and, therefore, I hope, that we shall have them *in print*; as, I dare say we shall, Mr. Keeling appearing not to be a man to hide his candle under a bushel.

Paragraph, No. 4.—We have nothing here worthy of particular remark. The *progress* of the conversion is *easy* and *natural*; and it appears all to look like real life! In the preceding paragraph, the infidel principles were *shaken*. In this they are *staggered*. The Infidel is next made to acknowledge that he *may possibly be in error*. He is then brought on *his knees*. He next desires *correction*. At last he *weeps*; and his ghostly friend leaves him to pray. All this was very well managed by Keeling, let Keeling be who or what he may; and, in this place, all we have to regret is, that Keeling did not think of providing any body to be witness of facts so very interesting and of effects which must be thought extremely marvellous.

Paragraph, No. 6.—The letter, mentioned here, I have not. I have lost the paper, in which it was published. Nor does it signify. It was, we are here told, "*addressed to a young woman of Stockport.*" What was her *name?* Come, come! Tell us her name! None of your shuffling! But, I had forgotten to ask, by what *authority* was this private letter *opened, kept,* and *printed?* Answer that question. Answer that; and then we shall know who to look to as responsible for the authenticity of the letter. Whether it was lawful, just, merciful, to open, keep, and print this letter is not the question that I am discussing. The question is this: is a letter, thus pretended to have been *obtained,* and *thus used,* to be relied on as *genuine?* Was the letter *ever sent* to the young woman? She, we must suppose, was acquainted with the *hand-writing.* What so easy as to get *her testimony?* In short, I shall never believe in the authenticity of this letter, until I have the certificate of the person that it was addressed to, that it is in the well known and even the *sworn-to* hand-writing of MAGGENIS himself. What! Are we to take things, brought forth in this way, as *authentic documents?* A letter, said to have been written in a prison, no witness being present; and, not sent according to its address; opened, kept, printed without even any pretended consent of the party writing or

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the party addressed! If such a document be to be taken as *evidence* of any thing other than of the impudence and profligacy of the publishers, there is an end to all idea of truth and justice, and mens' characters and lives must, in future, depend on more chance, or something even less certain.

Paragraph, No. 6.—Having, in the former paragraphs, brought the "Radical Infidel" to *weep*, Mr. Keeling here lays him "*prostrate* on the *floor* of "his cell, weeping, bitterly re-"proaching himself with his in-"fidelity and wickedness, and, "finding him a *true penitent*, "directs him accordingly;" but, in words, that I will not profane by a repetition of them! But, it is the *beginning* of this paragraph, which merits our notice, and, I may add, our *indignation*. Here the profligate publisher says: "However the "*infidel* or the *profane* may be "disposed to treat the scene "above described as the *vision-*"*ary frenzy of fanaticism or* "*delusion*, WE *dare not deny* "*to it* the genuine marks of "*Divine Interposition*, vouch-"safed in an *extraordinary* "manner on an *extraordinary* "*occasion.*" If this be not *blasphemy*, the word has a meaning now-a-days which it never had before. Where is the *evidence* (even supposing the facts to be true) of a *special interposition* of God, upon this occasion? If God had vouchsafed to *interpose* directly and specially, in the case of this man, would he not have interposed *before the shot was fired at Birch?* Would he not have prevented the deed, and also prevented MAGGENIS *from being an atheist at all?* If God chose to interpose specially, even late, what need was there of the offices of Keeling? Is it not to offer an insult to God to assert, that he must have been fellow-worker with Keeling?—Oh, no! Mr. CHESTER COURANT and Mr. LONDON COURIER, I (whatever the *infidel* or the *profane* may do) am far from treating the pretended scenes as the "visionary frenzy of "fanaticism;" I treat them as the result of a deep-laid contrivance of political corruption and roguery, carried on by matchless impudence, and intended to answer the worst of all possible purposes; namely, falsely to fix the charge of infidelity and a love of blood-shed on all those who are contending for their political and civil rights.

Paragraph, No. 7.—These paragraphs is *all pith*. There we have *the whole scheme developed!* The *confessions* of MAGGENIS are to come forth. They are in the *possession of Mr. Keeling*, and when "*cor-*"*rected* and *arranged* by a "*pious Clergyman of the Esta-*"*blishment*, are to be given *to* "*the world* in the *form of a* "*pamphlet!*" Oh, brave! Now, I will bet the COURIER what it pleases, that no Clergyman of *the Church* ever puts *his name* to this pamphlet: and that no such person ever suffers *his name* to be used as the compiler, or editor, of this pamphlet. The Clergy of the Church will do many things; but they have too

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much wisdom to do such barefaced things as this.——The object of the pamphlet will be, as is, indeed, here set forth, to reclaim, and to convince of their errors, those whom MAGGENIS had wished, which he confessed to be *great multitudes!*—This may be very well; but, in the first place, these "multitudes" must be made to believe, *that Maggennis wrote the thing;* and this, I believe, will be very difficult indeed! The whole terms upon this however; for, as to the *arguments* against Atheism, t would be hard indeed, if Mr. Keeling, who converted MAGENNIS, could not, in his own name, furnish as good, and even better, than MAGGENIS himself. Or, indeed, the "pious Clergy-"man of the Establishment," who is to be MAGENNIS's editor, could, doubtless, send forth matter of his own far more powerful than that of MAGGENIS. Aye; but, then, as his "*judicious* adviser" observed, "the declarations of a DYING "MAN would be likely to have "influence with those whose "minds he had contaminated." Aye, aye! That is the nick! But, then, Mr. Keeling, the world is now got to be too cunning to believe, without *excellent proof*, all, or any part, of what is related about the declarations of "*dying men:*" because, as the world now knows very well, *dying men* have been belied even more than living men. So that, in order for your forth-coming pamphlet to have the smallest chance of influence, except in the way of exciting ridicule and contempt, it must come forth with proofs as clear as the noon-day sun. We must have the oaths of those *who saw him write it*, or, who, at least, saw it in his possession, and fresh from his pen, and who, with their own ears, heard him avow the writing of it. And these persons must not be *keepers* or *turnkeys* or any persons in *employ* about the jail. They must be, too, persons, *not hostile to Reform;* or, at least, some of them, or *one* of them must. For, I, for one, shall think it extremely strange, that MAGGENIS's former friends were kept away from him (if that were so) *after his conversion*, when there was any possible reason for permitting him to *see* and *converse with them;* because, it must have occurred to you, that *their* testimony as to his conversion would be the best in the world.——"Declarations "of *dying men*" are not so greedily swallowed as they used to be. People of any sense think, now-a-days, that the opinions, which a man avows in the prime of his intellect, are worthy of more attention than those, which he may profess in his dotage, in his second childhood, or under the distracting and maddening torments of disease. Men on the *rack* have often confessed the commission of acts which they never committed. They have said, in the delirium of pain, things which they never meant to say. And, though there be no acute suffering, a man *may*, by *solitary confinement*, by *long silence*, by almost *incessant darkness*, by *low diet*, be reduced to *imbecility*. I re-

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member the affecting picture, drawn by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, of the prisoners he visited, under ARIS, in the cells of Cold Bath Fields, I never heard him mention the thing but once; but I have never forgotten it. He said, that they had nothing about them but their *size*, which seemed to partake of *manhood*; that their looks, their voices, their expressions, their ideas, all were those of *children of seven or eight years old*. And, indeed, who can doubt that such must be the effect of such treatment, if long continued? I, therefore, for one, pay no attention at all to the words of "*dying men*" as far as relates to *matters of opinion*; and not always much attention as far as relates to matters of fact, if they have been long in solitary confinement and on low diet.—— So, Mr. KEELING, you see, that there will be something to do, in order to make us *not laugh* at your forthcoming pamphlet. Cheer up, however, for though you will do, perhaps, nothing else, you are sure to give us a little innocent amusement, especially if you should have the assistance of the "*pious* Clergyman of the Establishment." What think you of having the thing *retouched* by Mr. CANNING? That gentleman, that "Right Honourable Person," understands the art and mystery of *placarding*, which would be a great thing in your case. Hoping that you will thank me for this hint, I now proceed with my commentary, which, however tedious I may make it, I must go through with.

Paragraph No. 8.--The newspaper gentlemen *speak for themselves* in this paragraph and the two following. They drop Mr. Keeling's works, and go on to draw conclusions of a *practical* nature. Having promulgated Mr. Keeling's account, they assume it all to be *true*; they assume that MAGGENIS was an *infidel*; that that made him *wicked*; that that made him kill Birch, or, at least, *shoot him*; and then they rush, without more ceremony, to this conclusion, that infidels are *always* ready "to sport with the lives "and PROPERTY of their fellow-"men." When they give us *proof* of one single instance, in which a known and avowed infidel has been either *murderer* or *robber*, I will say, that there may be room for believing, that these newspaper gentlemen are not quite the foolishest, and, at the same time, the most impudent and base of mankind. They pretend to a greater regard for *religion*, but its enemies (if there *really be* any such) cannot possibly rest the defence of its character and utility upon *worse ground* than these men rest them on. For, it is notorious, that every *murderer* and *robber* that we hear of in common life, goes out of the world a *penitent*; and, we well know, that they have all been *professors* of religion. And then, as to the influence of *priests*, we have this most troublesome fact, that the *Quakers* have no *priests*, and that Quakers are *never hanged*. How many hundreds of Quakers have *died*; and yet, who can

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pretend, that any Quaker ever repented him of having, all his life long, rejected with disdain all instrumentality of priests, and of *religious teachers* of any description? This shows how foolish is the attempt to *mix up religion with politics*, and to endeavour to make the world believe that *Radical* and *Infidel* mean the same thing.

Paragraphs No. 9 *and* 10, are remarkable only for their stupidity. A sneer at the Radical *want of spirit*, and a silly compliment to one *Lloyd*, a justice, constitute the essence of these paragraphs: in the last of which, however, the "*young woman* at Stockport" is again mentioned; but, as before, *her name* is carefully kept out of sight.

Paragraph No. 11.—Mr. Keeling comes on again here, and gives us, at any rate, something more than mere stupidity. The circumstance of "*blessing*," or, as the Church calls it, the *Benediction*, is of a nature too interesting to be overlooked without my incurring the charge of negligence, if not of want of reverence. It is something *rare*, too, I believe. The "*blessing*" was, it appears, *brought* to the jail by "*a clergyman*." It must have been brought to the jail; because it is distinctly declared, that the Bishop *sent* it. I wish the details had been a little more full here. It would have been edifying to us to have had full information as to *the ceremony* upon this occasion. I, for my own part, should very much like to know something of the *effect* which the episcopal benediction produced upon MAGGENIS, and I hope that Mr. Keeling will make this a matter of explanation and developement in the forthcoming pamphlet. And I hope, too, that we shall be favoured with the *name* of the reverend Clergyman, who was the *bearer* of the Bishop's benediction. There is a great *shyness* as to *names* in this narrative of Mr. Keeling, which is not easily accounted for, if we suppose the motives of the narrator to have been good. However, we shall see how the thing will *end*.

Paragraph No. 12, is of real practical importance: for, if the "words of a *dying man*" are to have the effect of converting multitudes from the errors of their present opinions, surely they ought to be *certain* and *complete* in their effect as to the innocence of BRUCE. And this innocence, complete innocence, entire absence of all guilt in this man, is most positively and solemnly declared by the "*true penitent*" and "*firm believer*," MAGGENNIS; and that, too, mind, *after he had received the Bishop's benediction!* Now, if *this* part of his "*dying words*" be not true, how are we to believe that *any of the rest* of his "*dying words*" are true? And if it be true that BRUCE was *altogether innocent*, what must the *evidence* have been on which he was convicted? However, either he was innocent or he was not: therefore he ought not to suffer *at all*, in any way; or all that has been said about MAGGENIS's confessions must pass for a *despicable lie*. If MAGGENIS's

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words, or pretended words, be *believed by the government*, they must *pardon* BRUCE? and, if they do not believe that part of his words, which it so deeply concerns them to inquire into, we Radicals shall, surely, pay no attention whatever to any other part of his words, whether they be real or pretended. I, for my part, am willing to abide by *this test*: if BRUCE be *pardoned*, freely pardoned, and thus declared to be a man wholly innocent; I will then allow that the whole of the story *may be true*: but if any punishment, though ever so slight, be inflicted on BRUCE, I shall say, that the whole of the story *must be false*, and intended solely to delude the people.

Paragraph No. 13.—We now come to the close of the drama; and a most curious close it is! Mr. Keeling stuck to his convert to the last, it seems. He ascended the gallows drop *before* him, while "another person" (no *name* again) "*assisted*" Maggenis from *behind*. What *assistance* he could want it is hard for one, who never was hanged, to say. However, being all on the drop, what did Mr. Keeling do? Why, "he placed himself *exactly in front of Maggenis!*" The deuce he did! And *why*? For what *reason* did he do this? Why, (strange to relate!) "*as if* to prevent *discomposure of mind* from beholding the *vast concourse of people!*" Now, mind, reader, it is not Mr. Keeling who speaks here, and gives this strange reason for his conduct. He slips on one side for a bit, and the newspaper gentry step forward to fill up the space. But, was there ever, in such a case, such conduct before? *Why* did Mr. Keeling place himself so exactly *in front*? Why did he suppose, that the sight of a vast multitude would *discompose* MAGGENIS's mind? This, this, *this* was the time of all times, and this was the place of all places, for MAGGENIS to make *his confessions!* Was it not, reader? And, can you believe, that, if the former part of the narrative had been *true*, that Mr. Keeling would not have been *uncommonly anxious to* get MAGGENIS to make his confessions *here*? Here was the *man himself* to speak; here would have been the real and undeniable "*dying words*:" and here were "*the multitudes*" whom the dying convert was so anxious to *undeceive*, and to undeceive whom he had been so busy in *writing* the materials of a pamphlet. And yet (surprising to relate!) Mr. Keeling, his "*judicious* adviser,' took care upon this important occasion, "to "place himself *exactly in front of* MAGGENIS!" And (still more surprizing!) MAGGENIS himself says not a word about his past religious errors; but goes off with merely saying, in a *firm* and *audible* voice, "FARE-WELL, GENTLEMEN!" And, not a single word about *religion!* Not a single word in the way of endeavour to repair the "immense mischief," which he had confessed he had done by "instilling his infidel principles into the minds of multitudes!" Here were multitudes standing

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before him; and yet, *eager* as he was to undeceive them; anxious as he was on this score; solemnly as he had declared that this was the *only thing* that now *weighed heavily upon his mind*; not a single word does he say about it! But, off he goes, saying, in a *firm* and audible voice, "FAREWELL, GENTLEMEN!"

Now, what are we to gather from this story upon the whole? Some parts of it *must be false*; others are wholly *improbable*; all that we *know* contradicts all that we are told, or, at least, corroborates no part of it. The *man's friends have no access to him*; his pretended letter is open, kept back, and made use of by his keepers and others; we have no *witnesses* to corroborate Keeling. And, if we are to give credit to any part of this story, except as far as it corresponds with the man's *open confessions in court*, then there is not a moment's safety for the character, or the life, of any man.

MAGENNIS made no open avowal about *religion*, first or last. He told Judge Warren, that his sentence would be a very "*good cure for a spinning in the head.*" But, what had that to do with *religion*? It showed, that he was not *afraid of death*; that he was ready to meet his fate *bravely*; and this, we have always been taught, is a mark of *firm belief in Christianity*. What *ground* have we, then, to suppose, that he was an *Atheist* when he was condemned? We have, besides, no *proof*, that he confessed himself to have been guilty of *a crime*. He never said in court, that he was *sorry* for what he had done. He did not say so even at the gallows. He said, and most generously said, that he *shot Birch*; but, for any *proof* that we have, this was the full extent of his confessions.

It is, therefore, wholly uncertain, whether he was a *Christian*, or an *Infidel*. If the latter, we have an Infidel *voluntarily giving up his own life to save that of an innocent man*, who was neither a relation, friend, or acquaintance; which would show, that infidelity and the most sublime morality may exist in the same mind. If he was a Christian, Christianity has the honor of this most magnificent instance of moral virtue; but, then, the COURIER and the CHESTER COURANT, and all their assistant crew are most malignant calumniators.

And, what will be the natural *effect* of this execution and of all that preceded and produced it? To *deter* and *intimidate*? Not at all. To believe this would be to give the lie to all history, and to set at nought what plain common sense dictates to every mind. The frequency of the punishment of death takes away the fear of it, even in cases where the crime is against natural justice; and, in cases, where there may be a wide difference in men's opinions as to the real nature of the act committed, it removes the far greater part of the punishment; namely, *the shame*; and, when once this is removed from the mind of the sufferers; his relations and friends, the punishment has no

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effect at all in the way of deterring and intimidating.

Death, like every other terrific thing, loses its terrors by being frequently seen. The raging of the sea is nothing to sailors. A soldier is quite a different man at the end of a bloody campaign from what he was at the beginning of it. Accustom a people to behold the shedding of blood; and they will soon be a bloody people. Death is in itself terrible only from *report*. It is less *painful* than a minute's tooth-ache. Besides, be it what it may, it is a thing that MUST COME; and, if a man reason only for himself, must he not wish to avoid the manifold miseries of old age and second childhood? To be sentenced to endure years of torment of body, is surely a more severe sentence than to die before those years of torment come. It is then, surely, less severe to be sentenced to a *chance* of early death, than to the almost certainty of years of pain, feebleness, and cruel mortification.

Taking mankind in general, there are so many inducements to wish to live, that few will, if they can avoid it, expose themselves to the smallest *chance* of death. But, if these inducements become *comparatively few*; and if, at the same time, men be, in great numbers, actuated by *vengeful* feelings, the punishment of death very soon *loses its powers of intimidation*, especially if it be frequently repeated, and more especially when the dying men, with their dying lips, persist that they have done *right*, instead of *wrong*. When things came to this pass the laws have lost their intended power, that of *making example*; that of preventing future acts by punishing the commission of past acts; that of deterring men by a certainty of the *dishonour* that they will bring on themselves, their friends, their parents, their wives and children. And it may be truly said, that, if a son or a father, of good moral character, be not *ashamed* of the sufferer's death, his death tends to injure, rather than benefit, the government under which that death has been inflicted.

Far otherwise appear to think the COURIER, the NEW TIMES, and COUNTRY PAPERS, who are all a sort of literary *Pandours*, that measure their merits by the number of *heads* that they can bring in, tied to their saddles and their horses manes. These men seem to *delight* in the shedding of the blood of those whom they call *Radicals*. They seem to think, that *any thing* may be done to us, without the smallest regard to law: and yet, they complain that we *hate* them! Not content with calumnies on the living, they pursue the dead. They are even more inexorable than death itself. From the moment a man, accused of a *political* offence, enters a prison, they begin to assail him; and they pursue him with every species of calumny, until death, in some shape or other, has closed his eyes. And yet they bitterly *complain* that they are objects of our hatred, detestation and abhorrence!

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COBBETT's *PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER*.

The Number, which is published this day, is the Second. No. 1. was published last Saturday. One Number will be published every succeeding Saturday, during the Session, when the Volume will be completed, and it will contain as many Numbers as the Session will last Weeks, and *no more*. The price of each Number will be *Sixpence*; and the Work may be had at the same time and place as the Political Register; being printed and published by the same persons.

We mean to see, whether, for once, there cannot be made a really convenient and useful Volume of this kind, containing, at full length, *every debate*; a clear account of every *regular proceeding*; a minute of all minor transactions; and excluding that immense mass of *informal* and *casual talk*, which tends to *no end*, but is lost in a state of evaporation. *Notices* of motions, *interchange of compliments*, *asking questions*, (tho' a point worth attention now and then arises out of them) are not worth recording *verbatim*. They only swell out a volume, encumber it with repetitions, and produce confusion. There are some subjects of debate, such, for instance, as the *Wool-Duty*, the *Commercial Restrictions*, the *Use of Machinery*, the *Civil List*, and others that will and must come forward, which demand great attention in all the stages of their progress; and, it will often be deemed necessary to subjoin *Notes*, in order to explain things not familiar to every one. *Principles* are often broached, which it may be thought proper to notice without delay; and, as to *facts*, the Members of Parliament are not always infallible. In short, it is the intention of the Editor to make this a Volume, which may be of use to *himself*, which he never yet met with in any volume of Parliamentary Debates. He has another object, and that is, to enable the public to *know what the Parliament really does*, which it never did, during any Session within his memory.

TO THE HUMANE.

If ever there was a case which called for the compassionate feelings and for the exercise of the truly charitable disposition of the Public, it is that of the *Widows*, and *Wives*, and *Children* of the Men recently executed, and those transported for life, on the charge of conspiracy. Here are *nine* unoffending Women, and *twenty-three* Children, left wholly destitute of the means of existence, suddenly and unexpectedly plunged into the deepest misery, and bereft of even the usual consolations in cases of death of Husbands and Fathers. Some of the Women are far advanced in a family way, and one is actually confined. Women have generally feeling for Women under similar circumstances; and it is hoped that the divine precept, "*to succour the widow and the fatherless*," will not now be effaced from the public mind, and especially the *female mind*, by any thing like a vindictive feeling towards the Husbands and Fathers of the unhappy objects, in whose behalf this appeal is made.---In order that the humanely-disposed may have it in their power to be themselves the ministers of their charity, the names and places of abode of the distressed objects are hereunto subjoined:—

Mrs. THISTLEWOOD, No. 40, Stanhope-street, Clare-market, *one son*.

Mrs. DAVIDSON, No. 20, Cow-cross, West Smithfield, *six Children*.

Mrs. INGS, 15, Gun-street, Union-street, Spital-fields, *four Children*.

Mrs. TIDD, No. 1, Bell-court, Gray's Inn-lane, *two Children*.

Mrs. BRUNT, No. 39, King's-street, Soho, *one Child*.

Mrs. STRANGE, No. 3, Rose and Crown-court, Shoe-lane, *two Children*.

Mrs. BRADBURN, St. Giles's Workhouse, *(confined) three Children*.

Mrs. Wilson, No. 11, Fox-place, Old Lord's Cricket-ground, Paddington, *one Child*.

Mrs. HARRISON, No. 6, Little Park-street, New Road, Paddington, *three Children*.

Subscriptions will be received at Messrs. Clement and Benbow's, opposite St. Clement's Church, Strand; Mr. West's, 54, Wych-street, Drury-lane; Mr. Davidson's, 10, Duke-street, West Smithfield; Mr. Tinkler's, Homer-street, Crawford-street, Portman-sq. at Mr. Griffin's, 10, Middle-row, Holborn, Secretary; Mr. Whitaker's, 15, Union-street, Borough, Treasurer; Mr. Squire's, Stratton-ground, Westminster, Tobacconist; and at Mr. Walker's, Gun-street, Spital-fields.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

Vol. 36.---No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, May 20, 1820. [Price, 6d

TO

MR. BARING,

ON THE WORKINGS OF THE TAXING AND THE PAPER-SYSTEM.

London, 17th May, 1820.

SIR,

The mind that is calculated to produce effects on other minds, and thus to be of consequence in the world, catches hold of every occurrence that offers an opportunity for its exerting itself. It does not droop under untoward circumstances; but waits patiently for *events* to combat on its side. Amidst calumnies, persecutions, imprisonings, hangings, quarterings, and all the tiger-like pranks that power may play, the mind which has *truth* for its guide feels no discouragement, knowing well that truth and justice will and must prevail at last.

If we look into the history of the convulsions and fall of states, we shall find, that, though the actually bursting out of revolutions, has generally been owing to some insignificant thing, almost always accidental, too; yet that the *causes* have been long at work on the community. I hope that nothing of the kind that is usually denominated *revolution*, will take place in England; but it is now universally acknowledged, that the country is in a state of *great peril*; and that no man is thought wise enough to be able to say what may, and what may not happen.

The causes of this peril are, nobody will now deny, the TAXING and the PAPER-MONEY systems. How these have worked thus far, we now see and feel. How they will work for the future is evident enough to me; but it is less my object, at this time, to engage in new predictions, than to point out to the public, to this deluded, credulous, gulled and cajoled public (from whom I except the *Lower Orders*), the confirmation of my former predictions; and the reason for my addressing myself to you is, that you have been the first to acknowledge openly, that those predictions are

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fulfilled. You have not, indeed *named me*; that you took very good care not to do; neither have you said, that *any one* foretold that which has now happened; but you have said, that that which I said would take place, *has taken place*.

Your speech, in the House of Commons, on the 8th instant, together with that of Lord MILTON, during the same debate, have given me pleasure, which I cannot describe, and of which an idea can be formed by no man who has not, for years and years, had to endure every species of obloquy, reproach and persecution, on account, and *only* on account, of his having promulgated those truths which, at last, he has seen acknowledged by even his persecutors. To *be right* is the wish of every man: to be proved to have been right, in opposition to bitter persecutors, is an enjoyment far beyond any that wealth can bestow: to be right in opposition to the repeated assertions and solemn acts of legislative bodies, aided by all the light that immense power is able to command; this is my lot: and, it is my duty as well as my pleasure to make the facts known to the world.

The taxing, funding and paper-money sysem has always, with me, been an object of hatred. From the moment I understood it, I detested it. It was in 1803 that I began to examine into it. In that very year I predicted that, unless it were put a stop to in time, it would make this the most miserable, enslaved, and contemptible nation in the world. From that day to this, I have been at war against this all-corrupting and all-degrading system. And, I have lived to see the system pushed along to its utmost extent, and to see the consequences in a greater mass of ruin and of human wretchedness than was ever before witnessed: while, as to the liberties of the country, there is scarcely a man to be met with who thinks them worthy of any care or attention. I have seen the affair of the 16th of August, and the measures subsequent to it and connected with it; and I have seen a man taken up and *held to bail*, for announcing to his townsmen, that "William Cobbett was arrived at Liverpool in good health."

However, I shall, on the present occasion, confine myself to matter more immediately sug-

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gested by the speeches, which have given me so much pleasure, and which related to the consequences of the Bill, passed last year, to produce *cash-payments* at the Bank in Threadneedle-street, which, for brevity's sake, we will call the *Old Lady*; and the Bill, or rather Act, we will, if you please, call the *Cash-Act*.

I have, all along, contended, in opposition to speakers, writers, resolution-makers, and act-makers, that "*the Old Lady* "*never could pay in cash, with-* "*out a reduction of the interest* "*of the Debt.*" And I have contended, that, "*an attempt* "*to make her do it, would* "*plunge the country into ruin* "*and misery indescribable.*"— These distinct propositions, together with arguments proving their truth, I have repeated so many times, that I have been ashamed of my repetitions. All the grounds, all the causes, all effects, all the various workings of the thing; all the whole history and mystery of this grand delusion; all its branches and twigs; have been so fully and so frequently subjects of my pen, that I have really very often been disgusted at the thought of saying any thing more about the matter. Yet, it is necessary to persevere; and *now* there is *life* again; for my doctrines begin to be fathered even in Parliament.

The embarrassment, the ruin, the misery are *come*: that is to say, *in part*; but they have not arrived at *a tenth* part of their height, if the Cash-Act be actually carried into effect. Mind *that!* However, the misery is come. I was called a *deluder*, when I said, that the country was in misery; when I talked of the sufferings of Journeymen and Labourers, and ascribed them to the taxes. For doing this, I was represented as a stirrer-up of *sedition*. But, *now*, what do I see? Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, Farmers and Land-owners, all coming forward and telling the parliament *that they are ruined*, and that, if there be no remedy, they must perish. The *Six Acts* have silenced the *sensible*, *public-spirited*, and *unanimous* Reformers; and now petitions are pouring in from the ignorant, selfish and warring bodies of trade and agriculture, who seem to be anxious to over-reach one another, but few of whom have sense or spirit enough to state the real cause of their suf-

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feelings. Nothing can exceed the pleasure I enjoy at beholding this strife. The sufferings of the parties are a just punishment for their conduct towards those who have been endeavouring to obtain a *real remedy*. These petitioners have been, and yet are, the enemies of *reform*, and they have been the cause of preventing it. Let them suffer: Let them settle their opposing claims in their own way; according to their own notions of expediency and justice. Being at war against each other, they may, perhaps, vent their malignity in that way, and have little left to bestow upon the Radicals. These petitioners call themselves "*the loyal*;" they cry out against "*the disaffected*:" well, let them be "*well affected*," then; and let them give a proof of it in submitting patiently to their sufferings. They abuse others for being *discontented*: let them, then, be *contented*. They say that this mode of governing the country is *good*. Let them enjoy its *goodness*, then. They like a *standing army* in time of peace; they say it is necessary for their protection: but an army *eats* and *drinks* as well as *stands*; and it must be *paid*; and, do these loyal men grudge, then, to *pay* the army? What unreasonable people! The army costs *ten millions a year*; and it is paid, too, in money of *high value*. Well, what of that? It ought to be paid in good money. But, what an unreasonable thing is it, then, to complain of the weight of *taxes*! All the world must know, that the soldiers are paid out of the taxes. What! do these people want the soldiers to live upon the air? The "*Ladies of Huddersfield*," those amiable females, think far otherwise. They give *grand entertainments*, the COURIER tells us, to the *non-commissioned officers and soldiers*, who have kept the Radicals in awe. These ladies think, I suppose, that fighting, like kissing, comes out of the cupboard. Sagacious dames! It is no such foolish thing, I dare say they think, to be beloved by a couple of thousand of lusty young fellows. Women are very sharp-sighted, especially in cases of this kind; and, I would have the curmudgeons, who are petitioning against taxes, to look at the example of the "*Ladies of Huddersfield*."

To return to the subject before us, I had about five hun-

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dred times asserted and proved, that the Old Lady never could be made to pay in cash, unless the interest of the Debt were reduced. In spite of this, the last parliament, after a long and voluminous inquiry upon the subject, *resolved* first, and then *enacted*, that she *should be made to pay in cash*; and, they said nothing about the *interest of the Debt*. As soon as I, who was then in Long Island, heard of this, or, rather, read of it, in an English newspaper, I put my hands together, lifted up my eyes towards the straw roof of my tent (the walls of which were made of Chronicles and Couriers), and exclaimed: "God be praised! The end of "delusion is at hand!" The *bullion* story did not cheat *me*. I saw clearly, that the bullion payments would be, and were intended to be, no payments at all; but I also saw, that they would compel the Old Lady to *draw in her paper*, and that that would produce *prodigious misery*. I had no idea, that the Old Lady would ever pay in cash, unless the interest of the Debt were reduced; but, I saw her now *clearly and safely pinned down*. There was no room left for *any shuffling*. Any man might, after the next February, go to the Old Girl and *demand* a lump of gold. I knew well *how much* she would have. I knew that she had no means of getting any gold worth naming; and, of course, that all she could do was to draw in her paper; and I knew, that drawing in would cause such misery, such clamour, such an outcry, amongst the farmers, merchants and manufacturers, as the world had never heard before.

I was not long before I put these thoughts upon paper; and, when I had done that, during the months of August and September, I set off home in October, *to witness the fulfilment of my predictions* and then to point out the *suitable and effectual remedies*: that is to say, if I were in *parliament*; and, if not, to stay and see the thing *work* under the remedies of others. This I am now doing. I am looking on, while the thing is *working*; and work it does like new beer in a vat.

In the debate of the 8th instant, Lord MILTON said, "that "he ascribed a great part of *the* "suffering to the measure of "Cash-payments, passed last "year; that few persons, he "believed, had had *an idea of*

" *the pressure*, with which that " measure was likely to be ac- " companied. In fact, they " were afraid to look the thing " in its face. They were afraid " to *alarm the people* as to the " embarrassment that that mea- " sure would produce. They " were willing to shut their " eyes as to the consequences of " that measure: he thought an " opposite line of conduct would " have been the *wisest.*" To which, were we not afraid of incurring the charge of bad manners, we might ask his Lordship, why *he* did not say this last year, before the bill passed? But, what a pity it is, that he did not read the *Register!* How clearly would he have foreseen all these consequences, if he had read that poor little, dear little " *Two-penny Trash*," against which the *Six Acts* levelled no small part of their force! *Trash* is the stuff to give *light.* Oh, no! Lord MILTON, it was not the fear of *alarming* the *people* that prevented the last parliament from looking the thing in the face: it was the fear of *alarming themselves!* The people have nothing *to fear*; for, very few of them have any thing to *lose.* But, fund-holders and the sinecure placemen and pensioners have a great deal to lose. And, of course, they would be easily and greatly alarmed. If Lord Milton had read the " *Two-* " *penny Trash*" instead of the stupid lucubrations of the whig-oracle, the Morning Chronicle, he would not now have had a *discovery* to make of the ruinous consequences of the Cash-Act. However, he has made the discovery; and that is something.

You, Sir, are more explicit. Your *long* speech about the *imports* and *exports*, about *free trade* and *restrictions*; this is not much. It is of doubtful policy and doubtful philosophy: much of it may be disputed, and much is of little interest. But, your *short* speech about the currency is all *pith*: it is as well worthy of attention, as if you had quoted it, word for word, from " *Two-penny* " *Trash.*" You say, that " the " value of money is risen; that " we are *paying too high* an " interest; that this is a VITAL " POINT; that it is necessary " for every gentleman to *make* " *up his mind* upon the sub- " ject; that the change in the " currency was one of the cir- " cumstances that *weighed the* " *country down*; that we now

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"had to pay out creditors *a "higher value than we received "from them;"* and that you intended to *make bullion-payments perpetual instead of coin*, a plan of your Honourable Friend, Mr. RICARDO, for which the country was *infinitely indebted to him.*

Yes, this is a "*vital point*" indeed. It means this; that the Old Lady never can pay in *Cash*, unless the *interest of the Debt be reduced!* And this is what I have said a thousand, and, perhaps, *ten thousand*, times. But, come, Sir! I will stand this no longer! I will not suffer the *truth* to come out, at last, and to pass as being of other people's discovering. I will have my *own*. The parliament shall not creep out of this thing unseen. They cannot be *right*, without coming to my doctrine; and they shall not come to it without the world *seeing them* come to it. I know, that there are men, who would almost as soon lose their estates as save them by my means. They hate the very *name* of *Cobbett*. But, they shall hear it, constantly hear it, during the remainder of the existence of the system. They shall hear it the oftener because they do not like to hear it. "I will "buy a Starling, and teach him "to cry *Cobbett* in their ear," from one end of the year to the other.

Subjoined to this letter, you will find, Sir, a Letter to the Prince Regent, written at New York in September last. I had, at that time, lying before me, the speech of the *Speaker* to the *Prince* at the close of the session, during which the *Cash-Act* was passed, together with the *Prince's answer*. The Speaker very pompously described the *Cash-Measure* as one of great importance, and as the result of most laborious investigation and most mature deliberation. In short, he presented it to the Prince as a complete and even wonderful performance. The Prince, in his answer, applauded the measure. And the subject of my Letter is, as you will find, a commentary on this famous measure. Read it, Sir; and then say, whether I did not know, last September, having been two years and a half out of the country, a little more about the effects that would arise out of that measure, than any of you did, who had had a hand in the renowned and most im-

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portant work. I beg you, Sir, to read this letter, and to bear in mind, that the *Radicals* have read it long ago. You will see the true doctrine. You will, when you come to the end of the letter, be no longer at a loss to know what will be the *end* of the Cash-Act. That famous work of the Six-Act Parliament will, be you assured, long be remembered in England.

I remember that, when I first proposed *a reduction of the interest of the Debt*, that wise man, Mr. PERRY, called it a *swindling* proposition; and false old SHERRY suggested, even in the House of Commons, the propriety of *prosecuting* me! I have lived to hear Mr. CURWEN (on Friday last) say, in that same House, that "the "only means of alleviating the "distress was lightening the "burden of taxation, which "could *only be effected by* "*a diminution of the interest* "*of the national Debt.*" Thus you are coming over *to me* by degrees! No one said any thing in answer to Mr. CURWEN. The Ministers never opened their lips. It is very strange what wondrous improvements time and suffering produce!

However, this *diminishing the interest of the Debt*, is not so *easy* a thing as Mr. CURWEN may imagine. It may be done by an Act of Parliament; but, it will make *other*, and far more troublesome measures necessary. For, does he imagine, that *mortgages*, *bonds*, and all sorts of *debts* must not be reduced too? Here is a pretty budget to open! Unless these underwent a revision at the same time that the Debt was reduced, the ruin would be increased instead of lessened by a reduction of the interest of the Debt.

Besides, are the army and navy to remain with unreduced pay? Are *Judges* and other persons with *salaries* to retain their high pay? Are the *Sinecures*, *Pensions*, and *Grants*, to retain their present nominal amount? Are the annuitants on *insurance offices* still to be paid to the full? Oh, dear no! There must be a general, a total, a clean-sweeping pecuniary revolution; or, a reduction of the interest of the Debt will only add to the general distress. And here I think I hear the "good, loyal, peaceable people" exclaim: "Ah! you Radical villain, you want to ruin us all." No; gentlemen and ladies, I

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really do not. I really do not wish you to have *my* medicine forced upon you. Keep on in your present way with all my heart. It is your own affair, not mine. If you would rather let the cancer kill you than undergo the inconvenience of a cure, God forbid that you should lose your beloved cancer.

To reduce the salaries, pensions, grants, officers' and soldiers' pay, sinecures, and all the other incomes of the tax-eaters, will require what Lord MILTON calls a *looking in the face*, and a pretty *bold* looking too. And yet this must be done, and the mortgages must be reduced also; or else a reduction of the interest of the Debt will only tend to add to the ruin and confusion. Your plan of making bullion-payments *perpetual*, is neither more nor less than the declaring and enacting, at once, a *complete bankruptcy*; for what is *payment*? It means giving money for the bank notes, to be sure; and not the opening of a shop to *sell bullion*. Payment means, the paying of *every body*, and not the selling of gold to a few Jews. But the plan means, that none even of the bullion should ever *issue*. So that it is all a deception; all a delusion; and it means, that there shall always be a *paper-currency*, which shall *not be convertible into coin*, and which shall be *a legal tender*. This is bankruptcy; and this, if the report of your speech be correct, you mean to propose to make *perpetual*. I have said, many times, that if the Old Lady pay in cash, without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, I will give myself up to the carryers-on of the system, and let them, if they choose, *broil me alive*. I know that broiling alive is very bad; that it is worse than hanging and cutting off the head; that it is worse than ripping up the bowels and quartering the body. I have had a *burn* now-and-then, and I know how *sore* it is. I know what pain the fire produces. I am very sure, that the supporters of the system would like to *broil me alive*. And I thus again, with my eyes open, declare, that I will, if the Cash-Bill be carried into effect, without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, give myself up to be *broiled alive*. I am watching, as a rat watches for a mouse, to see what you will do. The moment any law is passed to *put a stop to the Cash-Bill*, I

shall begin to shout out *victory*. There will be no bounds to my exultation, and there *ought to be none*.

But what will your perpetual bullion project do? What *relief* will it bring? Will it *mend* things? Will it lower the poor-rates, give high prices to the "gallant yeomen," and make trade brisk? Why, no: to be sure it will not. All that it can do is to *make the misery perpetual*. That is all. And that is your mode of *relief!* If, indeed, you fix the price of the bullion at *six or seven pounds an ounce*, that will do. That will shave the fund-men, sinecure men and women, and the judges, soldiers and the rest, *pretty close*. That will really relieve the howling farmers and the grumbling merchants. But, if you fix the price of bullion at the standard of gold and silver, what *relief* will you give? What is wanted is to *lower the expenditure*; to *take off taxes*, and your scheme would tend to no such end.

Then, again, your project is essentially a perpetual *paper-project*. And do you not see, that the country can never be *safe in war* with a paper-money? If it be true, that notes have been made even in *Spain*, and sent and passed here, as the newspapers inform us, what do you think will take place, if we should be engaged in *another war?* An hundred thousand pounds, employed in this way, would *soon put an end to the war*, unless there were a real money circulation in the country. So that your scheme is not only inefficient for *relief*, but it is completely ridiculous.

However, you disclaim the honour of having invented this scheme, and generously ascribe it to your Honourable Friend, Mr. RICARDO, of *Gatcomb Park in Gloucestershire*, and member for *Portarlington*. This gentleman was, last session, called an ORACLE by Mr. BROUGHAM, and, by Mr. WILBERFORCE, he was described as a political economist, worthy of the *esteem and admiration* of his contemporaries. This gentleman, during the last session, broached *another plan*, which, amongst other things, included a *paying off of the debt!* This was truly *oracular*; and we will here take a look at the words in which it came before the public.

"With respect to the national "debt, his recommendation of "the plan for its liquidation

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" was pronounced chimerical; " it may be so, but nevertheless he still held it, and " thought it a good one. The " particular promise of its reduction which was held out " by Government, he thought " unwise; that opinion he had " invariably entertained. He lamented upon this point the " state into which the country " had fallen, but it was not in " idle and unavailing lamentations that they were to " spend their time; they were " rather called upon to see how " they were to get out of the " difficulties of this state (*hear, hear!*) The only wise and " economical way of getting " out of the difficulty was, " in his opinion, to pay off the " debt. Why did he think so? " Because he saw the state of " things daily drawing capital " from the country. The obvious effect of this was, to " absolve the capital so removed, from its liability to " pay its proper share of the national debt. It not only, in " this manner, absolved itself " from its responsibility, but it " threw an additional burden, " *pro tanto*, upon the capital not so withdrawn; and " did not this aggravate the " evil? What appeared to " him wise to be done in the " present time was, that *not " a moment should be lost " in taking an account of the " capital, while yet it remained " in a considerable and adequate portion in the country, " and that the amount of the capital so estimated should be assessed, so as to get rid of the debt.* " He would willingly bear whatever imputation of extravagance was cast upon this recommendation, but he did not " see any great insuperable difficulties, if once fairly and " fully entered into, of its accomplishing its ultimate end, " and giving relief to the country. It was a gigantic plan, " he admitted (*hear, hear!*) but " he saw no better way of meeting the evil. The payment " might be extended to four, " five, or more years; it might " even be done through the " medium of a paper-currency, " issued for the specific purpose. " Suppose a cheque were given " to each of the public creditors, and that this were payable for the taxes, no great " demand or variation would " then affect the regular circulating medium of the country."

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Bravo! Very *simple*, however. Only to take away the estates of the land-owners, and give them to the fund-holders. That is all; and, it is very true, that if this were done, there would be *effectual relief*; for the taxes might be very greatly reduced, and the Labouring Classes would be wholly relieved. Capital would remain in the country; the poor-rates would come down to what they were seventy years ago; and all would be right; especially as there would *then* be nobody to object to a Radical Reform of the Parliament; and, of course, England would then be *as happy as you represent France now to be*. As to the *Farmers*, they would merely change landlords; and, I dare say, that, when Mr. RICARDO looks at Gatcomb Park and its vicinage, he finds that the estates, and tenants and neighbourhoods would lose nothing by receiving new Lords from 'Change-Alley and Buttolph-Lane.

The only difficulty in the way of this plan appears to be the *the reluctance which the present owners may have to make the surrender*. I know that their loyalty and devotion will lead them very far; but without attempting to disparrage their disinterestedness, I may venture to think, that they will not like to *turn out*. Mr. RICARDO's plan gives them, I see, *four or five years* to reconcile their minds to the change; but still, I think, that they will consent to the scheme with reluctance; and yet I do not know that their adherence to "*national faith*" may not finally prevail.

This scheme is a great favourite in *Fenchurch-Street*, and all about *Cornhill*, where the inhabitants are become extremely *impatient* to see *something done*. That they are tired of what they call *patching*. They say, that they are willing to give up a part of *their* property. In short, they are in a hurry to get into the parks and mansions! This is a matter with which we Radicals have nothing to do, except that we want *the taxes taken off*, and we want a *Radical Reform*, which we are very *sure* a liquidation of the debt, and especially in Mr. RICARDO's way, would give us. We do not desire to meddle with other folk's affairs. We have had nothing to do in borrowing the money, except *virtually*; and we are quite willing that the ti-

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quidation should be done *virtually*. We have no desire to interfere between the parties. So that they settle the thing: so that the taxes be taken off, we care not who have the parks. If the Land-owners and Fund-holders please themselves as to the manner of doing the thing, they are sure to please us. Now, is not this amiable? What can we say more? Indeed, Sir, we are not that turbulent crew that you seem to think us.

I, for my part, am, I must confess, much disappointed that so many days of the session have passed, without our hearing of any proposition from Mr. RICARDO upon this "*gigantic subject.*" I assure you, that the people at the 'Change are looking out very sharply for the execution of the plan. The Farmers (those who *rent*) would like it too. So that there is very great and general disappointment.

You said, last summer, that it was monstrous in us to ascribe the distress of the country to the organization of the Commons' House, *seeing that the country had flourished under a House of the same organization.* As a *general* argument this is not worth a straw, even supposing the premises to be true. A system requires *time* to produce its bad effects. A cancer is *nothing at first.* A tooth is partly rotten long before it produces pain. The funding-system is, as PAINE so happily described it, *strength* at the beginning, and *weakness* at the end. But a paper-system is *never prosperity*; and this country has *never known prosperity* since the paper-system and borough-system began.—There has been an *appearance* of it; and so there is in a trade, carried on by *accommodation notes.* But a trader who always owes more than he can pay, though he may shine, though he may have his carriages and his villa, though he may give claret and burgundy, though his coachman may have gilded cords hanging from his shoulders, though his footman may not dare to hand a plate without a napkin twisted round his thumb; though he may shew away thus, yet, if all these signs of riches be obtained by *accommodation paper*, the man cannot be called prosperous. His affairs must wind up at some time or other, and then he has to allow, that, *upon the whole*, he has not been a prosperous man.

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This is precisely the case with this nation. Its apparent prosperity arose out of the use of accommodation paper. In proportion as the paper increased, the apparent prosperity increased; but now the bubble has bursted. The rope-shouldered coachman, and the napkin-thumbed footman are gone, and ruin, beggary, and starvation have come in their stead. Therefore, the foundation of your anti-reforming argument fails. It is worth nothing, and we persevere in saying, that a Radical Reform, and that *alone*, can save this nation from utter and irretrievable ruin.

And now, Sir, before I conclude, pray let me beg you to read the Letter which I subjoin. It is well worthy of your attention. You see, that I understand more about these matters than you do. You ought, therefore, to read and correct yourself. You gave your approbation to the Cash-Act. I wrote home to say, that it would *not do*. You ought to *learn*, therefore, *of me*, upon this subject. You understand exchanges and price of metals and how to calculate interest better than I do; but these have little to do with *political economy*. That great ass, PERRY, observed, the other day, that, the Inquisition being at an end in Spain, *science* would take a spread in the country; for that a Spaniard might now have "*a Blackstone* or a RI-"CARDO in his library!" A *Ricardo*, indeed! But, this PERRY is, at once, the most conceited coxcomb and the greatest fool in this whole kingdom. He is a true representative of the Whig-party, of which he is the organ. "*A Ricardo!*" The empty, pompous fool, when it has taken but a few months to shew that "*a Ricardo*" is a heap of senseless, Change-Alley jargon, put upon paper and bound up into book; that the measure, founded upon it, must be abandoned, or will cause millions to be starved, and that it has since been proposed, even by the author himself to supplant it by a plan for paying off the Debt! "*A Ricardo*," indeed!

Mr. Judge GARROW told a witness, the other day, that he "*could not read a worse book*" "*than Cobbett's Register.*" I am not offended with Judge GARROW for this; because I am sure, that he founds his opinion upon *hearsay*. If he had time to *read* the dear little Two-

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penny Trash, and *would read* it, he would soon change his opinion. He would say, that it was the *best* book that a man could read. And, if his brother BAILEY had read it, before last summer, he would not, I am persuaded, have pronounced, in his charge to the Grand Jury at York, that memorable eulogium on *National Debts*, which I read in America, and which made us all there laugh most immoderately. Now, though I will not, like Mr. HUNT, *offend* these gentlemen by *praising* them; though I will not say, that they are "*fathers*" to us, I can venture to say, that they are discerning, clever, acute, discriminating men; and men of great experience in the world, amongst the most knowing part of which they have always lived, and across crowds of the most knowing and most active they have passed to arrive at their present station. Yet, they will permit me to say, that they *lose* by not reading my little books. They hear them spoken ill of, and they think ill of them. This is contrary to the usual practice of lawyers, who are not apt to believe things upon *hearsay*; who are not apt to be content with any thing short of *proof*. I, therefore, hope that these gentlemen will read my little books; and I can assure them of this, that they will never see peace and tranquillity in England, that they will never see the people happy any more, unless those measures which these little books disapprove of be abandoned. It is now rung in our ears from every seat in parliament, that it is *the Debt which is the cause of our calamities*. This is now said by *every body*. I said, many years ago, that the Debt *would produce* this state of things. But you all now say, that it *has produced it*. And, yet, Judge Bailey told the York Grand Jury, that a National Debt was a *good thing!* If he had read my little books, he would not have committed this error.

I was particularly pleased to hear you speak of the *prosperity of France*, and to say, that employment was plenty, and that the people were happy in that country; because this shews, that the effects of getting rid of National Debts, of Tithes, and of Petty Tyranny are good. The French are not so happy as they might be, and as they *will be*, but, they have a *real representation* in one of their Houses of

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Parliament, and this is the great security for their not being reduced to misery. The late long contest against the people of France has led to a curious result. Before the French Revolution began, France was weighed down by an enormous Debt, and was so over-run, tormented and pillaged by tax-gatherers and priests, that beggary and almost famine, every where stared the Traveller in the face. England, at that same time, had but a small Debt, her taxes were light, her trade was flourishing, and her people were happy. France has now hardly any Debt, her taxes are light, she has no tithes, employment is abundant, trade is flourishing, and the people are happy. What England *now is*, I leave to you and the other Members of parliament to describe. And, when you have taken a view of the contrast, I ask you whether we have come *victoriously* out of the combat? And I beg you, and all of you, to bear in mind, that it was *not the Reformers*, who began, or carried on, that combat. To that war we have to ascribe all our present sufferings; all our present *difficulties*, out of which none of you pretend to see your way. That war caused the Debt; that war caused the stoppage of the Bank; that war caused all the evils that we now endure. And that war was opposed by the *Reformers*, many of whom were most severely punished for that opposition. I beg you, and all of you, to bear this in mind; and, if you do, you will not be surprized, that we feel singular pleasure at hearing your account of the happy state of the people of France.

It is curious to observe, how *civil* we are become in our language towards the *French* and *Americans*, and how very *silent* about Spain! Formerly our bullying and insolent newspapers, imitating or taking the hint from great, empty-headed, blubber-cheeked, fox-hunting fellows, who are not less distinguished by their insolence than their ignorance; formerly, our newspapers, in imitation of these bluff-headed sots, would have talked away at a fine rate about the *cession of Florida*; about the *manufactures of France*; and about the *democrats of Spain*. Now, they are as meek, as modest, and as silent as girls in their teens! You hardly ever hear them say a word about those countries; and, when they do mention

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them, it is with "*great respect.*" Mr. MADISON, whom Sir JOSEPH YORKE talked of our deposing, has lived to see us a nation with *good manners*. This is a strange, but a very good change. Long may we find it prudent to be mannerly! The happiness of *France* particularly; the *prosperity of France*; this is what the people of England ought to rejoice at: because it shews what are the effects of a government where the people are *represented*, and where there is *no state religion*; but, where all men are freely allowed to be of what religion they please, and are *compelled to pay to no religion*.

I once more, Sir, beg you to read the subjoined *Trash*, and remain

Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO

THE PRINCE REGENT,

ON THE WILD AND VISIONARY SCHEMES OF THE BOROUGH-MONGERS.

New-York, 5th Sept. 1819.

May it please your Royal Highness,

I have now before me, in the under-inserted words, the Speaker's Speech and that of your Royal Highness, at the close of the last Session of Parliament. It has frequently been my lot to warn your Royal Highness of approaching danger; but, never were you surrounded with dangers so great as now menace you and our country. You have been deceived. The truth has been hidden from you. It is impossible that you see the real state of the nation's affairs; for, if you saw it, you never could have been prevailed on to utter the words of your speech of 12th of July last.

SPEAKER'S SPEECH.

"*May it please your Royal Highness,*

"We, his Majesty's faithful Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, attend your Royal Highness with our concluding Bill of Supply.

"The subjects which have occupied our attention have been more numerous, more various, and more important than are usually submitted to the consideration of Parliament in the same Session.

"Upon many of these subjects we have been engaged in long and unwearied examinations; but such has been the pressure of other business, and particularly of that, which ordinarily belongs to a first Session of Parliament—and such the magnitude and intricacy of many of those inquiries, that the limits of the present Session have not allowed of bringing them to a close.

"But, Sir, of those measures which we have completed, the most prominent, the most important, and, as we

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trust, in their consequences, the most beneficial to the public, are the measures which have grown out of the consideration of the present state of the country—both in its currency and its finances.

"Early, Sir, in the present Session, we instituted an inquiry into the effects produced on the exchanges with foreign countries, and the state of the circulating medium, by the restriction on payments in cash by the Bank. This inquiry was most anxiously and most deliberately conducted, and in its result led to the conclusion, that it was most desirable, quickly but with due precautions, to return to our ancient and healthful state of currency:—That whatever might have been the expediency of the Acts for the suspension of payments of cash at the different periods at which they were enacted (and doubtless they were expedient), whilst the country was involved in the most expensive contest that ever weighed down the finances of any country—still that the necessity for the continuance of these Acts having ceased, it became us with as little delay as possible (avoiding carefully the convulsion of too rapid a transition) to return to our ancient system;—and that if it any period and under any circumstances, this return could be effected without national inconvenience, it was at the present, when this mighty nation, with a proud retrospect of the past, after having made the greatest efforts, and achieved the noblest objects, was now reposing in a confident, and, as we fondly hope, a well-founded expectation, of a sound and lasting peace.

"In considering, Sir, the state of our finances, and in minutely comparing our income with our expenditure, it appeared to us, that the excess of our income was not fairly adequate for the purposes to which it was applicable—the gradual reduction of the national debt.

"It appeared to us, that a clear available surplus of at least five millions ought to be set apart for that object.

"This, Sir, has been effected by the additional imposition of three millions of taxes.

"Sir, in adopting this course, his Majesty's faithful Commons did not conceal from themselves, that they were calling upon the nation for a great exertion; but well knowing that honour, and character, and independence, have at all times been the first and dearest objects of the hearts of Englishmen, we felt assured, that there was no difficulty that the country would not encounter, and no pressure to which she would not willingly and cheerfully submit, to enable her to maintain, pure and unimpaired, that which has never yet been shaken or sullied—her public credit and her national good faith.

"Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured, shortly, and I am aware how imperfectly, to notice the various duties which have devolved upon us, in one of the longest and most arduous Sessions in the records of Parliament.

"The Bill, Sir, which it is my duty to present to your Royal Highness, is intituled, 'An Act for applying certain Monies therein mentioned for the Service of the Year 1819, and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.' To which, with all humility, we pray his Majesty's Royal Assent."

PRINCE'S SPEECH.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"It is with great regret that I am again obliged to announce to you the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.

"I cannot close this Session of Parliament without expressing the satisfaction that I have derived from the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to the several important objects which have come under your consideration.

"Your patient and laborious investigation of the state of the circulation and currency of the kingdom demands my warmest acknowledgments; and I entertain a confident expectation that the measures adopted, as the result of this inquiry, will be productive of the most beneficial consequences.

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"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the service of the present year.

"I sincerely regret that the necessity should have existed of making any additions to the burthens of the people; but I anticipate the most important permanent advantages from the effort which you have thus made for meeting at once all the financial difficulties of the country; and I derive much satisfaction from the belief, that the means which you have devised for this purpose are calculated to press as lightly on all classes of the community as could be expected when so great an effort was to be made.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I continue to receive from Foreign Powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

"I have observed with great concern the attempts which have recently been made in some of the manufacturing districts, to take advantage of circumstances of local distress, to excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and Government of the Country. No object can be nearer my heart than to promote the welfare and prosperity of all classes of his Majesty's subjects; but this cannot be effected without the maintenance of public order and tranquillity.

"You may rely, therefore, upon my firm determination to employ, for this purpose, the powers entrusted to me by law; and I have no doubt that, on your return to your several counties, you will use your utmost endeavours, in co-operating with the magistracy, to defeat the machinations of those wose projects, if successful, could only aggravate the evils which it professed to remedy; and who, under the pretence of reform, have really no other object but the subversion of our happy Constitution."

I observe with pleasure, that, upon this occasion, your Ministers have not advised you to boast of the *flourishing* state of the country. Their modesty, or shyness, may, perhaps, be the fore-runner of more moderation in their measures. But, Sir, all they say, and all the Speaker says, about the effects of their *plans* relating to currency and finance is *delusion*.—They may be, and, probably, are, themselves deluded; but, that the expectations, expressed, in the speeches, to see success attend the late measures, relative to the Bank; that these are fallacious, is, I think, as obvious as seat-selling, and that we know to be as notorious as the sun at noon-day.

The Speaker's Speech, as relating to this subject, contains a greater quantity of ignorance than, as I believe, was ever before exhibited in so short a compass. All that he says, as to this matter, is false in fact, inconsequent in reasoning, crude, and confused: no imperfect epitomy of the immense mass of speeches, documents and acts, to which he was alluding.

One thing there is, of which you, Sir, can hardly have been aware; and that is, that the Report (of the Common's Committee), was pretended to be founded upon *evidence*, which directly pointed to a conclusion *dia-*

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metrically opposite to that, which was come to by the Committee. For, the whole of the persons examined, with the exception of four, stated that the *plan*, if adopted, would plunge the country into misery, if not confusion; and those four did not pretend to be able to judge as to that part of the subject; they only knowing that a man might be made to lay naked out in the snow, but not knowing whether it would do him good or harm; whether he would be able to bear it or not.

The Bank Directors, in their part of that evidence, state their case very fairly. They say, that *all* the gold has been *exported*; they say, that, to get it back, they must *purchase it*; they say, that they have nothing to purchase it with but *Bank notes*; and they say, that the real object of inquiry now is, "not "*when* the Bank will be pre- "pared to resume payments in "specie, but whether *the public* "*will be able to bear* that re- "duction of the circulating me- "dium," which a resumption will render necessary.

To be sure, there was nothing here, which had not been said by me, long before, in a letter to Mr. Tierney; but, this really was *the question*; this was the *object of inquiry*; and, yet, this object seems never, for scarcely a moment, except accidentally, to have attracted the attention of the Committee! Verily, Sir, these are most insincere, or most ignorant, men! This Committee say, that the affairs of the Bank are in a most "*flourishing* condition;" yet the *evidence shows* that the Bank has no gold; that all its possessions consist of *paper*; and the Committee, when they come to speak in the House, call the paper, "*paper-bubble*." Verily, Sir, this was a Committee fit to be praised by the Speaker for their assiduity, skill, and fidelity. A Committee no bad epitome of His Majesty's faithful Commons.

This Committee, in speech as well as report, accuse the Bank of *want of judgment* in issuing the sovereigns and half-sovereigns without, *at the same time*, drawing in paper-money in an amount equal to that of those new-fangled coins. Of all the accusations that ever were preferred, this is (except those against the Reformers) the most *stupid* as well as the most unjust.

It would not occur to me to offend the ear of your Royal

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Highness by mentioning this stupid accusation, were it not a good text, on which to proceed in my humble endeavours to explain to you the real state of the despicable system, and to show you how clearly it is impossible, that it should be retrieved by any of those pitiful means that have been adopted, during the last session of parliament.

The Bank, in answer to this fool-like accusation, say: We "*had no gold in our house*: we "made notes and *therewith* "*bought it*: *consequently* we "sent out as much paper-money "as gold-money, upon this oc-"casion."

May I humbly beseech your Royal Highness to read Letter XXV. of "Paper against "Gold," written while I was in prison for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of Local Militia-men, in the heart of England, under a guard of German bayonets? It is a little work, Sir; but, I beseech you to read it. It will make you smile at the Speaker's Speech; and, it will prove to you, that the answer of the Bank to the above fool-like accusation was actually prepared and written and printed and published by me *eight years ago*. In my Letter to Mr. TIERNEY, published a year back, I again shewed, that the Bank never could *add* to its stock of gold in the way that the wise acre Committee suppose; but, in order to save your Royal Highness trouble, I will now, with your permission, explain the thing again.

The Committee appear to have filled their heads with a parcel of rubbishy thoughts, collected from stock-jobbers and exchange-brokers. With heads thus crammed it is not surprizing that they appear to have lost sight of common sense.

Here is a Bank, which *has no sovereigns*. Well; it wants to pay out some sovereigns. But, as I told that venerable wrangler and scrambler, Mr. TIERNEY, before a Bank can pay *out* sovereigns, it must *get some sovereigns in*. There are several ways of getting sovereigns in. But, begging your pardon for the omission, the sovereigns must be *made* before they can be *got in*. The Bank, then, before it can get sovereigns in, must get some gold to send to the mint to be made into sovereigns; and, then, there are *several ways of a Bank's getting gold*. First, it may steal it privately: second, it may take it on the high-way; third, it may

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receive it as a present; fourth, the stones in the street may be turned into gold; fifth, the gold may drop from the clouds; sixth, the Bank may get the gold *by giving something in exchange for it*. The Committee, with the dead lawyer, Horner, and the five wiseacres of the Edinburgh Review, appear to have thought, that the gold might have been gotten by the Bank in some one or all, of the first five ways. But, the Bank, with more frankness and truth than I could have expected from that body, say, that the *sixth* was the only way, in which they could possibly obtain the gold to make the sovereigns of.

Now, then, *what* had the Bank to give in exchange for the gold? It had no corn, meal, beaves, sheep, swine, lands, houses, or chattels of any sort. It had, in short, nothing of real intrinsic value. It had no *coin*; because it was *the want* of coin in which the transaction originated. What had it, then? It had *nothing*. Yea, Sir, nothing that I can think of in this whole world, except the parings of the nails and the clippings of the hair of the persons composing the Bank Company. It had, indeed, *Bank Notes*. Ah! exclaim the fools of Edinburgh, "that is just what we "say, that the Bank ought to "have bought the gold with "notes *already in circulation*." No: you cunning fools, you cannot mean that; for, in order to get *those* notes into his hands, the Bank must have *given something for them*; or, if you mean, that it might have drawn in the notes, lent out in discounts, then there was the trade all ruined before the sovereigns could get out.

What, then, was the Bank to do, in order to get the gold to make the sovereigns of? Precisely what it says it did, and what I, long ago, said it *must* do; namely, *make new notes*, and give them for the gold; and make them, too, and *pay them out*, not only *before* the sovereigns were *got in*; but before the gold went to the mint to make the sovereigns of.

Now, then, behold the Bank, shouldering away the gold to the mint, and leaving its new lot of paper in circulation. This new lot *lowers the value of the paper and raises that of gold*; so that, by the time that the sovereigns are ready to be *paid out*, they are worth *twenty-one shillings in paper* instead of

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twenty. They assist the paper, made to buy them with, in raising the prices of all the things of real value. They are at a *premium*: they are worth purchasing to export: and the hole-digging political economist, with gaping jaws and out-stretched hand exclaims, "the sovereigns *are all gone!*" Gone, too, to the *French* mint, to augment the currency of France! Bless us and save us! What a strange thing!

Why, Sir, fish-women at Billingsgate, their hands grimy with scales and slime, and their throats full of gin, never belched forth nonsense equal to that of this Committee, for whose unwearied examinations and inquiries and whose wise measures the Speaker has the conscience to call for your Royal commendation, and which commendation your Ministers have advised you so liberally to bestow!

However, this is only one instance of the incapacity of this Committee. They appear to have wholly overlooked all the great features, or, as the hole-digger would call them, the "*fundamental* features," of the case. They seem wholly to have forgotten the Debt, Army, Sinecures, Pensions and Grants, and all the *fixed* out-goings of the Treasury. Mr. BARING quoted to them Mr. Hume's "Essay on Money," which says, "the "consequences of a contraction "or expansion of the amount of "the money in a country, seem "more felt *during the progress* "of such contraction or expan-"sion, than from any positive "amount of money at any one "given period. It is not, in "my opinion, of great import-"ance, what amount of money "may exist in any country; but, "that, the question, of whether "it is *on the increase* or *decrease*, "is one of great importance to "every branch of industry."

This, though a very correct view of the matter, appears to me to have served as the foundation of much of the error and stupidity manifest in the Report and subsequent projects of this Committee. Mr. HUME had in his eye a country *without a Debt* and without *enormous taxes*; without a territory and an industry *mortgaged beyond their value*; without FIXED annuities, pay, salaries, and stipends, swallowing up so much as to leave not half enough as a remuneration for labour. In a country, situated like the one in the eye of Mr. HUME, it would, indeed, be of little or no con-

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sequence what was the positive amount of the money in it at any given period, and any evils that such a country might feel (and some even it would feel) from the contraction, or expansion, of its money, would be chiefly confined to the period of the contraction, or expansion. But, very different is our case; and very different must be the consequences; though the Committee, like the ass that was soundly cudgelled for imitating the spaniel in jumping up on his master, could not (profound hole-diggers), see the difference. And so, they took it into their heads, that it would be only to make the people endure *the period of the progress of the contraction*; and that, then, *all would be right again!* And so they reported *in favour* of cash-payments: and so they *resolved* to cause cash-payments to return: and so, as the Speaker says, it was most deliberately enacted to return quickly, but with due precautions, to our *ancient* and *healthful* state of currency!

Payments in coin are to be produced in no way but one, and that is *by lessening* the quantity of the paper-money. Well, then, will not this lessen the quantity of the circulating medium? Will there not be a smaller nominal amount of money in the country than there was before? If the Committee answer in the negative here, they will merit kicks and cuffs. It would be degrading to attempt to reason with them.

Thus, then, specie payments cannot return without a reduction of the nominal amount of money in the country. This, as Mr. HUME says, would be of little consequence to the community at large in any thing like an ordinary and natural state of things; for, if the guineas of a country were to become half-pence, all of a sudden, the half-pence would perform the office of the guineas, and all would be well. But, in a country with an enormous Debt, Army, hordes of sinecure placemen and pensioners, with FIXED pay, the half-pence would not perform the office of the guineas in the paying of all these; and the mass of the people must, if the Debt, army, placemen, pensioners, and granters be all paid in the former sum of guineas, be *totally ruined* and starved. During the period of the progress of the change from guineas to half-pence, the misery would

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be *going on increasing*; but, would it end when the progress was at an end? Why should it? It would, indeed, end, if the nation's *debts and engagements were lowered* from guineas to half-pence; but, not, *if those engagements continued in guineas*. And this wise Committee, so far from proposing to lower the amount of those engagements, expresly declare, that they will make the nation hold to them to the last penny! And even the Speaker tells your Royal Highness, that the measures, which have been adopted, will cause what he calls "*public credit*" and "*national good faith*" to be maintained.

The Committee seem to me to have understood no part of the subject, into which they were appointed to inquire. They appear to have been mere stock-jobbers and exchange brokers in mind. The great hole-digger seems to have communicated to the whole all his narrowness of mind; all his conspicuous ignorance. But, indeed, what was to be expected? Vansittart, in 1816, proposed to restore the prosperity of the nation by continuing to raise fourteen millions in taxes, in order to carry on the sinking fund. He was *cheered*. He now proposes to restore the prosperity of the country by stopping twelve out of the fourteen millions. And now he is *cheered*. Is it possible, then, that you can rely upon the *wisdom* of these men? Can this set of men be *wise*? Can they be thought able to extricate the nation from its difficulties? On the contrary must not national misery be the consequence of a nation being under the influence of such councils?

The Committee appear to think, that they shall be able to keep *as much* of circulating medium afloat after the Bank begins to pay in coin *as there is afloat now*; and, that, therefore, prices will continue nearly what they now are. Poor innocents! How deceived they will be! Where they are to get the gold, they do not seem to know. But, they mean to get it, I suppose, in this *lower world*; and, if they do, they must *raise the price of gold in the world*. They forgot this. They, in short, are ignorant men, and know nothing at all of the matter.

They found, with great delight, that Russia and Austria were coming to specie payments

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without any convulsion. They seem to have been greatly pleased to hear this. But, they forgot, that Russia and Austria had not a Debt of a thousand millions; and that all the lands and houses in those countries were not mortgaged to fundholders, sinecure-placemen and pensioners, for more than the lands and houses were worth. "Unwearied" as had been the inquiries, and deliberate as had been the conclusions, of this Committee, they wholly overlooked this difference; this very important difference in the cases of Russia and Austria and that of England. To discriminate requires knowledge of the subject; and the Committee had no knowledge of the subject on which they were writing and talking.

It may, and does, seem strange, at first sight, that any thing was attempted to be done in the way of producing cash-payments. Why not let the thing *go on?* Why not even add to the quantity of paper money? Why not go on adding 'till the Debt was paid in paper not worth a penny in the pound? This would have cleared the lands and houses and the labour of the mortgagee on them. Aye; but, in thus paying off the fundholders the soldiers, the half-pay, the staff, the placemen, the sinecure men and women, the pensioners, the grantees, would all have been *paid off in the same way!* Here are *swarms!* Oh, no! These must have *good money!* and yet it would have been impossible to pay them in good money, and to pay the fundholders in worthless money.

It is impossible for any man not to see, that the thing can be destroyed, at any time, at a very trifling expence. It is manifest, that, in any future war, the enemy will puff out the paper-money, if it still exist. These things have now been made so manifest, that it was *resolved* on to get rid of the danger by paying in coin. Hence all the new measures. It is I, who have set all the Jew Politicians at work to talk about exchanges and bars of gold. The Boroughmongers are angry with the Bank because the Bank cannot pay; but, the fact really is, that it is the nation, who owe the amount of the Bank Notes, and not the Bank. The Bank is now *proved* to have acted merely as an agent. The Boroughmongers would fain shake off the fund-

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holders; but they *cannot*. Both must live, or die, together. It is extremely base, in those of them who have now *attacked* the paper-system, and ascribed it and its evils *to the Bank*. The paper-system arose out of acts of parliament; it has been carried to its present length by *violations of law*, screened by *acts of indemnity*. And, shall those very men, who committed those violations, and who have no protection but those acts, which they themselves asked for and voted for, now be allowed to bellow out against the "*paper-bubble*," as Lord GRENVILLE calls it, and throw all the blame of that bubble upon their instruments of the Bank? These men *now say*, that the paper-bubble violates contracts, that it leaves no man any thing to call his own, that it produces ruin in trade, that it throws people out of employment, that it swells the amount of the poor-rates, that it violates the king's prerogative, and, in short, that it causes all sorts of mischief and all sorts of misery. Well; very true; but, it was *created by the very men*, who thus complain of it. It was *their own work*. They ought, therefore, to abstain from *blame*, and to confine themselves to confession, repentance, and *compensation*.

I was particularly disgusted with the speech of Lord GRENVILLE, who accused the Bank of *presumption* in attempting to cause the Ministers to see *the danger* that would arise from the proposed measures; when it was notorious, that *he* had been one of the most active in giving the Bank the power that it has exercised. He was co-operator with PITT; and if Pitt himself had been alive, he would have had just as good a right to accuse the Bank and to cry out against their mischievous bubble.

One thing, however, you, surely, ought to gather from these confessions, recantations, and accusations: namely, that the men who make them *ought not to be trusted again*; that, having, up to this time, adopted and acted upon measures the most mischievous and ruinous, they ought not *now* to be looked upon as wise men; that their present measures ought not to be believed to be wise, until *time* have tried them. And, in the meanwhile, you ought, I think, to listen patiently to ME who have called the thing a paper-bubble for many years; who have been ascribing to it

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for years, all the evils which these, its authors and supporters, now ascribe to it; who laboured most arduously, many years ago, to put an end to the base bubble, when it might have been put an end to (in the way that I proposed) without danger to any part of the establishments of the kingdom; and who was shut up in Newgate two years, with a thousand pounds fine and seven years recognizances on my head, as a reward for those arduous labours; for, those were the writings, for which, *in fact*, I was punished, as was almost openly declared by GROSE, when he passed the savage sentence. Surely, I am now more worthy of attention and confidence than these men, who *now* come forward with their projects about remedies for the evils. And, with this my claim to attention and confidence clearly established, I declare their remedies to be "*wild* and *visionary*," foolish, and wholly inefficient for any other purpose than that of creating misery, and, perhaps, a total overthrow of all the establishments of the country; and, for the truth of this declaration, I appeal to *time*, to that *trier* of all opinions, which has so fully decided in favour of all my former doctrines and assertions, relating to this momentous subject.

Lord GRENVILLE, and all these newly-enlightened political-economists, see but *one half* of the subject. The cause of the evils is divided into *two branches*, clearly distinct from each other. Both are at work. They co-operate in producing the evils; and, one cannot be removed without the other. The first of these is, *the load of taxes*; the other, the *paper-bubble*; but, the bubble is not only rendered more powerful by the taxes, but it is *necessary* to the taxes.

If the paper-bubble were the *only* cause at work, it would produce great mischief. It would do what it is now doing in America. It would violate contracts. Now ruin lenders! then ruin borrowers; distress the labourers; and make stagnations quite hideous to behold. But, when *specie returned*; when the bubble *had burst*; when the paper *was gone*; then things would be right again. Prices would have fallen in nominal amount; but, as the land and houses would have no formerly-fixed annuities to pay, the community would not, after the change were over, suffer from it. Thus far, and no farther, the hole-digging gentlemen see. They do not look at the *other branch* of the cause, THE TAXES, that is to say, the claim of the fundholders, army, sinecure placemen, pensioners, and salaried people of all sorts. The annual pay to all these is FIXED at so much;

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such a sum; SO MANY POUNDS each; and, therefore, these, being to last *for ever*, keep on operating, and with treble force, *after the paper bubble has burst*; after cash-payments have returned; after the "*healthy* state of the currency" has come back to us.

Now, Sir, this branch of the cause of our evils the wise Committee appear never to have looked at. Lord GRENVILLE, for instance, has, and has had for about thirty years, a sinecure place of *four thousand pounds a year*. This now takes about *eight thousand bushels of wheat* to pay it. If the paper-bubble burst; that is to say, if the Bank pay in coin, and if coin become the currency of the country, and that it *must*, in very great part, even *before* the Bank will dare to pay in coin; then it will take more than *sixteen thousand bushels of wheat* annually to pay Lord Grenville's sinecure. His Lordship now takes, in this sinecure, enough to support about 250 labourer's families; and, then he would take enough to support 500 such families. So that this return to cash-payments, this return to "our *ancient* and "*healthy* state of currency," of which the profound Speaker talks, would be a most charming way *to relieve the distresses of the nation*! Talk of "*wild* "and *visionary* schemes," indeed! Was there ever any thing so *wild* as this scheme! For, as your Royal Highness will please to observe, neither Lord Grenville nor Mr. Speaker says a word about the *lowering* of *sinecures*, or *pay* of any sort, that is to come out of the taxes. From the bottom of my heart I believe, that no scheme, that ever came into the head of man, sane or insane, was so completely wild, so ridiculously visionary, as that which the Speaker of the House of Common pointed out to your Royal Highness as worthy of your Royal approbation.

Your Royal Highness will please to observe, that the hole-digging gentlemen talked about the *sacrifices* that the nation must make, in order to *get back to cash-payments*. They do not, I see, propose to make any sacrifices themselves, but would be *gaining*, as I have just pointed in the case of the noble Lord, who, at the end of 22 years, called the thing a paper-bubble. But, this point reserved to bait them with another time, they do, it seems, think, that, during the time that we *are returning* to the promised land of cash-payments, we must experience *some distress*. Now, *why* do the wiseacres think *this*? What is their *reason* for thinking this? Why, they see, that, in order to pay in cash, the quantity of circulating medium must be lessened; that prices *must fall*; that a *stagnation will take place*; that workmen will *want employment*. Very well, then, let us suppose, that we shall be *four years* in reaching the promised land. The first year Lord Grenville will want, to pay his sinecure, *four* thousand bushels of wheat instead of eight; the next year *twelve* thousand; the third,

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fourteen thousand; and, the fourth *sixteen* thousand. It is perfectly true, and as manifest as seat-selling, that we should, then, have *some sacrifices* to make *during our journey to cash-payments*. But, having reached the promised land, would our *sacrifices cease?* Why should they, when *every year thenceforth* we should have to pay *sixteen* thousand bushels of wheat? Verily, Sir, this is an *enlightened* set of men!

As far as I can learn, the journey to the promised land appears to be pretty fairly begun at this moment; for, we read, that whole bands of hungry people are prowling about, in some parts of England, in search of those who have more wheat than they want to eat themselves, and that others are petitioning to be transported! while, on the other hand, the balls, routs, and feasts, among those who live on the taxes are more frequent and more brilliant and sumptuous than ever. If such be the effects of the first three months of the journey towards the promised land, what may we expect to see before the close of that journey? If the very first movement has produced petitions to be transported, we may, by-and-by, expect to see petitions to be *hanged*; which, I take it, will meet with no obstacles in their way, either from Sidmouth or the Speaker.

However, I advise my countrymen not to petition to be hanged or to be transported; but, to remain; to stick to the soil! and see the *upshot*. They have, by the law of nature and by the law of the land, a RIGHT to demand relief out of the produce of the land. The acts of parliament, which gave the Duke of Bedford his right to possess Wooburn, have the same foundation, and no other, than those which give the poor and distressed a right to *relief* from the land. They have, in law as well as in equity, a claim upon all the lands in England and Wales; and, are they to starve, because paper-money makers and loan-people have produced a stagnation of business and a want of employment? They have a right to *live*; and to live in England too. They have a right to a sufficiency of food and raiment in exchange for their labour. They are ready to labour. They ask labour and food in exchange; or land to labour on; or *relief* from those who possess the land. And, if they can obtain neither, thee return to the state and *the rights of nature*.

Your Royal Highness has been advised to say, that the distress is *local*; by which, I suppose, it is meant to tell the world, that it is confined to *here and there a place!* What surprising *delusion!* You, Sir, are the *deceived* person. It is not *the people* who are deceived. It is you and your family. What astonishing delusion! The cause of the distress is *one*; it is *general*; it affects every part of the country, and every rank in life and every species of property and of labour. From all parts of the kingdom men of *property* are coming to this country; and here *they* all remain. More

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than *eighteen thousand families* have actually come and *settled* on lands within the last twenty-two months. These remain for ever. Their money comes with them. They bring away the substance and sinews of England. Many families, now in New York, have been sent out *at the expence of their parishes!* What a disgraceful thing! But, the disgrace is the smallest part of the consideration. Every sum, paid to send out such families, is so much lost to England; besides the loss of the persons.

Yet, thus it must go on, *until a change take place.* The *middle class* of the people are falling into pauperism at a great rate. Poor-rates will soon divide the produce with the fund-holders, the army, and the pensioned lords and ladies; or, at least, they *would* soon do it, if the thing could go on; and, nothing but a *Reform*, that very Reform which you have been advised to reprobate, will save England from total confusion, or utter degradation.

Your Royal Highness adopts the idea, that the "*projects*" of the Reformers are *wild* and *visionary*; that, if adopted, they would not answer the end professed to be had in view; that Reform "*would aggravate the evils* which it is professed to remedy." Now, Sir, I think it has been shewn, a thousand times over, that Reform, and Reform alone, can cure the evils. But, at any rate, the evils have not arisen through the advice, or measures, of Reformers, the evils are the work of the Boroughmongers. They have been engendered, fostered, and brought to their present horrible magnitude, by Boroughmongers. Why, then, are you to conclude, *without reasons given*, that to put and end to the power of the Boroughmongers would *aggravate the evils?*

Upon what ground, I should be glad to know, is it, that the babblers of the Boroughmongers, that Perry, and Waithman, and the Russells call us *wild* and *visionary?* What we proposed is plain to the senses, and easy of execution. Every one can understand it. *All agree, that things cannot go on in the present way.* And our opponents have *their schemes.* Their main scheme, and the only one that they have ever seriously thought of, is to obtain *cash-payments*, and to keep up an army sufficient to enable them to set us at defiance for ever. But, they must come to cash-payments, or they are *never safe for an hour.* Therefore, the scheme for cash-payments is their *scheme*; it is their only *scheme*; it is the last shot in their locker. And, of all the wild and visionary schemes that ever issued from the heads of weak and obstinate men, this is the wildest, this is the most visionary; and, the fate of it will be something like this: that, after having caused unspeakable misery amongst the poorer classes; after having crushed a great part of the middle classes; after having driven away to foreign lands a very considerable portion of the real resources of the country;

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after having brought the nation to the eve of some terrible convulsion: after all this it will be *abandoned*; and never will an expectation of seeing cash-payments again exist in any mind but that of a born-idiot.

Now, Sir, for the correctness of this prediction I pledge my reputation as a politician, and, if I could, I would *pledge my life*. This will, probably, have no effect with the Boroughmongers, but, Sir, ought it not to have some effect with *you*? I have been right, as to this matter, *hitherto*. What I have been saying, as to the nature and effects of the paper system, *is now said*, almost in my own words, by the Boroughmongers themselves; and, Sir, is it very great presumption in me to say that these my opinions, as to their *remedy*, will, in a short time, be echoed by the same persons? My letters to your Royal Highness, published in March, contained *lessons* for MR. PEEL, Lord LIVERPOOL, and Lord GRENVILLE. Every one who read their speeches said, that they had just come, piping hot, from reading LETTER II. TO THE PRINCE. Indeed, Sir, though they are experienced debate-battlers, they are very shallow persons. They are wholly unfit to form any plan for extricating the country from its difficulties. They are a sort of political special pleaders. They are wholly unfit for the times and wholly unworthy of public confidence. These men, with their associates, Sidmouth, Canning, and Castlereagh, thought, in 1817, that, in putting down my writings, they were getting rid of their greatest, if not their only, danger. How busy they were in issuing *circulars*, in setting their Magistrates to *arrest venders*, in crying down my "trash." If they had been only half as assiduous in *reading* and *studying* that "trash," how much better it would have been for England at this day!

And yet, with all these facts before us, I, who speak the voice of the Reformers, am to be accused of having *wild* and *visionary* projects! The impudence of your advisers is equal to their ignorance, or they would *now*, at any rate, hesitate a little in pronouncing such censures.—The remedies for the evils that exist are, to me, clear, plain, easy, safe, just, and full of the seeds of peace and good-will. These remedies would change the face of things as that of the fields and gardens is changed by the arrival of spring after a dreary winter. But, I know well, that these remedies never can be adopted without a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament.

With such a reform, with a people conciliated, encouraged, and full of gratitude and hope, how great and how happy would England become! I say, and do not think that I shall be regarded as presumptuous, that I have no doubt of being able to point out the means of carrying on the government of the kingdom, without exciting a single murmur on the score of taxation, and, at the same time, of providing most amply for maintaining the dignity, and charac-

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tor, and power of the country. And, why should I be deemed *wild* and *visionary*? I have had great opportunity for observation, reflection, study. I have been sober, industrious, and have taken delight in the pursuit of politics. I have had no selfish purpose to blind my judgment. My great and constant desire has been to promote the happiness and renown of England, and to find my reward in the fame naturally attendant on the success of exertions pointing to that end. And, with all these circumstances in favour of my coming to correct conclusions, I say, that I possess the means of pointing out how the nation may easily and justly be rescued from all its difficulties; and that the schemes of your advisers and of the Boroughmongers, are "*wild* and *visionary*."

The Boroughmongers used *to laugh* at my confident predictions. They do not laugh now. Sir; they grin and curse. They may as well relax *in time*; for, they must yield in the end. I verily believe, that, as to the money concern, the proper remedies would have been adopted long ago, if those remedies had not been so well known to be *mine*. Have the proud, insolent, envious creatures *mended* the matter? Has any man, or any body of men, succeeded in their attempts to pull me down, or to keep me down? Where are *now* Gibbs and his set? Where are the hundreds of hirelings set up to write me down? Where are all the host of foes that, from various motives, have assailed me with a species of hostility that seemed to argue that they thought the salvation of their souls depended upon my destruction? Where is Lord Folkstone? Conning over, I suppose, that petition of mine which he refused to present, in order to learn, whether it be possible for him, on a future occasion, to be right *without adopting the principles of that petition*. He may conn as long as he pleases: he never will be right without adopting those principles; and now he never shall adopt them without my claiming them as mine.

There is, in the hostility which arises from envy, something more than that which arises from any other motive. The fear of danger, the hope of gain, want, revenge, create an hostility, which may admit of some apology; but that which arises from envy is built on a conviction that the object of it merits love, friendship, or admiration. This hostility, too, shews itself under the most hateful of forms: those of meanness and hypocrisy. Look, Sir, at the paltry pretences of the gabblers in Parliament, and of "the *race that write*." You will see them, in depicting the evils of the paper bubble, using my arguments in my very words; and, at the same time, pretending that the discovery is one of their own, upon the principles of *Adam Smith* and *Old Jenkinson*, whose writings would lead to exactly opposite conclusions. Lord GRENVILLE alluded to an author, whom he did not name, *from whom he derived great light on the subject*; but he took

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care to add, that this author was, "now in *Europe!*" What, then, he was afraid the public might think he alluded to an author in *America*? What despicable meanness! But, what *folly* too! For did this dull man imagine, that a knowledge of my writings could be hidden by any thing that *he* could do, or leave undone?

However, Sir, TIME now stands, the *Palm* in one hand and the *Fool's Cap* in the other. The nation are looking on; and the award will soon be made.

With a most ardent and anxious desire, that your Royal Highness and you family may, in the approaching crisis, act a part that will entitle you to the love and admiration of your now suffering people, and that our beloved country may speedily exchange misery for happiness, slavery for freedom, disgrace for glory.

I am, and hope I shall always remain,

Your most obedient and most humble Servt.

WM. COBBETT,

There is not room this week to say more on the subject of the late sentences than that Mr. HARRISON is imprisoned for three years and a half, Sir CHAS. WOLSELEY for one year and a half, the former in Chester Castle and the latter in Abingdon Jail. Messrs. JOHNSON, BAMFORD and HEALY, a year in Lincoln Castle, and Mr. HUNT two years and a half in Ilchester Jail! What a pity it is that the *National Debt* cannot be paid off as easily as these sentences can be passed!

COBBETT'S

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

Some Copies of the above work will be sent to New York. Three Numbers are out. The others will follow regularly. I have subjoined to the Speeches (where necessary), *explanatory Notes*. So that, for this Session, at any rate, you may get at a full and clear account of what our law-making worthies say and do. They are just now coming into the *thick of the mess*. Petitions are pouring in upon

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them from all quarters. *Farmers, Merchants, Manufacturers,* all are crowding on with their cries of distress, ruin, and starvation. Projectors are plying them with all sorts of schemes for effecting *relief*. Some are for *dividing the land*; others for *selling the Church-livings*; and so on. In short, the thing is in *a pretty pickle* altogether. It is right, that the whole world should know what is said and done about it. *You*, in particular ought to know what is said and done. You have, heretofore, neglected my warnings about *paper-money*. If you read this work, you will get a *fright* that you will never forget.—There is a *Judge* here, who has lately told a witness, that he "could not read a *worse book* "*than Cobbett's Register*." The man said, that "he could not "read a *better*, for that it had kept "him out of many *hobbles* and "*squabbles*." And if our gentry had read it, and attended to it, it would have kept them out of the "*hobbles and squabbles*," in which they are now irretrievably involved. And I may say pretty nearly the same thing of your law-makers; for, if they had followed the advice, contained in my letter to Mr. DALLAS, which was written in the winter of 1810, you would not have experienced all the *hobbles and squabbles* about *paper-money* (that prime engine of the Devil), that you have since experienced.—Our corrupt newspapers say, that you are in a state of *horrible misery*! What a good, gentle, tractable people you must be then! For you neither *rebel* nor *petition*. None of you get crammed into prisons nor have your heads cut off. If you be starving, what a gentle and patient people you must be! And how well you must love your government! Our rulers would do well to send for you to come over here, and to send us to take your places.—When I was in your country, I learned to *guess* as well as other folks; but, I really cannot even *guess* at what will take place here, before this year is out.—That you may speedily sweep away the scourge of paper-money, is the constant prayer of your grateful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

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BROOM CORN.

I have 'till now omitted to give instructions for sowing and cultivating the Broom-Corn.—The seed should be sown in May, scattered along in a row, in *rich* land, and even with ashes or fine dung in the drill; for it loves very rich land.—When it comes up, which it does like *large grass*, or like *an oat*, it should be thinned out to about four inches a part. The ground should be well hoed about the plants as soon as they come up. And it should be kept very clean hoed all the season. The ground may be, and ought to be *dug* twice or three times near the plants, on each side; the diggings taking place at about a month from each other. —If there be more than one row, the rows should be at least four feet apart.—It will get to be eight or ten feet high, if the ground be good.—When the seed comes to be so heavy as to make the seed stalks turn downwards, the stem of the plant should be bent down, or broken down, about a foot below where the seed-stalks come out; because the object is to keep the seed-stalks, which make the wisk, *straight*. This breaking down will not prevent the seed from ripening, if the summer be hot enough to ripen it at all.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO

Mr. BARON GARROW.

A GENTLE REMONSTRANCE WITH HIS LORDSHIP.

London, 23 *May*, 1820.

My Lord,

I mean to remonstrate with you on the subject of what you said against my Register, during the late trials of Mr. Thistlewood and his companions, at the Old Bailey. The Reporter states, that you asked a witness, whose name was Chambers, and who has said, that he had been tempted by Edwards to take a part in the conspiracy, and that he had *resisted the temptation*; the Reporter states, that you asked this worthy man, "what *books* he generally read," to which he answered, that "he read *no* "*books, except the Bible and* "*Cobbett's Register*;" and that you then observed to him, "that "he could not read a *worse* book "than Cobbett's Register;" on which the honest fellow rejoined: "I think, my lord, I "cannot read a better; for, by "following *Cobbett's advice*, I "have kept out of many hob-"bles and squabbles." It is said, that, upon this, there was a *loud laugh* in the Court. *Who* was the object of the laughter, I cannot say; but, I am quite satisfied, that it was not I nor my Register.

Now, my lord, without getting into a passion, let us inquire a little into this transaction. I am not aware, that your office gave you any *right* to use it as a means of speaking in this way of my book. When Mr. Thistlewood was speaking of the conduct of *Edwards*, the Chief Justice stopped him, and said that he had *no right* to descant upon the conduct of persons, *who were not before the Court*. Now, then, was *I*, or was my *Register*, before the Court? Not in any respect whatever. If it had happened to come out, that Chambers had drunk a pot of beer at one of Calvert's houses, would it have been right to tell him, that he could not drink *worse beer* than Calvert's? Yet, I think, there is not the smallest

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difference in the two cases. In a place that I know of, but which I will not name, it has long been the practice to calumniate, even by *name*, individuals, who cannot be present to answer to the calumnies. The "learned friends" at the Bar, who soon take a hint of this sort, have long been in the habit of following the manly example. But, let us hope, that the contagion will not reach the Bench; for, if it do, there is an end to all security for character.

However, my lord, I do not say this in the way of complaint; for, the result, in consequence of honest CHAMBERS's manly rejoinder, was advantageous to me and my Register. Nor am I *angry* with you; because I know, that your condemnation of my poor little book proceeded from *hearsay*. I know you have not read it; because, if you had, I am sure you would not have condemned it. You have, like many others, refrained from reading it for two reasons; first, because you would not, by *purchasing* it, encourage the author to proceed; and second, because you would not read *disagreeable truths*. As to the first reason, a little reflection might have convinced you, that it was impossible for your not purchasing to have any effect; and, as to the second, it was pure weakness; a weakness inseparable, perhaps, from human nature, but certainly a weakness. I do not say, that it is a thing to be very severely censured; for, which of us has not, many times, crammed into our pocket, unopened, a letter, when it was suspected to contain disagreeable intelligence? I have done this very often; but, that was when I was much younger than I am now.

In thus acting, you have, however, only done as the far greater part of the "High-Blooded" people have done. And, the consequences are, that, while the despised "Lower-Orders" have been gaining real political knowledge, have been acquiring a thorough understanding of causes and effects in political science, the High-Blooded, who suck in their ideas from the muddy and polluted pools of the daily and monthly and quarterly press, have remained in their original ignorance, and have now been stricken with amazement by the arrival of events, which, had they duly read my little book, they would have naturally expected, or, rather,

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which they would have taken care to prevent.

That you, my lord Judge, may, if you be so disposed, profit from the reading of a part, at least, of that little Book, which you so severely condemned, I subjoin to this Letter, a reprint of a letter, addressed to Mr. TIERNEY, written in Long Island on the 11th of July, 1818, and published in England in the month of September of that same year. At that time, I had just received the news of the renewal of the Bank-Protecting Act, passed in May of that year. Mr. TIERNEY, during the debate on the Act, had said, that he thought, that, by taking proper steps, the Bank might become able to pay in *cash*. I was sure she never could, without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, or, without producing general ruin and starvation. And, the object of my Letter to him, was, to *prove* this proposition of mine to be true. Since that, the parliament, by Mr. PEEL's Act, has made an attempt to do what Mr. TIERNEY *said* could be done; and what I *proved* could not be done. And, Mr. BARING now tells the parliament, that he means to propose the repeal of this Act; while he, and every one else says, *that to go on in the present way is impossible.*

Now, my lord Judge, why not be good-tempered with me? Pray be good-tempered, while I beg of you to read this letter to Mr. TIERNEY. Never was there a better humoured man, than I am myself. And, why should you be so cross with me and with my little book? Why should you scold me, who never said an ill-natured word about you in all my life?

Pray, then, my lord Judge, read this letter to Mr. TIERNEY. Honest CHAMBERS read it, I will warrant him, in September, 1818; and, therefore, *he* would very well know what would be the effect of Mr. PEEL's Act. He would *laugh*, while sitting on *his Bench*, with his lap-stone on his knees, reading the fine speeches of Mr. PEEL and Lord GRENVILLE, and while he was reading the eloquent eulogies on the dead lawyer, HORNER, who had proposed to make the Bank *pay in cash five years before!* Now, why should not you understand this matter as well as my pupil, CHAMBERS? And this might have been the case, if you had, like him, read the Letter to Mr.

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TIERNEY, which went through *two editions*, though it was only a weekly Two-penny Trash.

I shall now suppose, that you have read this Letter to Tierney, which conveys more knowledge, as to this interesting matter, than all the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, with their *Audem Smeth* for their guide, ever possessed. These men are of that school of philosophy, the *depth* of which consists in its *darkness*; but their philosophy, is of prevalent fashion; and, though it has already ruined and starved thousands upon thousands, its work, if it be not speedily abandoned, is not yet half done.

You see, then, how right my little Book was. You see how plainly it foretells what will happen, if the parliament attempt to make the Bank pay in cash. And yet, the Parliament did, with this prophesy before them, make that attempt by Mr. PEEL'S Act. But, I do them wrong; they had not the prophesy *before them*. They, like you, thought it the *worst book* that they could read; and so they tumbled, like blind buzzards, into the brake, and got their wings entangled in the bushes and brambles. Oh, that they had read my little Book! what a deal of trouble, what a waste of inquiry, of ink and of paper, it would have saved! And what ruin and starvation it ought to have prevented! This little Book contained not a prophesy *after* the event; but *before* the event. And, in such prophesies, there is some merit. CHAMBERS was right, as to my advice tending to keep people out of hobbles and squabbles. What hobbles, what squabbles, it would have prevented, if it had been followed only in this one case!

Having now, I hope, reconciled you to my little book, I will proceed to address you upon subjects which are now become extremely interesting, and which daily become more and more worthy of attention; and, before I have done, I hope to make you say with honest Chambers, "I think I cannot read *a better book*."

All the alleged causes of the misery appear now to be exploded. At first, it was a *sudden transition from war to peace*, that had done the mischief. Then it was a *superabundant produce*: too much

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food and too few mouths. Next it was a *surplus population*: too many mouths and too little food. Next it was the *use of machinery and of draught horses*. And, all along, a *want of employment* has been a symptom of the malady. The remedies have been, an *expedition to the North Pole*; a *Corn Bill*, to lessen the quantity of food, and *a promotion of emigration* to lessen the number of mouths. And, to remedy the want of employment, projects of *spinning-wheels* and *spade-husbandry*, and *for digging holes one day and filling them up the next*.

All these notions are now taking their leave of us, like the top, the whistle, and the rattle, when the age of puberty approaches; and, if they remain at all, it is only in the minds of half-ideots. Something a little more like the offspring of sane minds is now come. The weight of the present blows seems to have stunned us into an approach towards sense. *All*, indeed, *complain*. The *land* sends forth its uncouth complainants, who howl like the winter blast through the forest. The *Manufacturers* come clacketing and whizzing, as if a host of machines and spinning-wheels were marching down to St. Stephen's. In the petitions of the *Merchants* we think we hear the rumbling of unladen drays, and the echo of empty warehouses. While the *Ship-Owners* come roaring and foaming and raging like the angry billows. *All* complain. *All* are in distress. All call upon the parliament to do *something* for them. But no set says *precisely what*. Each one petitions for relief at the expence of one, or two, or all three of the others. The parliament is the object of the supplications of all; and the parliament says that it can relieve none.

However, amidst all this confusion and uproar and inconsistency and nonsense, sound principles, now and then, like the English sun in April, peep out for a moment. Every one *now* begins to say, that the *great weight of the taxes is the cause* of the evil. Some, more bold than the general mass, go a step farther, and say, that the *Debt* is the great cause of the taxes. And, now and then one jumps out and exclaims, *reduce the interest of the debt*; but, seeing the cry of *National Faith* ready to bite off his nose,

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he suddenly draws back, and sits trembling like a mouse behind a sack when a cat comes into the granary. Some are hardy enough to talk of *Reform*; but *pussy* has them in her claws in a twinkling; and, if they escape with life out of those claws and jaws they are fortunate indeed!

It is an approach towards sense, however, to ascribe the distress to the *taxes*. This was stoutly denied for a long while; and CASTLEREAGH, only in the last session of the last parliament, said, that the Radicals (who feel the misery most acutely) would not be at all relieved, if the Debt were annihilated, and the taxes, of course, greatly reduced. But this obvious fact, a fact *demonstrated* by me so many, many times, is, at last, acknowledged by every man who has any pretension to the possession of one grain of common sense. This we may call *fact the first*.

Fact the second is, that the means of raising taxes have diminished, and are daily growing less and less. This is shown in the relative amount of the revenue; and, I have long ago *proved* that it *must* be the case. All parties now agree in this. Many assert it, and more deny it. While Mr. BARING treats us to the curious circumstance, that there are bills, or promissory notes, or drafts, on *our Treasury*, circulating all over the Continent!

If, then, we are got to the end of the sources of taxation, and, if *the taxes are the cause of our evils*, what is to be done? Why, *lessen the taxes*, to be sure. And how is this to be accomplished? In order to answer this question, we must see clearly what it is that the taxes are wanted for. For the interest of the Debt; for the Army; for the King and his Royal Family; for the Salaries, Sinecures, Pensions and Grants.—Now, my Lord Judge, *can any of these be lessened?* If they cannot, we may keep our breath to cool our porridge; for, if *these* cannot be lessened, the *taxes* cannot be lessened; and, of course, the *evils must remain*; or, rather, they must go on *increasing*; for this is in their very nature.

If I ask the Fundholder if we can reduce the interest of the Debt, he calls me a *swindler* and all sorts of vile names. I then, turning to the Soldier, ask if we can reduce his pay;

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but he, curling up his mustachios, and not deigning to open his lips, gives me a look that swears, and I slink away. I next look towards the Civil List, but the cry of disloyalty abashes me in a moment. At last, mustering up all my scattered courage, I humbly sue for a reduction of the long train of Placemen and Pensioners; but, the very first that hears the sound of my voice, begins to cry *Radical*, and to bawl for a police-officer, and I scamper off for fear of being laid by the heels.

What, then, are we to do, my good Lord Judge? If no class will give up any thing; and even if the proposing of such a thing is to endanger a man's limb or life, what are we to do? Why, unquestionably, to go on in our present way; and this Mr. BARING says, *is impossible*; and when he says this, no man, not even the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ventures to say a word in the way of contradiction. So, that the result seems plainly to be this: that we can *neither mend our state, nor go on as we are*; or, in other words, that *the whole thing must go to pieces!* A very pretty result of a twenty-two years "just "and necessary war for our sal- "vation." A very neat effect of "a constitution that is the "envy of surrounding nations, "and the admiration of the "world." A very happy illustration of "indemnity for the "past and security for the fu- "ture." And a most striking proof of the justice of those who so loudly sing the praises of "the Pilot that weather'd the "storm," whose debts the Parliament made us pay, and a monument to commemorate the public services of whom was erected at the public expence!

Heigh! let us take breath, my Lord Judge. Let us rest a little, till we get cool; for these are not times to yield ourselves up to the heat of description. I am of opinion that we can *mend our state*; but I am also of opinion, that it is not to be done by any means that I *dare* describe upon paper. I will, therefore, confine myself to a few remarks upon the projects of others.

These projects are manifold. Mr. *Heathfield* and Mr. GODFREY HIGGINS are for dividing the land, and giving a part to the Fundholders; and Mr. HIGGINS wishes, moreover, to have the *Crown-livings sold*! Good-

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This is very good! But, it is going much farther than any *Radical* ever went. I know not whether Mr. HIGGINS means to make the Fundholders, or rather a part of them, *parsons*; or to give them the right of presenting the parsons. If they had this right, there is little doubt but they would turn it to account. They would be very vigilant. But then the *howling farmers* would, I am afraid, howl still louder than they do now; and it is certain that the Ministers would lose the convenient and appropriate means of rewarding such parsons as Mr. HAY, who may be deemed the pink of all clerical magistrates, and whose health, the COURIER tells us, the Yeomanry Cavalry of Manchester drank with *nine times nine cheers!*

It is very clear to me, that these schemes would put the Fundholders in possession of all the Lords' estates; yet, the schemes are very *popular*, especially upon 'Change and in Lombard Street. There are people, who exclaim: "What! "Give up the parks to the "Fundholders!" Why not, if the law calls for it? If the owners of the parks *owe* the worth of them to the Fundholders, I can see no reason why they should not be given up. It is, of course, clearly understood, that we all mean, that the land is not to be touched, if the *debt* can be paid without it; but, we all say, that the Fundholders ought to be *honestly* paid; that this "mighty em- "pire," as Lord CASTLEREAGH calls it, ought not to commit a *breach of national faith.*

A great deal has been said, in a tone of sad lamentation, about the *sweeping away of the ancient families.* Poh! We are all *ancient* alike. We all, as you know well, sprang from Adam and Eve. It is very strange, that, while, in every other part of the world, this attachment to antiquity of birth is becoming an object of contempt and ridicule, it is cherished in England with a sort of revived infatuation. Just as if a people, the whole of whom can *read*, and who have been witnesses of the American, French, and Spanish revolutions, were to be brought back to the ideas of the days of the *Curfew!* Yet, attempts at this are continually made; and the sickly taste of affecting a *descent* from the *Conquest* is daily gaining ground. We have *Hulton of Hulton, Trafford of*

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Truffard; Antrobus of Antrobus; Brougham of Brougham; and we shall, I dare say, have, by-and-by, *Canning of Canning, Baring of Baring, Ricardo of Ricardo.* Next there will be a change of the *of* into a *de;* and then we shall be told, that they all "*came in* with the *Conqueror.*"

The Fundholders will have *families*, I'll warrant them. They have a great taste, in general, for family memorials. They soon get *coats of arms;* and they seem to have an instinct that leads them to the possession of ancient seats. The Manchester Gentry have lately presented *Owen*, the *Pawn-Broker*, who took the *oath of alarm*, on the 16th of August, with a *piece of plate*, in honour of his conduct; and (pray mark it!) this piece of plate is to "*descend* as *an heir-loom* in his "family!" I like this exceedingly: the Pawn-Broker's *heir-loom* is a very good elucidation of the worth of family-distinctions. I should, if I lived in the North, certainly have the curiosity to go and see the *heir-apparent* of the Pawn-Broker. The very same news-paper that gave us the account of this giving of an heir-loom to a Pawn-Broker, gave us an account of a Duke, who had *pawned* an heir-loom descended to him from his ancestors! Nothing can afford a better illustration of the worth of family distinctions. It is, therefore, a great mistake to suppose, that the Fundholders will not form very good *families.* They have a natural taste for the thing. Do you not remember, that they voted, *at Lloyd's*, an *heir-loom* to *Lord Nelson*? This was high-work indeed: a sort of act of sovereignty. And, do you not see how soon they fill their houses with "*old family pictures.*" I read an account of a thing of this sort, the other day, that made me *laugh;* but I will not relate the particulars now, because it is not decorous to laugh before a judge. The curious matter to ascertain, in such cases, would be, where the old family pictures were kept, while the successive heads of the family were shop-men or shoe-blacks.

However, as I said before, the Fundholders and Army-Taylors and Contractors and Commissaries will soon have families, and *ancient families* too. So that there will be no deficiency in that respect. Great

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progress has already been made in transferring the estates from the ancient gentry and nobles to the men of Paper. In my native parish, *Weaverly Abbey*, formerly the seat of *Sir Robert Rich*, is now the seat of a *Mr. Thompson*, a wine Merchant; and, *Moore Park*, rendered famous by being the seat of *Sir William Temple*, is now the seat of a *Mr. Timson*, a spirit Merchant. Put only a *de*; make it *de* Thompson and *de* Timson, and you bring both of them "*in* "with the *Conqueror*." A little further towards the west, in the next parish but one or two, the *Barings* have supplanted the *Bedfords* and the *Northingtons*, at *Stratton Park* and at *the Grange*. The addition of a *de* does the business here again; and we have families as *ancient* as even the lovers of "Social "Order" can wish for.

The transfer has, however, been slow compared with what it will be if the above schemes should go into effect. I have no *wish* one way or the other. The *Radicals* have nothing at all to do with this matter. They do not care any thing about the antiquity of people's families; nor need they care who possess the parks. They want nothing of such possessors. They know, that the ground will remain; and that is all that they do, or need, care about the matter. To see the thing *work* is, to me, a subject of high delight. The Merry Andrew, when I was a boy, never entertained me better than I am now entertained by the *workings* of this thing.

I hope, however, that we shall get into *good-humour* with one another about the thing; that we, *Radicals*, shall on our part, live (if we *can get food*) very quiet lives, and see the thing *work*; see the thing take its course, under the directing wisdom of those, who have brought it to its present state. I would, on no account, interrupt its course myself. And, on the other hand, I hope, that nobody will be *angry* with us, who have had nothing to do in producing the present state of the thing; who have had neither power nor influence; and who, like hares and rabbits, have had to endure whatever the seasons have produced of pain or of want. But, my lord, there are people, who, when they get into trouble or calamity, *get out of temper*, and fall angrily upon every poor thing that has the misfortune to be

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within the reach of their power. The footman, who serves a gamester, must, when his master has *lost*, take care how he comes near him. It is an old saying, that farmer's wives and dogs rue a rainy harvest. Let us hope, however, that the land-owners and the fund-owners will settle their affairs without meddling with us, poor *Radicals*, who, as I said before, have had nothing at all to do in producing the dilemma, and who, I hope, shall patiently await the consequences, merely *hearing* and *seeing* how the thing *works*, and, if we open our lips at all, do it in the way of mere *observation* on what has passed, or is likely to come to pass, and, by no means, presuming to act as *partizans* on the one side or on the other.

Hoping that I have now reconciled your lordship to my little book, I conclude with saying, that

I am,
Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE RIGHT HON.

GEORGE TIERNEY,

ON HIS OPPOSITION TO THE BANK PROTECTING ACT.

North Hempstead, Long Island,
1st July, 1818.

SIR,

I address you upon the subject of the debate on the thing called the *Bank-Restriction* act, passed in May last, and in which debate you took a part. I make use of your name upon this occasion for two reasons; *first*, that the Letter, which I am writing, may, without much of circumlocution, have an appellation to distinguish it from other of my letters on the same subject; and, *second*, that I may directly, and, as it were foot-to-foot, place myself, as to some of your opinions, in opposition to you, whom I regard as being by far the most able man now in what is called the House of Commons. The question, upon which we are at issue, involves considerations of most tremendous importance; and the decision of it must take place at no very distant day. Therefore, though my opinions respecting it stand already, over and over again, recorded in terms the most positive as to meaning and

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the most distinct as to expression, I am anxious, from a sense of duty towards my country as well as from a love of honest fame, to put them once more into print. If events should prove that I am in error, as to this weighty matter, justice towards those whom I may have misled, demands that I put into their hands the power of detection; and, if events should prove that I am correct, justice towards myself demands that I put beyond all dispute my claim to that public confidence, which may serve as some compensation for all the persecution, which I have suffered, chiefly for having promulgated these very opinions, which I am now about to re-assert.

During the far greater part of my political life I have entertained, and have, with very little intermission, been endeavouring to produce in the minds of others, a hatred and a horror of the funding and paper-money system. In referring to its origin, I found it bottomed in a settled design to sap the foundations of the constitution of England; and, in tracing its progress, I found this design had been but too fully accomplished. But, it is not of the silent, the sapping, the corrupting effects of this system that I am now about to speak: nor is it of the misery, the starvation, the stripes, and the deadly wounds, which it is, at this time, inflicting on the nation. It is of the effects which it has yet in reserve; and with regard to which effects, I perceive, that you hold opinions opposite to mine.

I will not waste my time, as you thought proper to waste yours, in an exposure of the flimsy, the shuffling, the false, the ridiculous pretexts, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer put forward as the grounds of his proposition for continuing the protecting act in force for another year. It can never be worth the ink that one writes with to be listened to by those, who could, for one single moment, listen to those pretexts as something worthy of attention. Your observations on the *future effects* of the system, and your opinions as to the *practicability* and the *means* of preventing those effects: these constitute the only parts of the debate that merit the notice of any rational being.

It has always been an opinion, openly avowed by me, that the

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funding-system would be marked in its last stage by a great national change; and, more recently, since it has been upheld as co-partner of the Borough-system, I have been of opinion, as I yet am, that the end of the funding-system will be the end of its associate; that they will die in each others arms amidst the shouting of the people; and this we may, I take it, call a great *convulsion*.

You are, I see, Sir, also of opinion, that the thing will end in a great *convulsion*. "He, "therefore, exhorted the House "to show its *earnestness* upon "this occasion. If it did not "do so, he feared that the con-"sequences would be *dread-"ful*; that a terrible *convulsion* "would take place. This was, "probably, the last struggle to "guard against that *melancholy "event*, and let each man, who "felt for *the country*, have the "satisfaction of thinking, that, "whatever be the result, he "had done *his duty*."—These are the words of the close of your reply. Sufficiently impressive: sufficiently awful the warning. But, of *what use* was the warning? What was it intended to produce? Much able statement in your speech; a great deal of well pointed reasoning. But for *what*? To what *end*?

To put the matter into plain propositions, it stood thus: that the House ought to be in *earnest*: that, if they were not, the paper-money would produce dreadful consequences and a great convulsion; and that, in order to shew their *earnestness*, they ought to appoint a committee to *inquire*, before they passed the bill.

Thus far I see my way clearly. It is plain, and I cannot err. A great mischief, a dreadful consequence, a convulsion, may, in some cases, be prevented by stopping to inquire before we proceed to action. But, was this one of these cases? Could any inquiry have tended to prevent that blowing up, of which you expressed your dread? Was it *possible*; I will not say, *probable*; was it *possible*; was it within the compass of human skill or force, to make provision against that "*melancholy event*," which you anticipated with so much apparent sincerity and sorrow? You seem to have been of opinion, that *it was*; I am of opinion that *it was not*.

In order to enter fairly upon

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the discussion of this question, to wit, whether it was, or was not, *possible* to obtain, by enquiry, any means of preventing a final blowing-up of the paper-system, I must look back at what you say, in your own speech, as to the topics and objects of enquiry. These I find stated in the following words: "There remained little for him "to say, except on the subject of "the *mischiefs which some persons apprehend* from the resumption of cash payments by "the Bank of England. To a "*certain extent* he was willing "to admit, that these apprehensions might, perhaps, be "well founded. He did not "believe, however, that any "*violent shock* could occur. He "by no means supposed that "the Bank would try to secure "the continuance of the restriction, by making the resumption of cash payments as difficult and as dangerous as possible; and he was convinced, "that *if the Bank sincerely applied themselves gradually* "and *gently to prepare* for that "resumption, although, *undoubtedly a great diminution* "*must take place in the existing circulation*, yet, that it "*would not be productive of* "*any of those fatal consequences which it was the* "*fashion to apprehend from it.*" If there were no other grounds for going into an inquiry, the expediency of *trying* if a committee of that House *could not chalk out some course by which the Bank of England might resume their payments in cash without endangering the tranquillity and welfare of the community, would be one amply sufficient* (*Hear, hear, hear!*) Indeed, were we asked how such a committee as that for the appointment of which he was about to move, could best employ themselves, he would say, *in endeavouring to devise the means by which the cash payments by the Bank might be gradually brought about, and a limit put to the issue of paper, so as to facilitate those objects without risking any serious shock.* This, he believed, might be done; but he also believed that it could be done only by a committee composed of intelligent individuals, who would calmly and dispassionately enter into the investigation of the subject, and collect all possible information upon it from those

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" who were the most competent " to the task of affording such " information."

This, then, was to be the object of inquiry: the Committee were to " endeavour to devise " the means, by which the cash-" payments by the Bank might " be gradually brought about, " and a limit put to the issue of " paper, so as to facilitate those " objects without risking any " serious shock." Your *opinion* as to the probability of the Committee's *effecting* this object is in the affirmative. You admit, that, to a certain extent, there may be *mischiefs* attending the resuming of cash payments; but, you do not believe that any *violent shock* would occur. You believe, that if the Bank were to apply themselves sincerely to prepare *gradually* and *gently* for the resumption, although a great diminution in the circulation would take place, yet that no *fatal consequences* would ensue.

This was your *opinion*, Sir; and, no wonder that it was *cheered* by those by whom you were surrounded. This opinion came, too, so pat just after my dismal predictions and doctrines, contained in that Petition,* which Lord FOLKESTONE (for what reasons his Lordship best knows) had refused to present, but which had not, for that refusal, been the less read. This opinion had an effect upon the Borough men like that of ether or laudanum upon a losing gamester; or, like that of Loader's dram upon old Mother Cole. And, so you " went out of the House *a-* " *midst the loudest cheers!*" Thank you kindly, Mr. Loader! Bless you, dear Mr. Loader!

I must be insincere myself, or I must treat you with sincerity; and yet if I do, I am afraid I must offend you; for, it is quite impossible for me to consider you as having been sincere upon this occasion without considering you as extremely shallow with regard to a matter, which you ought to have well understood, before you attempted to speak upon it in a public assembly; and particularly before you took upon you to be a leader in the discussion. As being the least offensive of the two, however, I will suppose you to have been sincere; and, upon that suppo-

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sition, will proceed to give my reasons in opposition to this your consoling and comforting opinion; which opinion is, that means can be devised for enabling the Bank to pay in coin *without* producing any serious *mischief*, any *fatal consequences*, any *violent shock*.

As to *mischief* or *fatal consequences*, I may think so too. But, then, what you may think *mischief* and *fatal consequences*, I may regard as *most happy events*. To get rid of all misunderstanding here, I shall, as I fairly may, suppose you to mean, that the payment may take place *without a blowing up of the paper, and the borough systems*, and that the paper-money and the Debt and the dividends and army and all can go on as they now go on.

If, Sir, as a quieter to those persons, who, you say, *apprehend mischiefs* from the resumption of cash payments; and, if, in answer to the *fashionable* opinions about *fatal consequences* to be apprehended from the same cause; if you, as might have been expected, had, in answer to these apprehensions, offered some *reasons*, instead of a naked opinion in the negative, you would have saved me a great deal of trouble. However, your opinion being wholly unsupported by any reasons does not prevent me from stating reasons in support of my opinion; and, if my reasons be good, your opinion must be erroneous.

Doubtless a Committee of the House of Commons, as it is called, would consist of some surprisingly ingenious gentlemen; but, though they would have been able to draw up, in a short time, a Green-Bag Report, there are certain things which they could not have done unless the House could have communicated to them a *real* instead of an hyperbolical *omnipotence*. And, amongst the things which a Committee could not have done, one would have been, the preventing of the holders of notes from going to get cash for them, as soon as the Bank should begin to pay: yet, unless they could have done this, it is pretty clear to me, that the payment would not have gone on for two days.

That the Bank cannot venture to pay *now* is certain. That fact must be taken as *admitted*; because, if it could venture to pay now, the bill would not have been passed; no, nor asked

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for. And, why cannot it pay now? For the same reason that many other people cannot pay their bills; namely, because it has not money enough to pay with.

There are two ways of enabling the Bank to pay: one, by *putting gold into its coffers*, and the other, by *reducing the quantity of paper now afloat*. As to the first, *how* is the Bank to get more gold into its coffers than it now has in those coffers, which, I believe, contain very little? I ask *how*, Sir? What scheme could your committee have devised to effect this purpose? Suppose I have a parcel of notes out, payable on demand. I wish to take them up; I wish to be able to pay them. I have not money enough to take them up; what am I to do? Borrow some money. But I must give *more notes* for the money I borrow, or must sell my goods, or pawn them. The Bank has nothing to sell or to pawn; and, therefore, it must *buy gold with new issue of notes*. Now, Sir, if a man who had a hundred pounds out in notes, were to buy a hundred pounds in gold with another hundred pounds in notes, and then pay off the first hundred with the gold, and if all his notes were payable on demand to bearer, would he not be sent to a mad-house without any further proof of his confirmed insanity?

A member of parliament, whom I once, (in the Bullion Committee time) endeavoured to prevail upon to go to the House and blow all the absurdities into air, asked me, why goods might not be *sent abroad* and sold for gold, and the gold brought home to the Bank! My answer was, that there was no other objection to this scheme, than, that the owners of the goods would, in all probability, want to keep for their own use the gold that the goods would be sold for. His next question was, why the government could not get gold *from South America*. To be sure, the *mines* were the places to look towards. But, then, it unluckily happened, that the owners of the gold in South America would demand *payment* for the gold; and, what was more, so little bowels would they have for SAMUEL THORNTON and Company, that they would take care and have the *goods* before they would let the gold go; and, then, if the Bank sent the goods, they must issue paper to

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pay for the goods. By the help of a fleet and an army, the Bank might, indeed, *rob* the South American Mine-owners to a trifling extent; or, the Bank men might *rob* the houses and travellers at home, though, perhaps, they would find little except their own paper. This, probably, the Bank men would have some scruple to do, unless assured of an *indemnity* bill before hand.

Their case, then, as far as relates to augmenting the relative proportion of their gold, is desperate; for this last is the only *possible* way, in which they can effect that object. How should there be any other, except, to the asses ears of MIDAS, the Boroughmongers and Bank-men could add his gold-creating touch? They have a parcel of paper, snips of paper, of *no value*, which they want to convert into pieces of precious metal. A few years ago there was a Norfolk Farmer, who sold five hundred golden guineas to the Guard of the Norwich Coach, for twenty-seven shillings each. The dealer brought down the money the next trip, and asked for the guineas. The farmer had them in London, and up he went with the guard in order to deliver them. He had them *quite safe* in London, for they were in the *Bank*, where he had lodged them three years before for the sake of *secure keeping!* He went to the Bank, but it was *restrained* from letting him have them out!

There are very few now-a-days, who are so foolish as this farmer was. When that prime agent, Gibbs, was calling for his fellow-labourers to make me a "*blighted* example," he did not, I dare say, imagine, that he was doing that which would produce a *new era*, a totally new era, in political knowledge.—"*Paper against Gold*" was amongst the fruits of that deed; and Sir, whatever those to whom you addressed yourself may think, the *people* of England, the suffering people of England, know all about the paper-money system, and about which, before my foes thought they had murdered me, the people in general knew no more than they knew of the feats of witches and wizards. They did not know what a fundholder, a loan-jobber, or a director was. They knew nothing of the manner of making funds and debts; and, they, if possible, knew less than nothing about the manner in

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which *they themselves* were affected by this mystery. Little did they, before this period, imagine that this system of funding took from them four pence, at least in the price of every pot of beer: and, that it was, in fact, this system, first proposed by BISHOP BURNET, which first by degrees, stripped the artizan and the labourer of all those conveniences and the means of good-living which were enjoyed by their grand-fathers. The mass of the people knew, in short, nothing about the matter. But Gibbs and his fellow colleagues had tied me to the stake; and that was destined to be the means of producing a new era in political knowledge. "*Paper against Gold*" will, long and long after the bubble shall have bursted, and overwhelmed all those who now by various means, work the nation, live to bear testimony to my fortitude and perseverance, and to the infamy of my persecutors.

But, the good of the thing is, that, while *the people* read this little book, the foes of reform do not read it. So that these latter, to their natural and habit-engendered stupidity, add, in this case, a refusal to use the ordinary means of acquiring knowledge. The *Blanketteers*, who cannot have less than about twenty thousand copies of this little book amongst them, and who have seen all its principles established and its predictions verified, to the very letter, by events; the Blanketteers, Sir, if they happened to read the debate, on which I am commenting, would smile at those *cheers*, with which the House honoured your comforting opinion. The Blanketteers would laugh at the idea of the Bank *adding to its stock of Gold*; they would laugh at the idea of the Bank, "*sending out gold and re-purchasing it*," as mentioned in another part of your speech; for, their little book has, long and long ago, taught them how futile, how childish, how contemptible, all such notions are.

I have said, that it is *impossible*, absolutely impossible, for the Bank to *add to its relative stock of gold*, except by direct *robbery*; that is to say, by a robbery committed in South America (not easy), or a robbery committed on the highway and in the houses at home: a dash at the gold baubles and silver spoons. I can see, I think, what is running in your head upon this subject. You seem to imagine, that,

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if the Bank were to issue a parcel of notes and to purchase gold with them, though they would thereby *add* to the *positive* quantity of notes, they would *diminish* the *relative* quantity; for that, the new notes would lodge gold equal to themselves in amount, which the old notes have not done. You will say, that if a man has a hundred one pound notes out, and has only one guinea in his coffers, and then put out another hundred notes and buy guineas with them, and put the guineas in his coffers, he will, by this operation, have *added to his relative quantity of gold.*

This is all very true, only you are supposing what it is impossible to effect. But, let us see how an attempt in this way would work in practice. Suppose the Bank to have 30 millions of notes in circulation, and to have half a million of gold in their coffers. Well; they want to add to their gold; *why?* Because they want *to be able to pay in gold.* They, therefore, buy ten millions of gold; but, they do it with an *additional issue of notes;* and, mind, this issue must exceed ten millions, because, the paper must be *below par*, else the Bank could now pay in gold, without any purchase of gold. Very well, then; the Bank has now ten and a half millions of gold in its coffers, and much more than forty millions of paper afloat.

You are aware, I suppose, that this new issue of paper would instantly send up prices to an enormous height; you are, I suppose, aware, that it would sink the value of the paper in the same proportion; if you are not aware of these things, the *Blanketeers* are. But, having this gold in its coffers, the Bank *will then begin to pay.* Indeed! If it does, I can assure it, that I, who hold 21 of its depreciated pound-notes, will instantly go and get twenty of its guineas for them. Thus will every other note holder act, to be sure: so that, in about two days all the gold will be drained out, and the quantity of paper left in circulation will be much greater than before the remedy was applied.

A worthy friend of mine, and one of the most pleasant, hearty, and able men I ever knew, the late Mr. BAVERSTOCK of Alton, used to say of the *Unitarians*, "I want to know what they "*would be at*; they will believe, "lieve, and will not believe; "they will have a creed, and "yet they will be infidels." Your financial faith, Sir, appears

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to me to be of this description. You think this paper-money a very *dangerous* thing; you think it big with fatal consequences, shocks and convulsions; and you think it *very easy*, perfectly *easy*, for the Bank to *pay out its gold* and then *buy it back again*, only by experiencing *some loss*. If this be true, Sir, what ground is there for alarm? If this be true, the borough-men may snore away the whole twenty-four, instead of twenty, hours of their time.

That the Bank is quite able to *pay its gold out*, and that it might effect the thing in a very short space of time, nobody, I believe, will dispute; but, as to getting it *back again*, that would be a very different matter: for, as we have clearly seen, it must be effected by the means of new issues of paper; and, therefore, supposing the paying out not to cause a total blow-up at once, the Bank would, when the operation was over, only be just where it was before the operation began.

The "*some loss*" it is, however, that puzzles me the most. I must quote your words here; for, as I can hardly believe my own eyes, my friends, the Blanketteers, may well doubt of their correctness upon this occasion. "Let the Bank of England send "out large quantities of gold "from their coffers. That would "alter the rate of exchange. "The Bank would have *no difficulty in purchasing gold to replenish their coffers*, though "certainly at *some loss*. But "the question was which was "best—that Great Britain should "lose the character for good "faith which she had hitherto "maintained, or that the Bank "*should be obliged to disgorge* "a part of the enormous profits "which it had made from the "country at large? (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Was it more desirable that the public credit "should be preserved, or that, "the Bank, having accumulated "millions upon millions, without contributing in the smallest "degree to the national expenditure, should be enabled to "persevere in that system!" (*Hear, hear, hear!*)

Yes, yes! they may cry, "*hear, hear, hear!*" But, Sir, the Blanketteers know very well that all this affected reproach on the *Bank* is mere words. Be you assured, that all of the Blanketteer order, are quite proof against every attempt to impose on them by affected reproaches against "*the Bank.*"

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Aye, Sir, "*Let* the Bank send "out *large quantities* of gold "from their coffers." They must get these quantities in first, to be sure; but, never mind that; let us, for argument's sake, suppose the larger quantities to be there. Well; now the gold is sent out. *How* is the Old Lady to get it back? She is, it seems, to *purchase it back*. With *what*? With *what*? With *what*, I say! Answer me, or I die! With *what* is she to *purchase* it back? Why, with a *new batch of notes*, to be sure; unless she go and plunder the gold and silversmiths' shops and rifle the butlers' pantries. In what other way is the old girl to *purchase* it back? A witch, indeed, she is, as far as tormenting goes; but, as to the turning of paper into gold, she is as harmless as the innocent in the cradle. It is all nonsense; it is all absurdity indescribable; for, what would be done *at home*, while the gold was travelling to and from the continent. But, never mind this: let us swallow this: she would, by the operation, supposing it to be as you say, gain nothing in the way of ability to pay.

But the "*loss*;" the "*some loss*," that she would experience; what can that mean, I wonder? Pray, Sir, what has the old Lady *to lose*? Do you happen to know the precise, or probable, place of deposit of any of her *valuables*? If you do, it would be but friendly dealing to apprize the Blanketteers of it. Do you allude to *her shop*, or to the *houses and lands and chattels* of the Directors and others of her Company? These she might, indeed, lose; but they would amount to little. Do you allude to the several millions of what is called *Stock*, or *Funds* or *Per Cents*. of which she is the *owner*? Come, here we have, then, the Great Book before us, and here we find her written down for, suppose, twenty millions. Now, then, what is your notion? That she can get people to come and purchase part of this stock *with gold* at *a loss* to her; that is to say, *below the current paper-price*? Why, Sir, the very thought of such an operation would send down her paper fifty to the hundred: and, an attempt to put it in practice would blow up the whole thing.

No: you mean none of these. Your meaning is, that she must give *more* for the gold in paper than the nominal value of the gold, if in coin; and a *higher*

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price than the real money-price, if in bullion: and this would be neither more nor less than making upon the whole of the operation, an addition, relative as well as positive, to the quantity of her paper.

There remains, then, as I said before, no way, but that of direct robbery and plunder, to add to the relative quantity of her gold by the *bringing in of gold*. I have, indeed, overlooked one way of effecting this grand purpose, and which way I must notice before I proceed to the second part of my subject. It is this; the land-owners might give up their estates, equipages, and other moveables. These would bring *gold* quickly. This gold might go to the Bank, and it would, as Mr. CATLEY truly said, enable the Old Lass to face her creditors, pay off her notes, and to pass once more for an honest dame. Whether these conscientious Land-men, who cheered you, and who are so anxious to see guineas return, would voluntarily acquiesce in this measure, I must leave for wiser men to decide; but that this (with the exception of the robbery and burglary plan) is the only means by which gold can be brought into the Bank in such a way as to augment the relative proportion of gold now in the coffers of that prime instrument, must, I think, now be clear as day-light to every one, who is not wilfully and obstinately blind.

We now come, Sir, to the *other* mode of augmenting the relative quantity of the cash of the Bank-men; namely; *the reducing of the quantity of their paper*. It is your opinion that this *can* be done in such a degree as to enable the Bank to resume cash-payments, and that, too, without producing any shock; and that by this means, the present system of sway in England may be carried on for ages yet to come.

In combatting this opinion I shall hardly be a cool, because I shall be a deeply interested, reasoner; for, if I could believe your opinion to be sound, I should be the most mortified and most miserable of human beings. It is a directly opposite opinion, firmly settled in my mind, that forms the sole foundation of my hope. Were it not for this hope, I should droop down into a state of despondency, and, without another effort, give up my unhappy country.

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But, whatever my wishes may be, they cannot impair my reasoning. I know well, that, according to the creed of your hearers, truth is not truth, if it drop from my pen: nor is this of any importance in my eyes: with the rest of mankind the case is different. They will reject, or adopt, my opinions, as these are unsupported, or supported, by undoubted fact and conclusive argument. I do not, like you, Sir, hold forth naked opinions to be adopted and acted upon by others: I tender not any thing of *mine* as the grounds of their belief: I tender reasoning, which is the common property of all mankind.

You say, Sir, that you think, that "means may be found, by "which cash-payments may be "*gradually* and *gently* brought "about, and a limit put to the "issue of paper, *without risking* "*any serious shock*." I say, that such means *cannot* be found.

You speak, indeed, with some *diffidence*: and, in a former sentence, you "are willing to ad"mit, that *mischief*, to a *certain* "*extent*, might arise." This is an altered tone. The bullion committee did not talk in this way. They, and especially your wise patron, Lord GRENVILLE, boldly said, that the Bank ought to be compelled to pay on a day to be fixed, as the *only means* of restoring the currency of the country to a *healthy* state. A man must be a Lord to utter a foppish phrase like this without being hooted.

But, to get rid of all loopholes, I admit your qualifications to mean, that the greatest of all possible precautions must be taken, and that, even with all these precautions, some *mischiefs*, as you call them, *something of a shock*, must and will take place. Even this view, which is the most favourable that you, an orator of the Borough-men, can take of the matter, would be quite sufficient to alarm any one but a besotted English Fundholder.

I, however, set at nought all your qualifications; and, I say, that the thing must go on as it now is, that the Bank *never* can pay, or, that the whole system, Borough men and all, must be blown up. This is my opinion; and I now proceed to state the reasons, upon which that opinion is founded.

The use of the words "*gradually*" and "*gently*" make a great drawl in the expression of your opinion. They discover

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great diffidence, great unfixedness, and, indeed, great *confusion*, in your mind. You advance like one of us Englishmen here, when, in the burning hot weather, we attempt to imitate the natives in going without shoes. You had been set up by your party to put to shame the poor stick that had been appointed to bring forward the bill. You were compelled to oppose him, and yet you had too much regard for your own reputation to say point-blank, that the Bank could be enabled to pay. Hence all your qualifications and reservations. But, you do not seem to have perceived, that these, in certain cases, lead to, instead of keeping clear of, embarrassment; and, that, instead of saving a general position, they destroy it altogether.

Precisely thus has it happened here; and, if I had a mind to make short work of your opinion, I might stop at showing the complete absurdity of this notion of a *gradual* and *gentle* resumption of cash-payments; but from this temptation to laziness I abstain, and will, therefore, reserve the folly of this notion for exposure in a subsequent part of my letter.

To enable the Bank to pay in gold on demand *the Old Lady must reduce the quantity of the floating paper*. Indeed you say, that *a great diminution* must take place in the currency of the country. Now, it is incontestibly true, that such *diminution* must create a great *lowering of prices*; and, it is not less true, that this lowering of prices must be *far greater in proportion* than the diminution in the quantity of paper-money. Because, the first effect of the lessening of the quantity of money afloat, is to straighten and throw into discredit many persons who got along pretty well amidst the abundance of money. The operations of this class, therefore, do not remain in *degree*, but are *put an end to altogether*. When money is plenty, it moves *quicker* than when it is scarce. A horse will be sold and re-sold *ten times* amidst abundance of money, and perhaps, not *twice*, when money is scarce; and, a shilling which passes twenty-one times a day from hand to hand, is just as efficient in its effect upon prices, on a national scale, as a guinea that changes possessor but once a day.

What, then, are the *unavoidable* consequences of a great diminution in the quantity of cur-

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roney afloat and of this lowering of prices? The ruin and misery of a great part of the people, and the actual starvation of many. These are the inevitable consequences of a lowering of prices by the means of a *change in the value of money*; and, it is clearly seen, that such change must be effected by a diminution of its quantity.

Suppose me to be a haberdasher. I have my shop full of goods, as many as I shall sell in a year. I lay in my stock to day. It amounts to three thousand pounds, two of which I have credit for. I deal in gloves only, and they are laid in by me at 4s. a pair. I begin selling; and 6s. a pair gives me a good profit. But, at the end of a month, the Bank goes to work to prepare for cash-payments. It draws in a great deal of its paper. Money becomes scarce. Prices fall. I can sell my gloves at only two shillings a pair, and I am done for at a blow. Thus it must be with the farmer, the manufacturer, and with every person engaged in trade, no matter of what sort.

A man borrows a thousand pounds, to-day, upon a house worth two thousand. Next month the Bank draws in its paper, and the house is not worth one thousand. He loses his house for ever.

Another dies to-day, leaves an estate to his son, worth three thousand pounds, with legacies to pay out of it to the amount of fifteen hundred. Before a sale of the estate takes place, the drawings in of the Bank have lowered the worth of the estate to one thousand. The legacies can be paid only in part, and the son is a beggar.

Wheat is 15 shillings a bushel, and a man, calculating upon that price, rents a farm at a hundred a year. The drawings-in at the Bank brings wheat down to 5 shillings a bushel. The man cannot pay his rent, his stock is seized and sold. He goes to jail, and his family to the poor-house.

In the meanwhile there is no money to pay the journeymen and labourers. Employment cannot be had; and starvation follows. However, men do not, in very great numbers, starve to death, without an effort to save life. Hence robberies and thefts; and, to prevent detection, come murders. This is the natural, this is the inevitable progress.

These would be the con-

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sequences if there were no taxes at all. What, then, must the consequences be, in a country where the taxes amount to double the sum that the rent of all the houses, lands, mines and canals amount to? And, how is the army and how is the interest of the debt to be paid, if the wheat fall to 5 shillings a bushel? You know very well, Sir, that they are now paid partly by *loans*, in one shape or another. You know, that there is not so much raised as is wanted, *by fifteen millions a year*. You know, that loans to this extent are annually made. You know that these loans go to augment the debt and the dividends, and that this requires an augmentation of the paper-money. How, then, are the dividends and the army to be paid, if prices be lowered to the standard of wheat at 5 shillings a bushel? If money enough cannot be raised now; if the debt keeps on increasing *now*, what is it to do when this lowering of prices shall take place? And you complain of the amount of the debt; blame the poor stick for not making an effort to reduce it; and, yet you would add to it by an attempt to make the Bank pay in coin! You would reduce it by *doubling its real amount!* Yes, by giving the fund-holder three bushels of wheat, where you now give him but one! You are sadly pestered! Sadly bemired!

As I am not for arguing upon any *disputed* fact, I do not think it necessary to bind myself down to wheat at *five* shillings a bushel. I am decidedly of opinion, that the resumption of cash payments would bring it down to 3 shillings a bushel. The Bank by its mere *attempt to prepare* for cash-payments brought down the wheat to *seven or eight* shillings a bushel. It brought it down to this price from 15 shillings a bushel; and, why are we to believe, that it would not have come down to 3 if cash payments had really been begun?

The miseries of 1815 and 1817 are hardly forgotten yet; and the acts of those days *never* will be. The thing saved itself then partly by violence; but, it could not have done that long; and, therefore, *out it tumbled its paper again*. Without *this*, dungeons and gags and gallowses and bayonets would have been, in a very short time, of no avail. It is not the return of *prosperity* that you now behold; but the return of *paper*.

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When the misery was at its height, the Bank put out their new gold and silver coin. The fools thought they were getting back to *the chink* of coin. But, compelled to slaughter a starving people, or to bring back the paper, they yielded, and brought the paper back; and instantly flew away all their gold and silver; and CASTLEREAGH, during the debate, says, *that the new Sovereigns were all melted down and sent out of the country!* The Bank have, in order to obtain a *respite*, put forth the paper again, and, *you*, their orator, would have them, in order to *avoid a convulsion*, draw it in again!

In "*Paper against Gold*" Letter XXV. I had said, that, if the Bank attempted to draw in its paper, universal ruin would ensue. Pray, Sir, read that Letter. Never mind its *cheapness*. The Blanketteers have all read it. Why should not you be as wise as they? If you had read it, before you had made your speech, you would, I think, not have said what you did. I there *proved*, that universal ruin *must* be the effect of such an attempt. That attempt was made, and the ruin came!

But, you wish the Bank to proceed *gradually* and *gently*. When a man has *means* that are dropping in *gradually*, he may pay gradually; but, this is quite another case. The Bank has *now* all the means that it ever will have, or can have. If the paper be drawn in gradually, the approach of the misery and ruin and uproar will be gradual, that is all. The want of employment will come on *gradually* and *gently*, but it will *come*. The convulsion will be the *end* of the scene, but there will be a *convulsion*. The notion of the man, who attempted, by slow, and very slow, very gentle degrees, to teach his horse to live without food, was much about upon a level with this notion of your's. The man succeeded, at last; but just at the moment, the *horse died*. To draw in the paper-money without reducing the interest of the Debt and all public pay and salaries, is to ruin all persons in trade, and to starve the labouring classes; and what signifies it whether this ruin and starvation come all at once, or by degrees?

But, besides this argument founded on the nature of the case itself, we have before us one of experience. The Bank did proceed *gradually*: it did proceed *gently*. It began drawing in, in 1814; it kept on, until 1816, about October. This was gently enough. The *nonsense* of those years will stand for ever recorded as the tip-top nonsense of the world. The trades-people called for cheap corn; the farmers and their greedy landlords for dear corn. The landlords would "*tell the* "*House of it*, that they would!" And away they went to the "*omnipotent* house" to *secure* them a fair price for their corn. The House passed a Corn Bill "to *protect* the farmer, that use-"ful member of society." And Corn grew *cheaper* and *cheaper*! I kept telling Mr. COKE and Mr. WESTERN, that they were upon a very wrong scent. I told

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them, that *the old Lady was at work*, and that no Corn Bills would protect them against *her* craft. The distresses kept on increasing; and, in 1815, on came the wise landlords again with long strings of resolutions for *the relief of agriculture*.

The true history of all the miseries of 1815, 1816, and 1817, is this: When *peace* came, the shame, the disgrace, the infamy, and, more than all these, the *danger* of not paying in gold, or, at least, not appearing to pay in gold, stared the administering tools full in the face. An attempt to *appear* to pay could not be made without drawing in a great deal of the paper. These tools were too weak to perceive the full extent of the consequences of even such an attempt. They appear, however, to have been afraid to make it. But, there was I, baiting them weekly with charges of insolvency. Foretelling that they never would pay; foretelling that they would finally be the scorn of all the world; and, in short, galling them in all sorts of ways; not forgetting to remind them, that when their paper money blew up, we should have *our parliamentary reform*. To work they went, therefore, drawing in their paper, and on came the ruin and misery; slowly, gradually, gently enough; but, still it *came on*. I kept, even-on, as the Yorkshire-men say, telling them that their scheme would not succeed; that they would never be able to pay; *that they must put out the paper again*. They, like fools as they were, *persevered*. We, as we had a right to do, pressed them *for Reform*. We beset them with arguments and prayers. They threw off their mask.

But while we gained the advantage of seeing them in their naked form, they gained nothing at all. They were, though well set out with dungeons and gibbets, compelled to *bring back the paper again*; and to stand before the whole world, as they now do. The ruin and misery they produced by this vain attempt opened the people's ears to the various causes of their sufferings; they made men listen, who before turned a deaf ear; they were the cause of the spread of knowledge more extensive than any people ever before possessed.

If, Sir, you want *more* proof, than has now been offered, to convince you, that the Bank *never* can pay, without producing a convulsion in the country, I confess my inability to furnish it; and, therefore, I here close my arguments upon the subject.

But, then, there remains the question, *what is to become of the thing at last?* That is quite another matter; and I am as fully convinced as you appear to be, that the consequences will finally be "*fatal*;" in which conviction I am as happy as you seem to be miserable. You say, in one part of your speech, that you are "perfectly aware, that there are "persons in the country, who "are *alarmed* at the prospects "of cash payments. These persons apprehend *all sorts "of horrors*; that *nobody will "get his rents*, that *the funds*

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"*will be at zero*, and that "there will be *a general bank-*"*ruptcy*." Oh, oh! They begin to see this, then, do they! Ah, a! I am glad to find that they are coming to my opinions at last! Very well, then, the thing is, I suppose, *to remain as it is?* Is that what they mean? If it be, they are deceived. It will not remain as it is long. The blowing up will come, whether the Bank draw in its paper, or not. The government must go on *borrowing*, unless they issue such quantities of paper as to make the guineas sell for thirty shillings. This borrowing must regularly add to the quantity of paper. This paper will, in spite of their teeth, come, at last, to an *open* contest with gold: *two prices* will shew their faces, and then, good b'y Bank-men and all the things! The taxes will be paid in paper; the law-men and spies and fund-holders and soldiers, will be paid in taxes; and the butcher, baker, and brewer will insist on having real money!

This will be the end, if the thing go on in its present way. Your scheme would, probably, bring the thing to a close sooner; but, be the end when it will, or how it will, the prediction of PAINE will be verified: the Borough-system will last as long as the paper-money-system, and not one moment longer.

Precisely *how* the thing will terminate, whether it will die gradually down into the bottom of the socket, or go out at once by a puff, is a question that I do not pretend to be able to determine: it is sufficient for me to know, that the total extinguishment will come; and that it will bring with it liberty and happiness; a King and people both enjoying their rights.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

"THE
"RESPECTABLE PART OF THE PRESS."

This was the description given by CASTLEREAGH of the *Daily London Press*. I have often had to describe that press, and to give it a very different description. But now my task is, not to describe it, but to give to my readers *its own description of itself*, as contained in certain articles lately published in *The Times* and the *Courier*, which two papers, whether as to language or conduct or principle or any other circumstance, may be regarded as a very good *sample* of the whole of "the *respectable* part of the press." These two *respectable prints* are also an excellent typical *specimen* of the whole of those persons, in every part of the kingdom, who have assumed the exclusive title of "*respectable people*;" who, to a man, are, to use the language of the Times, "*rascals* and *knaves*." The ground of the quarrel between the two respectable prints, appears to have been certain words in a speech of CANNING; the Times alleging

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that Canning had said something which the Courier asserted that he had not said. The Courier, which possesses a vast superiority in point of talent, has, it should be observed, for a long while been exposing the ignorance, the vulgarity, the disgusting pomposity, and even the bad grammar of the Times. The man, who writes in the Courier, may be a "*rascal*," as the *John Walter*, the chief proprietor of the Times, calls him. This is but too probable; but he holds a *sharp pen*; and he appears to have made *Walter* feel it; and to goad him in such a way as to make him, at last, *indiscreetly* give a loose to his vindictive feelings; which, as we shall by-and-by see, has led to *Walter's* own personal humiliation.—The following extracts from these two journals, which I place in succession as I find them, will speak for themselves.

Times, May 11.

"What do they mean by "this conduct (persecuting the "Times for its bad grammar)? "Do they wish to extort money "from us, as one of them did "from a person of much superior rank by a persecution exactly similar? Exactly in the "same way, we repeat, a distinguished nobleman and great "political character was incessantly assailed by them; 'till "at last, in order to expose "the motives of such infamous "conduct, some of his friends "laid before us the plainest "evidence of an unsuccessful "demand made upon himself "by one of those proprietors "for a thousand pounds. We "spared the *caitiff* then, in "consequence of a promise by "his partner that the abuse "of the above eminent statesman should cease. And who "is that partner? Why, the "very *fellow who forged the* "*French journal l'Eclair.*— "These are the *knaves* who, in "spite of our repeated cautions, "dare to calumniate this journal."

Courier, May 11.

"With respect to other parts "(contained in the above extract) of the article in *The* "*Times* of this day, we can "only consider them as the "usual resource of detected "falsehood and defeated imposture. After all its repeated assertions on the eve "of the general election, that "Ministers intended to propose "a great increase of the Civil "List; after all its vapouring "about the authority on which "it maintained the truth of that "statement; it now finds the "ground has wholly sunk from "beneath it, and it stands exposed to the reprobation of "the public for that audacious "election trick. In this situation of disgrace, to what does "it resort as a cover for its "shame?—To answer the *Courier*? Oh! no!—That is now "a hopeless task. Why;—it "attacks two out of the four of "the proprietors of this paper "about matters that have nothing to do with the subject, "and then asks if a paper acknowledged to be '*managed*'

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" by a third person, a proprie-
" tor also, be entitled to credit?
" This is the true Radical mode
" of reasoning, quite in the style
" of the present patrons and al-
" lies of *The Times*. If the jour-
" nal be overcome, refuted, ex-
" posed, disgraced; stab the
" characters of the private in-
" dividuals connected with the
" opponent journal. Deter your
" opponents from the assertion
" of truth, by attacking the
" private individuals connected
" with them. This has long
" been the resource of the Ra-
" dical press to intimidate op-
" position; but that the Lead-
" ing Journal of Europe should
" have fallen so low as to find
" it necessary to resort to such
" a mode of protecting the issue
" of falsehood, and covering
" the shame of detection, is as
" disgraceful to the daily press,
" hitherto moving within some
" bounds of decorum and self-
" respect, as it is, indirectly, a
" full admission of the complete
" and triumphant manner in
" which we have exposed, and
" cut down, and punished, im-
" posture."

Times, May 12.

" We go to work upon the
" *Courier* again, with the same
" nausea that a young surgeon
" returns *to a putrid body*
" which he has but half dis-
" sected. But it is now a duty
" that we owe the public, to
" exhibit the persons who con-
" duct that journal in their pro-
" per colours, so that, in future,
" whatever may be said in the
" *Courier* may be marked as
" undeserving credit, because
" it comes from men of *degrad-*
" *ed character*. Since they will
" dare to contradict what we
" upon our credit state and as-
" sert as true—since they will
" persevere in attempting to
" put themselves *upon a level*
" *with us*—we must make them
" feel, and inform the public,
" what they are. . . . . .
" . . . . . .

" We cannot, however, let
" the matter rest here. The
" *Courier* is something *worse*
" *than a spy*, even in the *worst*
" *sense* of that odious word:
" his task is to *vilify honest men*
" —not to detect thieves: he
" endeavours to falsify the con-
" temporaneous evidence of the
" passing events of the day.
" When any thing is officially
" true, he has to assert that it is
" false. This interloper, there-
" fore, between facts and their
" faithful report, must be ex-
" posed. We thank the 'Mana-
" ger' (a pretty manager he is)
" for introducing more of them
" to our notice. He says there
" are *four proprietors* of the
" *Courier*: we have spoken of
" two—*a forger of foreign jour-*
" *nals*, and an *attempter to ex-*
" *tort money*. For this expo-
" sure we are called Radicals:
" 'This (says the *Courier* of
" last night) is the true Radical
" mode of reasoning.' Would
" it not have been as proper to
" say that it was the true Radical
" mode of acting, *to forge* and
" attempt to *extort money*? But
" if the exposure of such crimes
" be Radicalism, we must per-
" severe. The truth is, that
" all the proprietors of the
" *Courier* are Radicals and Jaco-

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" bins up to this present day. " There is a third proprietor, " the manager tells us, of that " journal. He also, we more " than suspect, *was once obliged* " *to abscond on account of his* " *plots against Government.* Is " it not hideous that *such* " *wretches* are to be calling " honest industrious Englishmen " 'Radicals,' for faithfully re- " porting the situation of that " country which their calumni- " ators would have overthrown, " and which they would now " subvert and destroy if *they* " *could get a farthing* by the " mischief?—But there is a " fourth proprietor, it seems— " the present manager. We " recollect his *applying at this* " *office for employment*, and he " *was rejected.* We shall make " him wince now: we may *flay* " *him hereafter.* Have not his " atrocious falsehoods, his re- " peated and direct denials of " what he knew to be true, " brought all this mischief on " himself and his *horde*? Has " he any regard to veracity in " the daily conducting of his " concern? What Judges state, " what Juries find, what sena- " tors say, he *belies with the* " *most hardened effrontery.* " With him there is no regard " to truth or falsehood; that " which suits, or according to " his narrow understanding, " seems to suit, the cause which " he has at present in hand, is " that which he asserts and " maintains. These creatures " have repeatedly set them- " selves up against us—not in " the way of argument, for that " we should have disregarded, " but upon the ground of *credi* " *bility.* It was in vain for us " to depute the most acute and " honourable men, with injunc- " tions to bestow the closest and " most impartial attention on " the matter on which it was " their duty to report, if we af- " terwards suffered men devoid " of character to contradict re- " ports thus faithfully given, " and on no evidence whatever " to swear that *that* was false " which we, on the evidence of " our senses, stated to be true. " It would have been better for " us to report from imagination " than tranquilly to suffer our " reports to be contradicted " from imagination. We have " been forced, therefore, to ex- " hibit the characters of those " who have had the assurance " to put their words against " ours. If their motive were to " extort money from us, they " will now feel that they have " failed: if it were to extort it " from others, by a persevering " zeal in calumniating us, we " think we have also rendered " them incapable of obtaining " this end."

Courier, May 19.

" We intreat the *Old Times* " to persevere in the course it " has adopted. It is much bet- " ter than *private* swaggering. " There are some men who can " never be rendered so effec- " tually contemptible as by per- " mitting them to unmask them- " selves. We cannot answer for " the taste of the readers of this " Journal; but certain we are, " if they have a relish for such " offal as has been served up to

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" them yesterday and to-day, " they can enjoy it at a much " cheaper rate, and almost as " good, by purchasing six-penny " worth from the regular week- " ly purveyors of ribaldry, blas- " phemy and sedition. We " must confess, however, that " we feel a little commiseration " for the persons who are foam- " ing at us, because we are con- " scious that we have sometimes " chastised them with too un- " relenting a hand, and the " agony of punishment will goad " the dullest animal into phren- " zy. We have exposed this paper " to public derision, for its *ig- " norance of grammar*; we " have *laughed at its logic*; we " have *ridiculed its criticisms*; " we have detected its false- " hoods; we have recorded the " sundry occasions, on which its " principles caused it to be " kicked out of public reading " rooms and libraries; in short, " we have done every thing " which could mortify a pom- " pous man, swelling in all the " frothy grandeur of his own " self-importance. Can we, " then, wonder that in the tor- " ture it endures it should rave? " We wish we could administer " the slightest consolation, in " the way of a promise, not to " castigate it in future, as we " have done in times past. But " we cannot; and the only fa- " vour we solicit is, that while " we expose its public conduct " it will continue to libel our " private character. By these " means, we shall be fellow- " labourers in the same good " cause, that of stamping upon " it an imperishable stigma. It " may rely upon one thing, that " no provocation in its power " to give, shall ever induce us " (*though not lacking materials*) " to court the infamy of a pri- " vate libeller. Were we, in- " deed, capable of the task, we " should undertake it against " fearful odds, because we have " a character to lose. The no- " torious Colonel Chartres, " whose profligacy has been im- " mortalized in the epitaph upon " him by Arbuthnot, used to " say, ' he would give ten " thousand pounds for a good " character, because he could " make twenty thousand by it.' " This is a speculation not un- " worthy the attention of the " *Old Times*.

" There is a passage in Lord " Bolingbroke's Works, which " we are tempted to quote, as " a singularly felicitous descrip- " tion of the writers who ex- " hibit themselves in this Jour- " nal. ' The *flowers they gather* " *at Billingsgate*,' says his " Lordship, speaking of such " persons in his days, ' to adorn " and enliven their productions, " shall be passed over by me, " without any reflection. They " assume the privilege of *water- " men* and *oyster-women*. Let " them enjoy it in that good " company, and exclusively of " all other persons. They cause " no scandal: they give no of- " fence; they raise no sentiment " but contempt in the breasts of " those they attack; and it is to " be hoped, for the honour of " those whom they would be " thought to defend, that they " raise, by this low and dirty " practice, no other sentiment

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" in them. When such authors " grow scurrilous, it would be " highly unjust to impute their " scurrility to any prompter, be- " cause they have, in them- " selves, all that is necessary to " constitute a scold; *ill-man-* " *ners, impudence,* a *foul mouth,* " and *a fouler heart.*' We can- " not conclude without calling " the attention of this *respecta-* " *ble* journal to an article in our " preceding columns, where it " will find another (the thou- " sandth) proof of its undeviat- " ing regard for truth. These " are the things which have " made ' *the galled jade* " *wince.*' "

Times, May 13.

" It will be observed, we are " sure, that the *Courier* of last " night does not attempt to " gainsay or refute any single one " of the grave charges which " we brought against the cha- " racters of the proprietors of " that journal. Our disclosure, " therefore, of the secret prac- " tices of *those rascals* is be- " yond the reach of contradic- " tion. They stand openly ex- " posed before the whole coun- " try; *not so much as we can* " *expose them,* certainly, but " quite enough for the purposes " of truth and justice at pre- " sent. And these are the " *knaves* who pretend to call " the loyal subjects of this mo- " narchy Radicals and Jaco- " bins! The *fellow* who ap- " plied to us for employment " pleaded distress as his mo- " tive: so also we find, on re- " curring to the letter, did the " other proprietor urge his em- " barrassments as his motive for " seeking to extort the public " money from an eminent offi- " cial character. The effect of " disappointment is the same in " both cases: in one, the cau- " tious retainer of the national " purse is vilified without mercy; " in the other, we, the provident " conservators of our own cha- " racter and property, are day " by day slandered and belied. " It became high time, there- " fore, that we should put an " end to these disgraceful prac- " tices."

Times, May 17.

" We certainly applied se- " veral *harsh terms* (in allu- " sion to a spurious French jour- " nal) to *the gentleman* whom " we *thought* the chief propriе- " tor of the *Courier, imagin-* " *ing,* from his supposed situa- " tion in that journal, that he " must have sanctioned the im- " putation of the intentional " falsehood and unfounded fa- " brication cast upon *The Times* " on Saturday se'nnight. But " that *gentleman* having disa- " vowed the sanction or allow- " ance of that or any other *un-* " *grounded charge* against *The* " *Times,* we feel it *our duty* " to express *regret* for the ex- " pressions we used, which we " now wish to consider as " WITHDRAWN."

Peccavi! Down comes this pompous *Walter,* plump! Down upon his bare knees! He says he *feels* it his duty to express REGRET at, and to WITH- DRAW, his assertions respect- ing " the *gentleman*" whom he had before repeatedly called a

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forger, a *knave*, a *rascal*, and a *wretch*. Whether this *feeling* arose from pure *fear* of a pistol, or was of a real corporeal kind, proceeding from a *horse-whip*, a *cane*, or a *newly-soled boot*, I know not; but, certain it is, that the *feeling* produced a great effect on the conduct of Mr. Walter. But, though he may now (and, I dare say, he will always, *in future*) call those "*gentlemen*," whom he has exhibited as *forgers*, *knaves*, *rascals*, *wretches*, and *extorters of money*; the public will have no motive for changing its opinions and conclusions upon the subject. *Walter* may express his *regret* and *withdraw* his charges; but, the charges will remain before the public; and, for myself, all I have to say, is, that *these two newspapers have been calumniating me for years*; and that *both of them are constant calumniators of the Radicals*.

I hope, that Mr. DUANE, of Philadelphia, and many other of the American Journalists, will give publicity to the whole of the above article. I have often told the people of America what an infamous thing this London press is: they may now see the proof in its own words; and it is a duty to lay this proof before them.

WM. COBBETT.

London, May 28, 1820.

COVENTRY ELECTION.

The Petition from me, on this subject, cannot be proceeded in, the gentlemen, whose names were put in as sureties, having declined to enter into the recognizances. While I, by no means, blame them for this; while I think that the terrible state of things justify this great caution on their part, I must for myself say, that I have fulfilled my promise to the Freemen of Coventry by doing all in *my power* to obtain justice for them.

I shall next week, publish an account of the *Subscription* and of the *deficiency*. There is a sum to make up; and, now that I have *time* (for I have not had it before), I will give the public a full account of this matter.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 36.---No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, June 3, 1820. [Price, 6d.

NOTIFICATION.

The quarter of a sheet at the end of this Register will be found to contain the Title Page, Table of Contents and Index to the last volume.

TO

THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,

On the recent affair at Dover, where the jail was broken open and prisoners rescued in the presence of soldiers—On his Lordship's speech relative to distresses in America—On the new Loan and the prospect before us.

London, 1 June, 1820.

My Lord,

When you began to climb the ladder of wealth and power, I began to write to the people of this country. I have addressed more essays to you by name than to any other person. I have followed you pretty closely throughout your career. *Thirty-six Volumes* of this work contain the true history of the affairs, in which you have been engaged; and about *four more*, (during four quarters of a year) will follow you, I think, to the end of your tether. I have addressed to you, in the course of these thirty-six volumes, more than a hundred letters; and, I dare say you have, a thousand times, wished me and my Letters at the Devil. In sickness and in health, in prosperity and adversity, in prison and at large, by land and by water, at home and abroad, I have stuck to you. Whatever sins I am to answer for, that of having neglected my duty towards you will never be numbered amongst them; and, having discharged it faithfully for so many years, I mean to continue to do it to the *end*; which, as I said before, I shall, I am convinced, have to record before the close of the *fortieth* volume of this work, which will be closed in June, 1821; and, by that time, we shall see a *radical* change of system; or, it will have become too perilous for any one to venture to *print* any thing hostile to the system; for, the system, if it exist at all be-

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yond that time, will become too desperate and ferocious to be met by any individual, who employs his pen in any other way than that of chanting its *praises!* After that time, or thereabouts, we must wait for the *end* in silence.

The first topic, upon which I have to address your Lordship, at this time, is, the late *Jail-Adventure at Dover*, which has some circumstances belonging to it of a nature deeply interesting to the country. I shall not speak of the matter from any knowledge that I possess through any channel except that of the corrupt (or *respectable*) London Press; though *I do possess other knowledge of a very singular and interesting description.* I shall take the thing as I find it in the corrupt and humbuging news-papers, and then put a few questions to your Lordship on the subject. The following is the account contained in all these papers:—

"DOVER, MAY 26.—On Wednesday, the Lively Excise cutter captured a smuggling galley. The crew, eleven persons, were landed here, and were committed to Dover gaol until *ten of them could be removed to some receiving ship.* This morning was fixed for the removal, but it being thought a rescue would be attempted, a body of constables, the *seamen of the preventive service,* and *military, were drawn up in and outside of the gaol.* The time of removal was 12 o'clock, and a large body had collected, which continued increasing every minute, with every disposition to riot and rescue. The Mayor, and a brother magistrate, gave strict injunctions to the constables to keep the peace, and to the *seamen and military not to charge unless absolutely driven to do so in self-defence.* The smugglers were on the point of being brought out, when a general shout was set up by the crowd of "*Liberty for ever!*" and a number of stones, brick-bats, &c. were thrown. The aspect of affairs at this time became so serious that the Mayor directed the removal of the prisoners *to be suspended;* and it was *fortunate* he did, for there is little doubt that *bloodshed and even murder, would have ensued. An officer was wounded severely,* and the *magistrate received a contusion.* The mob then proceeded to farther vio-

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" lence, and notwithstanding " the *Riot Act was twice read* " from the gaol window by the " Mayor, commenced an attack " on the gaol, unroofed the top, " *threw part of the side wall* " *down, released the whole of* " *the smugglers, with several* " *others confined in the gaol,* " *and succeeded in getting them* " *clear off*, their imposing num- " bers *intimidating the officers* " *from acting*. One of the most " active was taken, and placed " in a chaise to be conveyed to " Canterbury, but a mob stop- " ped the chaise, *and released* " *the rioter*. Since the release " of the smugglers *the town re-* " *mains tranquil.*"

Now, my lord, you are the *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports* at a salary of *some thousands a year*, and I ask you whether this be *true*, or *false*, in point of fact? The facts alone are interesting, even at the first glance; but, what are they, when they come to be looked closely into? Dover is a *garrison town*; it has a strong body of *Soldiers* in it and close to it; and yet, was *the jail broken open and the prisoners rescued at noon-day*? Are these facts *true*, my lord?

First, it may be useful to observe, that the "*seamen of the preventive service*" are, in this respect, *Soldiers*. Then there was it seems, *a body of Soldiers besides*. These troops were *drawn up round the jail*; and yet the jail was broken into, and the prisoners released!

It seems that the magistrates, gave *strict injunctions* to the military, and even to the *constables*, not to charge, "unless absolutely driven to do so *in self-defence*." How different this from the orders given by the *magistrates of Manchester*! They did not order the soldiers to wait till they should be *attacked*. They ordered them to act, to make an attack, before any thing had been done by the people either against the soldiers or against any body else. However, there are few persons, I believe, who will blame the Magistrates of Dover.

But, the military, or, at least, one of them, *was attacked*, it seems, and the magistrates too. "An OFFICER *was wounded* " *severely*, and the MAGIS- " TRATE *received a contusion*." And yet the troops did *not charge nor fire*! And, though the riot act was read (which it was not at Manchester), the people proceeded to pull down, to make a practical breach in,

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the side of the jail, and released their friends, while, of course, the SOLDIERS, the seamen of the *preventive service*, the *magistrates* and the *constables* stood looking on; aye, while the SOLDIERS, with muskets in their hands and with bayonets at the top of the muskets, hearing the Dover Boys shouting out "*Liberty "for ever,*" and seeing them making a breach in the wall of the jail and leading forth their friends in triumph!!!

What! did the OFFICER hold his tongue when he got the *severe wound*? Did the *magistrate* put up quietly with his *contusion*? But, the OFFICER, my lord! Did the OFFICER *do* nothing and *say* nothing, when he was wounded, and severely wounded too? Did he not tell his men to *charge* or to *fire*? Can this be so? What a wonderfully patient OFFICER, and what an incomparably patient *magistrate!* But, above all things, what a patient and considerate and self-denying officer! And yet, if this account be true, these gentlemen, wonderful as it may seem, must have *refrained from ordering* the soldiers to fire or charge; for, otherwise, the soldiers would of course, have fired or charged; or, the soldiers and preventive seamen would have REFUSED to fire or charge, which was *not the case*, of course; for, if *such a thing* had happened; if so very important a thing had happened; a thing of such immense importance, the *respectable press* would surely have noticed it; and, indeed, the thing would have been mentioned *in parliament*, and especially in the "faithful Com-"mons," before now; or, at least, one would naturally suppose so. Oh, no! the SOLDIERS did not, I take it for granted, REFUSE TO FIRE; for, if they had, the nation would, to a certainty, have heard of it long before now! So that we must ascribe the absence of bloodshed to the extreme patience, forbearance, and gentleness of the officer and the magistrate, for which it would be hard indeed to blame them.

However, if the whole story be not a *romance*, it is, it must be confessed, a very *wonderful story*; and it is not less wonderful, that *so very little should have been said about it* by the respectable part of the press and by the *talkers* about such mat-

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ters! If only *half* a dozen poor fellows are seen together out in a road or a field in the *North*, what a hue and cry is set up about *training* and *drilling* and *plotting* and *conspiring*. If twenty of them meet in the open day, with sticks in their hands, the COURIER calls it a *rebellion*, and the "*ladies* of HUDDERSFIELD treat the *Soldiers* to a "grand dinner." Nay, the same atrocious tool of corruption, tells us, that, in Scotland, men are actually imprisoned for *Radicalism*, and even *on suspicion of Radicalism!* While, the men of Kent make a practical breach in a jail-wall, at noon-day, and let out their friends, and send them away without molestation, while SOLDIERS, constables and magistrates stand looking on, without making any other attempt at resistance than merely *reading the riot act!* And, this occurrence is taken no more notice of than is taken of the death of some insignificant fellow, whose relations pay the respectable press to record the fact of the breath having left his body.

How are we to account for this, my lord? The magistrates did, it seems, cause one of the breach-makers, one of the besiegers, to be seized, to be put into a post-chaise, to be chained to two constables, and ordered the post-chaise to drive off for Canterbury Jail. But, the besiegers stopped the chaise, and *released the prisoner!* Now, my good *Lord Warden*, how could all this be, in a place *full of* SOLDIERS? This was a very deliberate act. The besiegers did, some say, hasten to the *turnpike-gate*; *half a mile out of the town*; that they there stopped the post-chaise; knocked off the chains from their friend; and, having put the two constables back into the post-chaise, *sent it back to the magistrates!* "Since which," says the account, "the *town remains tranquil*." And, the corrupt press cries, with one accord: MUM! MUM! HUSH, HUSH, HUSH!

I shall not describe to you, my lord, my *feelings* on this occasion. The whole story will come out by-and-by; but, having fluttered here round about the flame for a while, I shall now, before I singe myself, fly off to your late speech on the Marquis of LANSDOWNE's motion on *commercial relief*, during which speech it pleased you to speak of the *Distresses in America*,

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upon which subject I can and will never hear you descant without making some observation.

The deep distress of *this* country you acknowledged; but you said, that it *did not arise from the Debt and Taxes.* Oh, no! We, who say it does arise from those causes *must be wrong*; or, the Debt and Taxes *must be bad things*; and this must, for reasons too obvious to mention, not be allowed by any means. But, as it required, in answer to all our arguments, something more than mere assertion, your Lordship resorted to an argument of experience in this way. The United States of America has a very small Debt and very trifling taxes; yet the distress is greater there than in any other part of the world; *therefore*, our distress cannot arise from our Debt and Taxes.

Now, if the premises were true, the conclusion might be false, because the United States might have evils that we know nothing of; and their distress might arise from these evils. But, I need not play with this false logic, when I have to say, that *your premises are false*; and this I have a right to say, because you can have none but hearsay-information on the subject, and I speak from my own personal knowledge relative to the facts.

It is very true, that those merchants in America, who trade with England, and especially those who import *English goods* are in distress, or have been *ruined*, as far as the loss of that trade goes; but, what is that to the *country at large?* Where are the *evidences* of that distress of which you talk? Do the *farmers* of America go roaring to the Legislature for *relief?* Do *they* tell the Congress that they are ruined, and that they must abandon their farms? Do *they* complain of increased poor-rates, of a want of employment for the poor, and of their intolerable burdens? Do *they* ask for Corn-Bills and Wool-Bills and all sorts of mad nonsense? Do you hear of any people *starving* in America? Are there bands of poor creatures there sent about begging with a waggon-load of nails, as the poor famished things at Birmingham are? Do you hear of men being *harnessed like horses*, and set to draw gravel, in carts, to repair the high-ways? Do you see any subscriptions for giving lodging to the *houseless poor?* No: it is a plentiful country and the people are happy; and I thank God that it is so; for, as long

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as that remains despotism will in vain strive to strangle freedom.

But, if what you say about the distresses of America were true, what *praise do you pronounce on her government!* That government talks about no dungeon-bill, no gagging bill, no banishment bill, no bills relating to what are called blasphemy, sedition and treason. No degree of *distress* can, then, it seems, make the people *dislike that government*, nor make that government afraid of the people. That, then, is a thing you ought to take into view. Why did you not *mention that too?* That was a thing worth mentioning. Why, then, did you omit it?

It is of vast importance to make this people believe, that the *Americans* are in *distress;* because, if that can be done, then the causes of the distress here can be the better disguised. But, even if this were to succeed, it would only answer a temporary purpose. It would not *stay the plague* for a day. The poison is at work here in a way that nothing but *a radical* cure will put a stop to; and the longer the cure is delayed, the more sure it is, that only a radical one will do.

Your lordship drew so strong a picture of *American distress*, that you thought it necessary to say, that *your feeling towards America was very friendly.* Oh, lord, yes! The Americans know *all about that!* They do not, indeed, forget CAPTAIN HENRY, whose *friendly* visit to them was while *your lordship* was Secretary for Foreign Affairs! But, they neither want nor care about your friendship. They are in a state *not to fear your enmity;* and they care, in short, nothing at all either about your friendship or your hatred. The last war *settled the point* between the two countries. Every man who really loves America, rejoices at the *distresses* there, which you would have us think so much of. They are confined to *English Houses* and those who import from England; and those have been ruined, in great part, by *the operations here.* Do you not see, that, *by raising the value of money here, you augment the debts due from those men to men here?* To be sure you do; and this has been the great cause of their failure. They cannot *pay their debts here.* So much the better for America; and so much the better for us, against whom the *six acts* were levelled. It is

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the *English trade* in America that is in *distress*; and nothing else. The traders with England, who live at New York, are affected by the Bank Works, just as much as the traders of Liverpool are. And so they ought. But, what is *their* distress to the *people of America?* Our own handful of speculators and jobbers and traders are ruined; and then we cry out, that *all America* is ruined! It is surprizing how little you all seem to know of that country. There are, in *Cobbett's Parliamentary Register*, No. 6; or, rather, there will be, *two notes* on LORD MILTON'S speech on the *Wool-Bill*, which, if his lordship would but get them by heart, would be of everlasting service to him. And, if *your* lordship were to read them they would be of use to you too.

I now come to the last of my proposed topics: *your intended new loan* and our *brilliant prospects*. Last year you said, that *no more loans would be wanted in time of peace*. I laughed, as soon as I saw the news-papers containing this, and I sent my laughing home. It is quite useless to waste one's time in any remarks upon the thumping loan now about to be made. It is only another *patch*; and, in the end, it will only add to the "*mighty crash*." However, it is very true, that men are not such fools as they were. They now, for the far greater part, see, and say, that "*the thing cannot go on*." This, which was long an observation confined to my Register, is now in every one's mouth. The *loyal* fellows, who, only a few years ago, would not have scrupled to murder me, if they could have done it without risk, merely because I *talked* in this way, now talk in this very way themselves. Whole crowds now meet, even about the 'Change, and declare, that the thing cannot go on. Those who used to believe in the solidity of the funding system as firmly as I believed in its hollowness, now shake their wise pates at the mention of it. They are gaping to see what Parliament will do; and they may, before they see any thing done, gape their breath all out. However, there are yet to be found some, who cannot see clearly. Puppies of more than nine days. One of these has discovered, as he thinks, that I was wrong, in my letter to Mr. Tierney. I shall (below) insert this letter of S. H. and my an-

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swer. They may be useful to your lordship.

I cannot conclude without first noticing the debate of *Tuesday last*, in the House of Commons, on the subject of the agricultural distresses. How surprized your worthy colleague seems to have been, when he found himself in a minority! From the result of this debate, one would almost suppose that the land-owners were beginning to see that their estates must finally march off, if they do not arrest them in time. I look upon this division as being the first little *trial of strength* between the land and the funds. Mr. Home Sumner is reported to have said that *he would not by any means wish for the smallest deduction to be made from the interest of the debt.* And if that be the case, I cannot see, for my part, what was the object of his motion. As a measure to prevent the fundholders from grabbing the last acre of land, I can see clearly enough, that it is necessary to make them pay a high price for their corn. But, I can see equally clear, that if their interest continue to be paid in full, they will, at any rate, in a very short time, have the whole of the land. Mr. Sumner thought proper to speak in very harsh terms of the petitioners for Parliamentary Reform. Whereupon I beg leave to tell Mr. Sumner, that the petitioners for Parliamentary Reform will not, in the approaching struggle between the land and the funds, *side with the enemies of reform.* I, for my part, want to see a radical reform of the House of Commons; universal suffrage and annual parliaments; and I never will be on the side of those who are against such reform. I know it to be agreeable to the constitution; I know it to be for the good of the country and of the king; and I shall always be on the side of those who will be in favour of such reform, whether

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they be land-holders or land-holders; whether they "*came in with the conqueror*," or whether they have been hatched in the hot-bed of bank-paper, as maggots are hatched in the rump of a sheep. So that Mr. SUMNER may do as well, perhaps, to reflect a little before he wantonly flings dirt at us another time. I myself have been a great deal too much of a stickler for the nobility and gentry. Since the treatment we have now of late received at their hands, my mind is a good deal altered; and since they will despise us of the "*Lower Orders*," I am for turning round to our brethren of the Funds, who have all come up within these thirty years. Yes, yes, I am for going to these our brethren, who were, for the far greater part, waiters at taverns, shop-boys, porters, and the like. They are too green yet to pretend that they came in at the Conquest; and, especially if they should stand in need of our friendship to secure to them the payment of the debts due to them, they will be disposed to treat us with a little civility, which is more than we get, or than we have got, at any rate, of late, from the hands of the others, of whom, it seems, upon this occasion, Mr. SUMNER was the organ, and who speaks of us and our petitions in most opprobrious terms, tho' he complains of Mr. BARING's *incivility* to the agriculturists, who, it seems, *can get petitions written for them* as well as other folks.

Both sides, during the debate, had a slap at us! This will go on for a little while, perhaps, But one side or the other will become more kind to us, I hope, before it be long; and, for that side I shall be, let it be which it may.

I am, my Lord.

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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LETTER TO MR. COBBETT,

From S. H. informing him that Gold is really coming into the Bank.

London, May 27th, 1820.

Sir,

1. I have for many years been a reader of your writings, and a convert to your opinions on the Bullion question; and, in many conversations which have taken place, from time to time, between myself *and a friend of mine*, who holds a contrary opinion, I have always come off victoriously, by means of the arguments in your publications; so that I thought I had entirely put him to silence. But very lately he has returned to the attack with new courage, and he has brought forward a statement, which I confess I am not prepared totally to gainsay.

2. He not only asserts that Gold Bullion is *coming fast* into this country, but also (and in direct contradiction to your positive assertion) that it is coming into the *hands of the Bank, without the Bank increasing the quantity of its paper.*

3. Upon my asking him to explain, he replied that the merchants, who discount bills at the Bank, purchase goods which they sell on the Continent, and receive Bullion for a part of the price of these goods; —that, in consequence of the high rate of exchange in favour of this country, the quantity of Bullion thus sent over, in payment of these goods, is very considerable—and that these merchants pay this Bullion to the Bank to take up their bills; or, what amounts to the same thing, that they are sending it to the Mint, to be coined into sovereigns, with which they take up these bills.

4. On looking back to your letter to Mr. TIERNEY of the 1st

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July 1818, the only observation which I can find, bearing on this point, is the answer which you gave to the Member of Parliament who asked, "Why "goods might not be sent "abroad, and sold for Gold, "and the Gold brought to the "Bank?" To which you reply, "*that the owners of the "goods would keep the Gold "for their own use.*"

5. Now, it appears that, if these owners of Gold are indebted to the Bank, one of the first uses they must make of it will be to pay their debts with it; and therefore my antagonist says, that your answer to the M. P. is not a satisfactory one, and that you have taken weak ground, when you assert that gold *cannot come* into the possession of the Bank without its increasing its quantity of notes;—and it would seem that, if what is stated by my antagonist is really going on, Sir, your answer to the M. P. does not afford sufficient explanation.

6. My friend stated another circumstance which may tend to illustrate this point. He said that, even although the owners of this Gold *were not debtors* to the Bank; and did not pay this Bullion to the Bank in liquidation of debt; yet as they must do *something* with it when they got it, and would not keep it as a dead stock on hand, they would probably send it to the Mint to be coined, in order to employ it in their trade: and that thus, by bringing it into general circulation as coin, the Bank are able to withdraw from circulation an equal quantity of their notes, without diminishing the amount of the sum wanted for general use.

7. I cannot help acknowledging that my friend's statement, if it is founded in fact, *has staggered me considerably*; and it

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seems to be proved, both by the state of the Exchanges and the price of Bullion, that very considerable quantities of Gold have already been brought in, and will continue to be so, as long as the Exchanges with the nations of the Continent keep up to their present rates.

8. I do not know if you will think the circumstances I have stated worthy of any printed answer or notice; but, at any rate, an acknowledgment of the receipt of this communication, by a single line at the end of your Register, will greatly oblige your

Old Correspondent
and Reader,
S. H.

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER.

London, 1st June, 1820.

SIR,

You tell me that your friend's statement has *staggered* you considerably; and if this be really the case, I am sorry to tell you that I possess no cure for the staggers, though many people have said that I deal too much in horse-physic. As to the fact of the Bank being now *getting a great parcel of gold into its hands*; all that I can say is, that when that fact shall be proved to me upon the oaths of two credible witnesses who are not Bank Directors, and who have in no wise an interest in the concern, then I will believe the fact, and not before. Mine is reasoning; and I am not to be answered by a man's telling me that *he knows the contrary to be true*. Whenever I meet with a logician that proceeds in that way, my hand seems to wander forth involuntarily in search of a broom-stick. A Scotsman, talking to me, once, in Hampshire, about the seasons, insisted that Scotland was a warmer climate than Hampshire. When I began to *reason* with him, he asked me if I had

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ever been in Scotland. I said I had not. Then, said he, "I was "born in Scotland and brought "up there, and I must know the "fact, and I assure you that the "climate of Scotland is a great "deal warmer than this." To which I answered, "and I as-"sure you that I never will "have any argument with you "as long as I live."

However, Sir, in the third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs of your letter, you produce that *reasoning* of your friend, which, it seems, has, with the aid of his statement of facts, *staggered* you considerably. You say that your friend says, that merchants who get *discounts* at the Bank, purchase goods with them, send these goods abroad, get gold back for the goods, and *take up their bills at the Bank with the gold*. Now, Sir, suppose me fool enough to believe this; or, rather, suppose the merchants such extraordinary fools as to do this; how is my doctrine herein contradicted by experience? Has not the Bank increased the quantity of its paper by this operation? Has it not given out the paper in discounting the bill which is taken up with the gold? And does not that paper *remain out* as long as the gold *remains in* the Bank? And is not this one of the very silly operations which I hypothetically put in my Letter to Mr. Tierney? If, indeed, the merchant who had got the bill discounted at the Bank were to carry in the gold that he got for the goods and also the notes that he took out for his bill; then there would be gold got in without an increase of the paper; but, until men shall be foolish enough to do this, the Bank never can get gold in without first giving out paper for it.

In your 6th paragraph your *friend* is not very happy in what you call his illustration. He appears to have perceived that there was some little jumble or

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hitch in his foregoing statement; and therefore in this sixth paragraph, you say he told you that, even though the owners of the gold owed nothing to the Bank; and of course did not pay the gold into the Bank in liquidation of debt, they would do *something* with it; would get it coined, probably, and employ it in their trade; that is would thus get into general circulation as coin, and that the Bank would be able to withdraw some of their notes from circulation in a quantity equal to the amount of this coin, without diminishing the amount of the sum wanted for general use by the community.

Well! what now? Whoever said the contrary? Surely this did not *stagger* you! What should this stagger you for? Your friend never could think of staggering you by this! You must have a devil of a vertigo if this makes you reel! What I said was (if you will please to steady yourself and et over your staggers), that the Bank could not *get gold* in without first encreasing the quantity of its notes. I never said that the Bank could not draw in its paper; but, on the contrary, I said it could, and said at the same time that it had done it in the year 1816.

I will just observe, however, that this bringing over gold for goods, and putting it into general circulation is, at present, perfect nonsense. And, I will observe further, that I think it very likely that quantities of bullion may have been brought from abroad and even lodged in the Bank. And this I take it has been done by the assistance of those drafts on the English Treasury of which Mr. Baring

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spoke in the House of Commons the other day, and which he said *were circulating all over the continent*. Now, this is no other than a loan made in bullion; and if this loan be finally paid in Bank-notes not issued from the Bank for the purpose, but *raised in taxes* and given to the persons who have lent the gold, and who will be fools enough to take the paper and carry it away out of the country or destroy it, then the government will have a parcel of gold of its own in the Bank; but even then the gold will not belong to the Bank, and not one single step will have been taken towards a general payment in specie. And thus the whole of your friend's comforting conundrum is blown into the air.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. If you do me the favour to write to me again, pray let me have your real name at full length.

TO THE READERS.

The first Number of the present Volume being out of print, and much applied for, is now reprinted. If Mr. Home Sumner will read it, it will do him a great deal more good than all his petitions.

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TO THE

INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES,

ON THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT POVERTY AND MISERY.

London, 9th Feb. 1830.

Beloved Countrymen and Countrywomen,

The picture, which our country exhibits at this moment, while it sinks our own hearts within us, fills the whole civilized world with wonder and amazement. This country has been famed, in all ages, not only for its freedom and for the security its laws gave to person and property; but for the happiness of its people; for the comfort they enjoyed; for the neatness and goodness of their dress; the good quality and the abundance of their household furniture, bedding and utensils; and for the excellence and plenty of their food. So that a LORD CHANCELLOR, who, four hundred yearsago, wrote a book on our laws, observes in that book, that, owing to these good laws and the security and freedom they gave, the English people possessed, in abundance, "*all things that conduce to make life easy and happy.*"

This was the state of our great grandfathers and great grandmothers, who little thought of what was to befal their descendants! The very *name* of England was pronounced throughout the world with respect. That very *name* was thought to mean high-spirit, impartial justice, freedom and happiness. What does it mean *now*? It means that which I have not the power to describe, nor the heart to describe, if I had the power. England now contains the most miserable people, that ever trod the earth. It is the seat of greater human suffering; of more pain of body and of mind, than was ever before heard of in the world. In countries, which have been deemed the most wretched, there never has existed wretchedness equal to that, which is now exhibited in this once flourishing, free and happy country.

In this country the *law* provides, that no human being shall suffer from want of food, lodging, or raiment. Our forefathers, when they gave security to property; when they made laws to give to the *rich* the safe enjoyment of their wealth, did not forget, that there must always be some *poor*, and that God wished, that the poor should not perish for want, they being entitled to an existence as well as the rich. Therefore the *law* said, and it still says, that to make *a sure and certain provision for the poor*, is required by the first principles of civil society. He who is rich to-day may be poor to-morrow; and he is not to starve because he is become unfortunate.

Upon this principle of common humanity and of natural justice the *Poor Laws* were founded; and those laws give to every one *a right*, a *legal* as well as an equitable right, to be maintained out of the real property of the country, if, from whatever cause, *unable* to obtain a maintenance through his or her

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own exertions. To receive parish-relief is no *favour!* it is no gift that the relieved person receives! it is what the *law* insures him; and what he cannot be refused without a breach of the law, and without an outrageous act of injustice and oppression.

Such being the law; that is, the law having taken care, that relief should always be at hand for the destitute, the law has forbidden *begging*. It has pointed out to every destitute person the place where he can obtain legal and effectual relief, and, therefore, it has said: "you shall "not *beg*. If you *beg* you shall "be punished." And, as we well know, punishment is frequently inflicted for begging.

But, what do we see before our eyes at this moment? We see, all over the kingdom, misery existing to such an extent, that the poor-laws are found insufficient, and that a system of *general beggary* is introduced, under the name of subscriptions, voluntary contributions, soup shops, and the like, and, in the Metropolis, where our eyes are dazzled with the splendour of those who live on the taxes, we see that a society has been formed for raising money to provide a receptacle for the *houseless* poor during the night; that is to say, to give a few hours shelter to wretched beings, who must otherwise lie down and die in the very streets! To-day we read of a poor man expiring on his removal from one country parish to another. To-morrow we read of a poor woman, driven back from the door of one poor-house in London, carried back to expire in another poor-house before the morning. The next day we read of a man found dead in the street, and nearly a skeleton. While we daily see men harnessed and drawing carts loaded with gravel to repair the high-ways!

Is this *England!* Can this be *England!* and can these wretched and miserable and degraded objects be *Englishmen!* Yes: this is England; with grief, shame, and indignation we must confess it; but, still we must confess that such is now once free and happy England! That same country that was, until of late years, famed throughout the world for all that was great, good, and amiable and enviable.

This change never can have taken place without *a cause*. There must have been something, and something done *by man* too, to produce this change, this disgraceful, this distressing, this horrible change. God has not afflicted the country with pestilence or with famine; nor has the land been invaded and ravaged by an enemy. Providence has of late, been more than ordinarily benevolent to us. Three successive *harvests* of uncommon abundance have blessed, or would have blessed, these Islands. *Peace* has been undisturbed. War appears not to have been even thought possible. The sounds of warlike glory have, even yet, hardly ceased to vibrate on our ears. And yet, in the midst of profound peace and abundant harvests the nation seems to be con-

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vaded with the last struggles of gnawing hunger.

It is *man*, therefore, and not a *benevolent Creator*, who has been the cause of our sufferings, present and past, and of the more horrid sufferings, which we now but reasonably anticipate. To *man*, therefore, must we look for *an account* for these evils, into the cause of which let us, without any want of charity, but, at the same time, without fear and without self-deception, freely inquire.

My good, honest, kind and industrious country-people, you have long been deceived by artful and intriguing and interested men, who have a *press* at their command, and who, out of taxes raised from your labour, have persuaded you, that your sufferings arise from nothing that *man* can cause or can *cure*. But, have only a little patience with me, and, I think, that I am able to convince you, that your sufferings and your degradation have arisen from the *weight of taxes imposed on you*, and from *no other cause whatever*.

When you consider that your salt, pepper, soap, candles, sugar, tea, beer, shoes, and all other things are taxed, you must see, that you *pay taxes* yourselves; and, when you consider, that the taxes paid by your richer neighbours disable them from paying you so much in wages as they would otherwise pay you, you must perceive, that taxes are *disadvantageous* to you. In short, it is a fact, that no man can deny, that the poverty and misery of the people have gone on increasing precisely in the same degree that the taxes have gone on increasing.

The tax on *salt* is *fifteen shillings* a bushel. Its cost at the *sea-side*, where a kind Providence throws it abundantly on our shores, is *one shilling*. Owing to the delays and embarrassments arising from the tax, the price comes, at last, to *twenty shillings!* Thus, a bushel of salt, which is about as much as a middling family uses in a year (in all sorts of ways), costs to that family *eighteen shillings*, at least, *in tax!* Now, if an industrious man's family had the 18s. in pocket, instead of paying them in tax, would not that family be the *better* for the change? If, instead of paying 6d. for a pot of beer, (if beer a man must have) he had to pay 2d. would not he be 4d. the richer? And, if the taxes were light instead of heavy, would not your wages and profits enable you to live better and dress better than you do now?

They, who have good health, good luck and small families, make a shift to go along with this load of taxes. Others bend under it. Others come down to poverty. And a great part of these are pressed to the very earth, some ending their days in poor-houses, and others perishing from actual want. The farmers are daily falling into ruin; the little farmers fall first; the big ones become little, and the little ones become paupers, unless they escape from the country, while they have money enough to carry

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them away. Thousands of men of some property are, at this moment, preparing to quit the country. The *poor* cannot go; so that things, without a great change, will be worse and worse for all that remain, except for those who live upon the taxes.

And how are these taxes *disposed of?* We are told by impudent men, who live on these taxes, that *we*, the payers of the taxes, are become *too learned;* that we have been brought *too near* to the government; that is to say, that we have got *a peep behind the curtain.* It is well known, that a great deal has been said about *educating* the poor. At one time, even the *poverty* was ascribed to a *want of education* amongst the labouring classes.—They were *so ignorant!* and that was the cause of their misery.—And poor Mr. WHITBREAD said, that the *Scotch* were better than the English, only because they were *better educated.* But *now*, behold, we are *too well educated:* we are *too knowing;* we have approached *too near* to the government; and, therefore, *new laws* have been passed to keep us at a greater distance; a *more respectful* distance.

This precaution comes, however, too late. We have had our look behind the curtain. We cannot be again deluded. We cannot be made to *unknow* that which we know. We know that the fruit of our labour is *mortgaged* to those, who have lent money to the government. We know, that to pay the interest of this mortgage; to pay a standing army in time of peace; to pay the tax-gatherers; and to pay placemen and pensioners, we are so heavily taxed, that we can no longer live in comfort, and that many of us are wholly destitute of food, and are brought to our deaths by hunger.

Endeavours have been made to persuade us that we are not hurt by the taxes. It has been said, that taxes *come back* to us, and are a *great blessing* to us. And Mr. *Justice Bailey* has lately taken occasion to say from *the Bench*, that a *National Debt* is a good thing, and even *a necessary* thing. England did pretty well without a Debt for *seven hundred years!* How this matter came to be talked of *from the Bench* I do not pretend to know; but, for my part, I look upon a national debt as the greatest curse that ever afflicted a people. In our country it has made a happy people miserable, and a free people slaves. And, I am convinced that, unless that debt be *got rid of*, in some way or other, and that, too, in a short time, this country will fall so low, that a century will not see it revive.

Those, who wish to make us believe, that it is not the taxes that make us poor and miserable, tell us that they *come back* to us. This being a grand source of delusion, I will endeavour to explain the matter to you. I have before done it many times; but, all eyes are not opened at the first operation; and, besides, there are, every month, some young per-

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sons who are beginning to read about such things.

BURKE, of whom many of you never heard, said that *taxes* were *dews*, drawn up by the *blessed Sun of government*, and sent down again upon the people in refreshing and fructifying *showers*. This was a very pretty description, but very false. For taxes, though they fall in *heavy showers* upon one part of the community never return to another part of it. To those who *live on taxes*, the taxes are, indeed, refreshing and fructifying showers; but, to those who *pay them*, they are a scorching sun and blighting wind. They draw away the riches of the soil, and they render it sterile and unproductive. But how came this BURKE to talk in this way? Why, he was one of those *who, lived upon the taxes!* Very fine and refreshing and fertilizing showers fell upon *him*. He had a pension of *three thousand pounds a-year for his life;* his wife *fifteen hundred pounds a-year for her life;* and, besides these, he obtained, in 1795, grants of money to be paid yearly to his executors *after his death!* And, not a trifle neither; for he took care to get thus settled upon his *executors two thousand five hundred pounds a-year*. The following is a copy of the grant.

"To the Executors of *Edmund Burke*, 2,500*l.* a-year. Granted by two patents, dated 24 October, 1795.——One for 1,160*l.* a-year, to be paid during the life of Lord Royston, and the Rev, and Hon. Auchild Grey. The other for 1,340*l.* to be paid during the life of the Princess Amelia, Lord Althorp, and William Cavendish, Esq."

Now, as Mr. GREY is still alive, and as Lord Althorpe and Mr. Cavendish are alive, the money is all of it still paid to the executors of BURKE; these executors have already received, on this account, *more than fifty thousand pounds* in principal money; and, as there is no probability of the death of the gentlemen above named, they may yet receive double the sum. BURKE's pension, while he was alive, cost the nation about *twenty thousand pounds;* and his wife's about *four thousand pounds*. So that here are about *seventy-four thousand pounds* already paid by the public on account of this one man, and that, too, in *principal money*, without reckoning *interest!*

This, you will allow, must have been to Burke, his wife and executors, an exceedingly *refreshing* and *fructifying shower!* But, not so to those, who have had to *pay* this money. It has not tended to *refresh* us. In the space of twenty-seven years seventy-four thousand pounds have been taken from us, who pay the taxes, on account of this *one man*. Now, suppose a different mode from the present were used in making us pay taxes. The pensions have, for the last 27 years, amounted to 2,740 pounds a year. Suppose the amount of them to have been raised upon *fifty tradesmen*, at 54*l.* a year each. Would

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not each of these tradesmen be *now* 2,700 pounds *poorer* than they would have been, if they had not had these "*refreshing showers*" to send off in dews? Suppose them to be raised upon 400 labourers at about 10 pounds each. Must not these 400 labourers be made poor and miserable, must they not be prevented from *saving* a penny; and must they not, at last, be brought to the poor-house by these "*refreshing showers?*" Is not this as plain as the nose upon your face? Is it not plain that this pension to the executors of this man now takes away the means of comfortable living from nearly *four hundred labourers' families?*" Has not this been going on for twenty-seven years; and has one single man, in parliament, made even an effort to put a stop to it? Has one single man moved even for an *inquiry* into the matter? And yet, the facts are all before the parliament in their own printed reports!

And what *services* did this BURKE render the country? For, to give such a man such enormous sums, there must have been *some reason*. His services were these: He *deserted his party in the Opposition:* and he *wrote three pamphlets to urge the nation on to war, and to cause it to persevere in the war, against the republicans of France!* Which war raised the annual taxes from *sixteen* millions a year in time of peace, to *fifty three* millions a year in time of peace, and the poor-rates from *two millions* a year to about *twelve millions* a year? These were the *services*, which were so great, that it was not sufficient to give him *three thousand* pounds a year for them during his *life-time*, but we must still pay his executors *two thousand five hundred pounds* a year; and *may* have to pay them this *for fifty years yet to come!*

Need we wonder that we are poor? Need we wonder, that we are miserable? Need we wonder, that we have, at last, come to see Englishmen *harnessed* and drawing carts, loaded with gravel? And, if we complain of these things, are we to be told, that we are *seditious?* Are we to be told, that we wish to *destroy* the constitution? Are we to be *imprisoned, fined, and banished?*

When we take a view of the effects of *taxation*, our wonder at all we see instantly ceases. We look no further for the cause of our misery. And, is there any one, who proposes to *lighten the load?* Not a man. On the contrary, every measure has a tendency to make it heavier and heavier. The act, passed last session, respecting the payment in gold bars has produced double the quantity of misery that before existed. It has diminished the quantity of paper-money, and, in the same proportion, has added to the weight of the taxes and to the want of employment for artizans, manufacturers and labourers. Let me explain to you how this effect is produced; for, it is fit that you all clearly understand what is the cause of your misery.

When money, whether it be *paper or gold*, is abundant,

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every thing is *high in price*. Now suppose there to be a community of only ten men, who have a given number of dealings amongst them in a year, and who move from hand to hand a certain quantity of valuable things. Suppose one of them to be a farmer, and that he has to sell wheat to the rest, and suppose his wheat to sell for 10s. a bushel. We will suppose, next, that the quantity of money, possessed by the *whole* community to be six hundred pounds. Every one has his due proportion according to his property. Now, suppose, that, by some accident or other, every man, just at the same moment, loses one half of his money. The effect of this would be, that every one could give for the things that he would want of every other one, only just *half as much* as he gave before; and, of course, the farmer must sell his wheat for 5s. a bushel. The shoe-maker must sell his shoes at 5s. a pair instead of 10s. and so on.

This change would produce injury to no one; because a pair of shoes would still bring a bushel of wheat. There would be less money; but money is merely a thing to be used as a measure of the value of useful things. This little community would still have a just measure of value; and, though prices would fall one half, no soul would suffer from the change. But, suppose the shoe-maker to have *owed* the farmer *fifty shillings* before the change took place. The shoe-maker would lose greatly by the change; but, the farmer would (if he were a yeomanry-man, at least) call upon poor Crispin to pay him; and Crispin must give him *ten* pair of shoes (or the price of ten pair) instead of *five*. So that, in fact, Crispin's debt, though still only *fifty shillings* in name, would, by the diminution in the whole quantity of money, be *doubled*.

This is *our* case precisely! The fund-holders, the army, the navy, the placemen, the pensioners, lent their money to the government, took places and pensions under the government, and, in fact, made the nation their *debtor* for *so much a year*. But, now that the quantity of the money is reduced in such a way as to bring down prices nearly one half, the nation has to pay them all to the full nominal amount; which, though it be still called by the same name, is, in fact, nearly *double* what it was before the quantity of money was reduced. Each of you has *fifteen shillings* tax to pay on a bushel of salt; and, so you had before: but, as fifteen shillings will now purchase *twice* as much of your labour as they would purchase before, your salt tax is in fact *doubled*.

Thus it is as to the whole nation. It has about *thirty millions a-year* to pay to the fund-holders, but *now*, the thirty are equal to what *sixty* would have been when the money was borrowed. Suppose a fund-holder to have lent the government a *hundred pounds* twelve years ago; and suppose, that he was to receive five per cent. for it.

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Suppose a farmer had been to pay the interest in wheat. *Six bushels and two thirds* would have paid the five pounds. But, *now*, it would require *thirteen bushels and a third* to pay the five pounds. Thus it is that the fund-holders, and all who are paid out of the taxes *gain*, and those who pay the taxes *lose*, by a diminution in the quantity of money. And this adds greatly to the evils, which naturally arise out of the heavy taxes. And thus it is, that a nation is *scourged*, not by God, but by those works of man, a national debt and a paper-money.

But, you will say, *how* can the Bank lessen the quantity of money, and ruin the people thus by doubling the real amount of debts and salaries and pensions and other incomes of those who live on taxes? I will tell you how. The Bank can make as much paper-money as it pleases. The cost of it is merely the paper and the print. They are always *borrowers* enough. Now, I want to borrow. I go to the Bank and give them a note for a hundred pounds, which I promise to pay them again in two months. They take my note, and give me the hundred pounds in their *paper-money*, taking the two months' interest out. This interest is called *discount*; and this is called *discounting* a note. The Bank can discount as much or as little as it pleases. When I bring my hundred pounds, and take the note out of pawn, I may get another note discounted if the Bank choose; and, in this way, the paper-money gets about. But, if the Bank have a mind to cause the quantity of money in the country to *grow less*, it *refuses to discount*, or, it discounts *less* than it did. Suppose the Bank have ten hundred notes and have lent out paper-money upon them; and, suppose, when the paper-money is brought in to pay off the notes with, the Bank will lend out paper again for only five hundred of the notes. In this case the paper-money in circulation is diminished *one half*; and, of course, *prices fall*; and, as we have seen, *taxes rise* in real amount.

This is what has been now done; and, what is more, it has been done with a professed desire to *remove the evils* that afflict the country! The pay of the placemen, pensioners, fund-holders, soldiers, and of all those who live on the taxes, has thus been augmented; and by the same means, those who pay the taxes have been ruined. The labouring classes, in all such cases, suffer most severely; but, when they are quite down, they can fall no lower. They fall into the ranks of the paupers, and there they remain. There is another class, however, who will endeavour to save themselves: I mean those who have, as yet, *some property left*. They will flee from the dismal and desolating plague. They will carry their creative industry and their capital with them. And will thus leave the burden greater for those whose timidity

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makes them remain behind.—Thousands are preparing to go to America. And, unless something be *speedily* done to relieve us, they act wisely. It is, on an average, only *a month at sea*. The danger is nothing. And, when a man reflects, that he has left the tax-gatherer behind him, and can now set him at defiance, what are dangers of the sea, or any other dangers? One would escape out of England, and even out of the world, to avoid the sight of men *harnessed* and *drawing carts*, loaded with gravel for the repair of the highways.

No man, you will observe, proposes to do any thing that has a tendency to relieve our distress. The very measure for diminishing the quantity of paper-money is only *beginning* to operate. It has not yet produced a tenth part of the evils that it is calculated to produce, and that it will produce, if persevered in. The labouring classes, I mean, those who have no property in any thing but their labour, cannot fall much lower. Hundreds die for want of a sufficiency of food; but *hundreds of thousands will not*. And, as they have not the means of going to America, they will remain, and will *live* somehow or other; for, as to being transported to Canada or the Cape of Good Hope, they neither will nor can.

The means of restoration are, however, *easy*. The affairs of the nation *might* be retrieved, and that, too, in a short space of time; and, if I am asked, *why I do not suggest those easy means*, my answer is, that I have done all that a private individual could do to *prevent the evils*; for all my efforts, I have, except by the people, been repaid in abuse and persecution; and that, therefore, in the capacity of a *writer*, I will suggest nothing in the way of remedy. My former efforts have been treated with scorn, and now let the scorners extricate themselves. If I were in *parliament*, I would point out the means. Not being there I will point out none. Those who have property at stake, have, *even now*, the means of putting me there. If they do, my opinion is, that measures of salvation will be adopted; if they do not, I am of opinion that no such measures will even be *proposed*. In either case I shall have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have done my duty; and whether the country be doomed to anarchy or despotism I am as able to bear the scourge as another.

Amongst our duties are the duties which we owe ourselves: and, amongst those duties is that of not suffering ourselves to be degraded. And, for my part, I should deem it degradation to the last degree to be an *underworker* of such men as those, who have brought this once free and happy nation into its present state. An endeavour to serve the country in this way would, too, be wholly unavailing. It would only tend to

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amuse and deceive. And, therefore, I will never attempt it. I will hear the schemes of others. If they adopt any thing that I have already laid down, I will claim it as my own. If they broach any thing new, I will offer my opinions on it; but, *unless in parliament*, the thing, for me, shall take its course. I, at present, owe nothing to the country, except to the labouring classes. If I am placed in parliament, it will be my duty to do much, and much I shall do: if I am not placed there, the country will have no demand upon me. Even in the utter ruin and abasement of the country *I* shall be neither ruined nor abassed. Not to possess wealth is nothing to him who does not desire it; and, as to reputation, the world would have the justice to say, that I have lost none by events which I had foreseen and foretold, and which I had endeavoured to prevent, and for which endeavours I had been most furiously persecuted.

My beloved countrymen and countrywomen, think of these things; and, be assured that, under all circumstances, I shall bear about me and carry with me to the grave the kindest feelings towards you, and the most anxious wishes for your happiness.

I am,

Your friend,

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE REFORMERS.

On the subject of raising a sum of money for the purpose of defraying the expenses attending the securing of a seat in Parliament at the next Election.

London, Feb. 5, 1820.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, AND COUNTRYWOMEN.

The sum of money which I wished you to put me in possession of, under the name of a FUND FOR REFORM, will, I can clearly see, be raised by the time that I should think it necessary to employ it. But the death of the King has made me anxious to appeal to you for a purpose, which I think proper openly to avow; and that is, the obtaining of the means of securing a seat in the House of Commons; which seat great numbers of you are certainly very anxious that I should obtain. Before I proceed further, in speaking of the utility of my being in Parliament, suffer me to say some little matter with regard to the calumnies which have been heaped upon me by the atrocious Daily Press of the metropolis; by the still more atrocious Quarterly Review, and by almost the whole of the country newspapers. I shall go back further than may be thought necessary, in order that you may see me from the beginning. For, upon this particular occasion, I am desirous that you should have all the means of judging fairly, between me and those by whom I have so long been assailed.

At *eleven* years of age my employment was clipping of box-edgings and weeding beds of flowers in the garden of the Bishop of Winchester, at the Castle of Farnham, my native town.

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I had always been fond of beautiful gardens; and, a gardener, who had just come from the King's gardens at Kew, gave me such a description of them as made me instantly resolve to work in those gardens. The next morning, without saying a word to any one, off I set, with no clothes, except those upon my back, and with thirteen halfpence in my pocket. I found that I must go to Richmond, and I, accordingly, went on, from place to place, inquiring my way thither. A long day (it was in June) brought me to Richmond in the afternoon. Two pennyworth of bread and cheese and a penny-worth of small beer, which I had on the road, and one half-penny that I had lost somehow or other, left three pence in my pocket. With this for my whole fortune, I was trudging through Richmond, in my blue smock-frock and my red garters tied under my knees, when, staring about me, my eye fell upon a little book, in a bookseller's window, on the outside of which was written: "TALE OF A TUB; PRICE 3d." The title was so odd, that my curiosity was excited. I had the 3d. but, then, I could have *no supper*. In I went, and got the little book, which I was so impatient to read, that I got over into a field, at the upper corner of Kew gardens, where there stood a *hay-stack*. On the shady side of this, I sat down to read. The book was so different from any thing that I had ever read before: it was something so *new* to my mind, that, though I could not at all understand some of it, it delighted me beyond description; and it produced what I have always considered a sort of birth of intellect. I read on till it was dark, without any thought about supper or bed. When I could see no longer, I put my little book in my pocket, and tumbled down by the side of the stack, where I slept till the birds in Kew gardens awaked me in the morning; when off I started to Kew, reading my little book. The singularity of my dress, the simplicity of my manner, my confident and lively air, and, doubtless, his own compassion besides, induced the gardener, who was a Scotsman, I remember, to give me victuals, find me lodging, and set me to work. And, it was during the period that I was at Kew, that the present king and two of his brothers laughed at the oddness of my dress, while I was sweeping the grass plat round the foot of the Pagoda. The gardener, seeing me fond of books, lent me some gardening books to read; but, these I could not relish after my *Tale of a Tub*, which I carried about with me wherever I went, and when I, at about twenty years old, lost it in a box that fell overboard in the Bay of Funday in North America, the loss gave me greater pain than I have ever felt at losing thousands of pounds.

This circumstance, trifling as it was, and childish as it may seem to relate it, has always endeared the recollection of *Kew* to me. About five weeks ago, I had occasion to go from Chelsea to Twickenham with my two eldest sons. I brought them back through Kew, in order *to show them the place where the hay stack stood*; having frequently related to them what I have now related to you.

Far be it from me to suppose, that *you want* any thing to convince you, that the numerous *foul accusations*,

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made against me by the public press, are *wholly false*. But, upon this occasion, permit me to say, that it is not unnecessary, and that it is but bare justice to *you*, justice to your discernment and your virtue, for me to show, that you have not conferred such marks of respect on one who is unworthy of them.

You have now, and at what an age, I started in the world. Those of you, who are *mothers* will want nothing but the involuntary impulse of your own hearts to carry your minds back to the alarm, the fears and anxieties of my most tender mother. But, if I am "an *extraordinary* man," as I have been called by some persons, who ought to have found out a different epithet, I was a still more extraordinary *boy*. For, though I never returned home for any length of time, and never put my parents to a farthing expence, after the time above mentioned, I was always a most dutiful son, never having, in my whole life, wilfully and deliberately disobeyed either my father or my mother. I carried in my mind their precepts against *drinking* and *gaming*; and I have never been drunk and have never played at any game in my life. When in the army I was often tempted to take up the cards. But, the words of my father came into my mind, and rescued me from the peril. Exposed, as you must well know, to all sorts of temptations; young, strong, adventurous, uncommonly gay and greatly given to talk; still, I never in my whole life, was brought before a magistrate, either as defendant or complainant. And, even up to *this hour*, about *five oaths* are all that I have ever taken, notwithstanding the multitude and endless variety of affairs, in which I have been engaged. I entered the army at *sixteen*, and quitted it at *twenty-five*. I never was once even *accused* of a fault of any sort. At *nineteen* I was promoted to *Serjeant-Major* from a Corporal, over the heads of nearly fifty serjeants. While my regiment wat abroad, I received the public and official thanks of the Governor of the Province for my zeal in the King's service; while no officer of the regiment received any thanks at all. Many years after this, this same Governor (General Carleton) came to see me and to claim the pleasure of my acquaintance. When I had quitted the army at Portsmouth, I had a discharge, bearing on it, that I had been discharged at my own request, *and in consequence of the great services I had rendered the king's service in that regiment*. During this part of my life I lived amongst, and was compelled to associate with, the most beastly of drunkards, where liquor was so cheap, that even a soldier might be drunk every day; yet I never, during the whole time, even *tasted* of any of that liquor. My father's, and more especially my mother's precepts were always at hand to protect me.

In 1792, I went to the United States of America. There I became *a writer*. I understood little at that time; but the utmost of my ability was exerted on the side of *my country*, though I had been greatly disgusted at the trick that had been played me in England, with regard to a court-martial, which I had demanded upon some officers. I forgot every thing when the honour of England was concerned. The king's minister in America made me offers of *reward*. I refused to accept of any, in any shape whatever. Reward was offered me, when I came home. I always refused to take one single penny from the government. If I had been to be *bought*, judge you, my countrywomen, how *rich*, and even how *high*, I might have been at this day! But, I value the present received from the females of Lancashire a million times higher than all the money and all the titles which ministers and kings have to bestow.

Driven again across the Atlantic to avoid a *dungeon*, deprived of *pen*, *ink*, or *paper*, I still adhered faithfully to my beloved, though oppressed and miserable, country. I overcame every difficulty; and, to the surprise of friends and the confusion of enemies, caused a Register to be published once a week in London, though I was on the other side of the sea. And, while there, though I did much to benefit that country in the way of *agriculture*, I never did any act or uttered any word, that should seem to say, that I had abandoned England. If I had preferred tranquillity and ease and comfort to duty, I should not have returned; but have called my family to me. But, I have never had an idea of happiness distinct from the happiness

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and honour of my country. The greater her distress, the more necessary the presence of those of her sons, who possess abilities to assist in saving her.

The calumnies of the London daily press, and of a great part of the weekly press and the country press, together with the *Quarterly Review*, have been so numerous, that I can only notice them in the gross. These cowardly libellers have exhibited me as a *fraudulent debtor*, and yet as being *without a shilling*. These calumnies answer themselves. But, if either were true, should I *voluntarily have come home;* and that, too, at a great expense? It is very true, that the sudden breaking up of my affairs, in 1817, following a total loss of *six thousand pounds and upwards* arising from the imprisonment and fine I had to endure for expressing my horror at seeing local-militiamen flogged, in the heart of England, under a guard of German Bayonets: it is very true, that these things, together with all the expenses attending a flight to, and a return from, America, leave me comparatively destitute of immediate pecuniary means. But, was it ever before heard of in the world, that, in answer to a man's political writings, his books of account are to be produced; a list of his pecuniary engagements published; and, what is more, his *private letters*, written in confidence many, many years before, obtained from a base and treacherous agent, and published to the world, and that, too, in a partial and garbled state? Was a thing like this ever heard of in this world before; and is there, on this side the grave, a punishment adequate to so foul and so detested a deed? Consider, too, that my wife and daughters were here to support, to bear up *in silence* against all the reproaches, all the scoffs, all the taunts, all the savage insults of this numerous and united band of literary ruffians!

These cowardly and brutal men have represented me as being a harsh, tyrannical, passionate, merciless, and even greedy man. I have said before that, in the whole course of my life, I never was once before a Magistrate in any criminal case, either as accuser or accused; and that is a great deal to say, at the end of fifty-three years, and having no one to protect or advise me since I was eleven years old. Very few men can say as much. There is hardly a quaker that can say as much, though he be much younger than I am. I never, in the whole course of my life, brought an action against any man for debt, though I have lost thousands of pounds by not doing it. Where is there a man so long engaged in business of various sorts, as I have been, who can say as much? I know of no such man. I never could find in my heart to oppress any man merely because he had not the ability to pay. I lose money by acting thus; but I did not lose my good opinion of myself, and that was far more valuable than money. Nor have I ever had an action brought against me for debt, in all my life time, until since this my last return to England; when an Attorney at Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire, had a writ served upon me, *without any notice; without even writing to me for the money;* and, what is more horrible still, the Sheriff's Officer was sent to a public Meeting, at the Crown and Anchor, and *desired to arrest me there, at the very time that I should be addressing the Meeting.* The Officer had more decency and more honour than to lend himself to such a base purpose. He followed me to my lodging; called out a gentleman who was with me, requested that I would call at his house the next day, which I did. This malicious act was perpetrated by the Attorney of one Stares, a Malster at Droxford. The debt was for about thirty pounds; a thing which I had totally forgotten, the malt having been served during the year before I went to America. This is the only action that has, in the whole course of my life, ever been brought against me for debt. Can any man say as much, who has been in a great way of business, of various kinds, during more than twenty years? I have employed, for a great many years, numerous servants and labourers at Botley. I seldom had less than seventeen, altogether; and I never had to complain of any of them to a magistrate but three times in my life; and, of all my servants and labourers, no one ever went to a magistrate to complain of me. When the printers *turned out for wages*, in London, my then printer,

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Hansard, in order, as he said, to break the *conspiracy*, as he called it, of the men, asked me to *suspend* the publication of the Register for a week. My answer was, "No: the men have "a right to as much wages as they "can get: give the men their wages; "and, if you must raise your price, "I must pay accordingly." At this very time, WALTER, of the TIMES, one of my principal calumniators, was cramming printers into jail by half-dozens, on a charge of conspiracy to raise their wages. These are the men that have calumniated me; and represented me as a harsh and tyrannical man.

I have seven children. The greater part of whom are fast approaching the state of young men and young women. *I never struck one of them in anger, in my life;* and I recollect *only one single instance in which I have ever spoke to one of them in a really angry tone and manner.* And, when I had so done, it appeared as if my heart was gone out of my body. It was but once; and I hope it will never be again. Are there many men who can say as much as this? To my servants, I have been the most kind and indulgent of masters; and I have been repaid, in general, by their fidelity and attachment. Two *consummate* villains I have met with. But their treachery, though of the blackest die, will by no means tend to make me distrustful or ill-tempered. The attachment and devotion, which I have experienced from others, exceeds even the perfidy of these two black-hearted men, who, besides, have yet to be rendered as notorious as they are infamous. These two diabolical fellows have been the instruments in the hands of the proprietors of what Lord CASTLEREAGH calls "the *respectable* "part of the press." Each of them is in possession of a considerable number of private letters of mine. These the wretches pull out and exhibit to the newspaper proprietors, as occasion may serve; though to these men I have been a most generous benefactor; and my only faults, with regard to them, are, that I did not *transport the one*, and that I *employed* the other.

Such men will always be found in the world; and we must take the world as we find it. But, were there ever before found in the world, men, the proprietors of *Literary Journals*; men having pretensions to the character of gentlemen; men pretending to moral decency; men admitted into honourable society: were there ever before found in the world men in this walk of life, and having these pretensions, willing and ready to make their pages the vehicle of slanders drawn from a source so polluted! Never! and, to all the other disgraces, which now stain our country, we have to add this: a press almost wholly divested of every one of those characteristics, which have heretofore rendered the press a thing to be held in estimation and honour.

If I were disposed to *retaliate* upon two or three of the *setters-on* of these two perfidious monsters; if I were disposed to retaliate upon *one*, who has, in some measure, given countenance to their perfidy, by following their example, *how miserable during life, could I render that man!* But, no! the example is too horrible for me to think of following it. Besides, if the public can view this breach of private confidence without feelings of detestation towards the wretches who have been guilty of it, no exposure that any man can make, will excite such feelings against them: and, therefore, for my part, I never retaliate. I keep the means of doing of it in my hands, and forbear to do it, that my children may learn sentiments of generosity, and may contract a fixed opinion that nothing is to produce *a breach of private confidence.*

As to *forgiveness* towards the *literary* assassins, that is never to be expected from me. For myself, I have the power of chastisement in my hands; but, for their base and barbarous conduct, during my absence, *towards my wife and daughters*, whose lives they rendered one continued series of mortification and of grief; if, for this, *I do not bring them to some signal degree of suffering, it will only be for the want of the power of doing it.* Two or three BARRISTERS, too, have joined in the scandalous cowardice and barbarity, not to mention some persons in *another place*, from whom nothing that was just or fair no man expected.

Evil seldom is wholly unattended with good of some sort. Thus has it happened here. The outrageous slanders uttered against me, the falsehood of which nobody so well knew as my

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own family, have had a tendency to make me, if possible, still dearer to that family. To feelings of filial affection uncommonly strong have been added, in the breasts of my children, an ardent desire to see me triumph over my enemies, and to inflict vengeance on them. My sons, three of whom are from *sixteen* to *twenty-one* years, and who, of course, must detest the very idea of belonging, even in appearance, to the same profession, which contains the cowardly, savage, and perfidious men, by whom their father has been assailed, have, nevertheless, made up their mind to sacrifice the gratification of every natural desire of their own, in order to stand by him, and to obtain justice on the insulters of their mother and their sisters. My daughters equally devoted to their father and their mother, wrote to me upon my landing: "Think nothing "about *us* and our *feelings*. We are "now able to labour. We can earn "our bread. We shall think it no "disgrace to do it. Nothing that we "can do will ever half repay you and "dear mama for your matchless tenderness towards us; and, as to the "indulgence of *pride*, we shall always "have enough of that in being able to "say, that we are *your children*, and "that we have, we hope, always been, "and always shall be, your dutiful and "affectionate daughters."

Upon reading this letter, I should have wished fire and brimstone to fall upon and consume the country, which contained the savage ruffians, whose base calumnies had awakened these apprehensions. But I was, at *that moment* surrounded by a part of YOU, my beloved countrymen and countrywomen! I was in the midst of the brave, just, and enlightened Reformers of Lancashire, whose generous congratulations wiped the tears from my eyes. And, though the *public* effect of those congratulations, of your addresses, and of the many marks of respect and of confidence which you have been pleased to bestow on me, from all parts of the country; though the *public* effect of these have been great, the effect in *my own family* has been still greater. You have given a degree of pleasure to that family, which you will much more easily conceive than I can describe. My sons are ready to stand or fall with you, and my wife and daughters would scorn the enjoyment of any happiness which was not participated in by your wives and children.

To YOU, however, I do, and I must, look for support in my public efforts. As far as the *press* can go, I want no assistance. Aided by my sons, I have already made the ferocious cowards of the London Press sneak into silence. But, there is a large range, a more advantageous ground to stand on, and that is the *House of Commons*. If I were there the ferocious cowards of the press would be *compelled*, through their *three hundred mouths*, to tell the nation all that I should say; or, if they would not, they must give place to men who *would*. And, it is easy to imagine what I should say, how much I should do. A great effect on the public mind I have already produced; but, what should I produce in only the next session, if I were in the House of Commons! Yet, there I cannot be without YOUR ASSISTANCE. Therefore, to you, the Reformers in every part of the kingdom, I appeal for that assistance.

That it is perfectly *lawful* to subscribe for such a purpose we know by the proceedings of others; and, recollect, that PERCEVAL'S opinion was taken upon the subject, in the case of that creature MAINWARING, and he gave an opinion, being then Solicitor-General, that to subscribe was *lawful*, and he added, that he himself had subscribed.

The "*Fund for Reform*," I shall, for the present, divert to this more pressing object; so that that may go on, under its present name, or under this new appellation. The parliament may be dissolved in *less than a week*; so that, now there is *no time to be lost*. I would not call upon you for a farthing; but, situated as I am, I should not, if I were to go, on this account, to any expence out of my own means, act prudently with regard to myself nor justly towards others. What will be the sum required I cannot exactly say. *Two thousand pounds* perhaps; a little more or less. But, whatever there may be over a sufficiency, shall be applied to the purpose of the *Cause of Reform*. Something approaching nearly 200 pounds has been already *actually received* towards the *Fund for Reform*. This fund will

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now be applied to the present avowed purpose.

As to *myself*, all the world must know, that I have no value for *money*, otherwise than as it conduces to objects like this. I am aware, that it will be said, that if I had been careful of my *own* money, this appeal to YOU would not have been necessary. Very true; but, then, I should not have been *the man I am:* observe that. To be careful of money; to sue and be sued; to squabble about shillings and pennies: these are wholly incompatible with the pursuit of great public objects. No extravagance, of any sort, have I ever indulged in. In my whole life I never spent one evening away from my own home and without some part, at least, of my family, if I was not at a distance from that home. Except at about *ten* public dinners, I have never, during the 28 years that I have been married, eat a meal or drunk a drop, in a public house of any description, except upon a journey, or at a temporary lodging. I have never indulged in extravagance of any kind; and, as to my wife, though she is, doubtless, equalled by many, in point of prudence and economy, no one ever excelled her. She has always been kind and generous to poor neighbours in distress; and has always been as sparing as possible with regard to all other expences. In her *example* she will give her daughters a far more valuable inheritance than I could have raked together by sharp-dealing and by close-fistedness. The *two atrocious wretches*, who are now showing my private letters about London, and are serving as *informers* to the ruffians of the Daily Press, my wife always disliked and suspected. The one she called "a *simpering knave*," the other "a *down-looking* rogue." Over and over again, a thousand times, she worried me to *take care* of these men! Women are quicker-sighted than we are. They penetrate into character more quickly. And of this, her prejudices against these two accomplished monsters of ingratitude and perfidy is a striking proof.

This is "*egotism*," "*disgusting egotism*," the ruffians of the press will exclaim! They first assail me with atrocious falsehoods, and then, when I defend myself, they call it *egotism*. These brutal men have been taunting, scoffing at, galling, mortifying, and in all ways annoying my defenceless wife and family, during my absence: and is it not right that the world should know, what sort of persons those are, whom the savages have thus treated? Is there a father, is there a mother, is there a kind and dutiful child, in this country of kind-hearted people, who will not, upon this occasion, feel, as I, my wife, and our children feel?

And what have I done to merit the reproach of any man? I have done, during my whole life, every thing in my power to serve my country. I contracted, at an early age, high notions of love and duty towards my *country*. It has been my *pride* to be an Englishman. I have been blessed with a sound body and a sound mind. I possess them still, and in their vigour too: and my only desire now is, to be able to exert their powers for the salvation of my distressed and tottering country.

I am, my beloved Countrymen and Countrywomen, your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 36.---No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1820. [Price, 6d.

TO

THE REFORMERS,

A DEFENCE OF THE QUEEN AGAINST THE DEFENCE MADE BY HER "CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENDER."

London, 9th June, 1820.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

Here is a new and great event; and, in the state in which we are placed, *every* event, no matter what it be, may be looked upon as of importance to us; because it may lead to some change or other; and it is next to impossible to suppose any change that would do us any harm, while it is always *possible* that a change may do us good, be the change what it may, and come how it may, and when it may.

We certainly have had no hand in producing *this* event; and yet I, for one, shall be very much surprised, if, in the end, the whole of the mischief, and every particular part of it, be not ascribed to "*the Radicals.*" We have been accused of producing every *other* of the evils that our wise men are now engaged in curing; and, if this charge be added to the rest, why need it surprise us?

In the mean while I beg your attention to some remarks, which I have to offer you on the case of *the Queen*. It is a case interesting to us; because it may possibly lead to important consequences to ourselves; and, besides this, every man must feel some interest in the *treatment* of a *woman* under such singular circumstances, especially a woman, for whom we have been *praying (by name) to God*, every Sunday, during the last twenty-five years. Having been taught, and even enjoined and commanded, to pray to God for her, during so many years, gives us some claim to inquire about her now, when we see her an *accused* person, and, apparently, with scarcely any friends.

The articles, which I subjoin from the Daily Papers, give a fair account of the progress of the Queen through France, and up to London from Dover. But that which is most worthy of our attention, is, the chain of proceedings, beginning with the propositions made to her at Saint Omer's in France, by the Courtier, Lord HUTCHINSON, and ending with the message of the Queen, sent, last night, to the House of Commons.

It is well known, that, in 1806 and 1807, accusations were made against the Queen; that four Lords, ERSKINE, GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH and MOIRA, were appointed by the King to investigate the charges preferred against her; that she, having the late PERCEVAL for

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her *lawyer*, repelled the accusations, and demanded a trial; that PERCEVAL collected all the papers belonging to this affair, had them printed, and *ready to publish*; that he just after *got into office*; that all the printed books, except one or two copies, were destroyed by PERCEVAL; that to get at these immense sums were offered; that, at last, in 1813, this publication got out into many new editions; that it was then, and still is, called THE BOOK.

Great discussions took place at the time here referred to; and the result was, that it was, on all hands, allowed, that *the Queen was innocent* of all crime of the nature alluded to. Sometime after this, the Queen *went abroad*; and has never returned until now. This was a very unwise step. I declared this at the time, and I foretold, in substance, the consequences that it would produce. In order to enable the then Princess, now Queen, to go and to live on the Continent, *thirty-five thousand pounds a year* was to be allowed her. Mr. CANNING was, it appears, chiefly instrumental in this work; and a fatal work it was for the illustrious lady.

She had not been long gone out of the kingdom; when tales began to be circulated to her prejudice. These were very artfully managed. Officious tools were after her, watching her movements, wherever she went on the Continent. A *Parson* and a *Lawyer* have been mentioned amongst these; and certainly, it would have been wonderful indeed, if such an affair could have been carried on without *such* assistance!

However, things were kept comparatively quiet, as long as the PRINCESS CHARLOTTE was *alive*. She was *heiress to the throne*. The king was, in fact, no more in law, except in case of a restoration to reason, which no one could believe possible at his great age. The now king's life was, as all our lives are, of uncertain duration. He was fifty-five years of age; and, therefore, the daughter, who was heiress apparent to the *Crown* and all its powers and emoluments, was looked towards as the *rising sun*. It was well known, that the Princess was much attached to her *mother*; indeed, what but the commands of *nature* was wanted to cause such an attachment?—There may be some excuse for a child who has not a natural attachment to a *father*; but that child, who is deficient in natural feeling for *a mother*, must be next to a *monster*. Such feeling was not wanting in the Princess, notwithstanding all that had been said and done against her mother. And, therefore, as long as the Princess Charlotte was *alive*, the calumnies against her were confined to low and infamous whispers. These whispers, however, reached far and wide. They got to people's ears *across the Atlantic*. But, still, no *measures* were talked of.

As soon, however, as the young Princess was *dead*; as soon as that sun was *set for ever*; as soon as that *most unexpected* event took place; as

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soon as it was seen, that the unfortunate mother had lost all chance of ever being able to promote the interest or contribute towards the aggrandizement of any body; as soon as this event happened, the mother's enemies began to assume another tone, and they openly talked of crimes and of accusations.

In this state things were at the time of the death of the late king. Then the unfortunate lady became *Queen*; and, unless something were done to prevent it, she must, it was well known, be *crowned* with her husband. The day for his coronation was fixed on; and, therefore, it was necessary for her to return to England, or she must, in case of not returning, give up, tacitly, all claim to be considered as Queen, and, indeed, all claim to be considered as an innocent woman; because she very well knew the nature and extent and currency of the calumnies against her.

She, therefore, resolved to return; and she did return, in the manner, and under the circumstances, that we have witnessed. But, it now appears, that the ministers had *no thought of her returning*; that they expected, that she would consent to remain abroad, on condition of receiving a good thumping income to be *paid out of the taxes*. Therefore, when they heard, and knew, that Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD was actually gone to meet her, they appear to have taken serious alarm; and to have played off their last scheme for preventing her return.

Mr. BROUGHAM, who, some time ago, received an appointment as her *Attorney-General*, set off, with all speed to meet her in France. Lord HUTCHINSON went off too; and, it was *lucky* enough, that both these persons, the *Legal Adviser of the Queen* and the *Negociator for the ministers* reached St. Omer's (where) they met her) in the *same carriage!* Nay, we afterwards find, that, when Lord Hutchinson is writing to Mr. Brougham the terms which he has to propose, he employs *Mr. Brougham's brother's hand in the work!* How refined! This is court-etiquette, I suppose! Ancient dandy formality and dignity!

The proposition, as now *explained* by the ministers themselves, in their speeches, was, that the QUEEN should receive 50,000 pounds a year, on condition, that she should remain out of the kingdom, and that she should travel, or live, under some title, *other than that of Queen of England*. And, she was told, that, the moment she set her foot in the kingdom, *proceedings would be commenced against her*.

The QUEEN received this proposition with *indignation*; and immediately resolved *to brave the threateners to their teeth*. Mr. BROUGHAM *hesitated*, when she asked his opinion. He *did not advise her to come*; and, in his speech of Wednesday night, he very plainly blames Mr. WOOD for advising her to come! She left her "*Legal Adviser*" and the *Negociator* to commune together; and, fearing some

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trick to stop her on her way, and perhaps, to defeat her intention altogether, she hastened away from Saint Omers, got to Calais, and went instantly on board an English packet in the harbour. The tide was out. The *Pier is lofty*, and the shoal water of great length. But, she bravely went through all difficulties, in order to get clear of the French authorities. When she came off the shore at Dover, the sea was rough, the vessel could not get close in; but, she, at once, ventured into an open boat, seeming not to think herself safe, till she was actually on English ground!

Let us pause here, and reflect for a moment, if we have patience enough, on the nature of this proposition. Here is a lady; a Princess by birth, and a Queen by marriage, offered a sum of money as the price of her abandonment of her title, her state, and her country; and she is told that if she set her foot in that country that she will be prosecuted. To have hesitated one single moment would have been a complete proof of the foulest guilt. All mankind would have pronounced her guilty. It would have been utterly impossible for any one to suggest any thing in her defence; and yet, covered thus with pollution as she would have been, the people of England would have had to pay her fifty thousand pounds a year. The insult offered to the Queen was most outrageous certainly; but we ought never to forget, my friends, that something was to be pinched off from our scanty meals to go towards making up the money-part of the transaction. Observe, that the Ministers believe the Queen to be guilty, or they did not believe it. If they did believe it, how were they to answer to us for having tendered her *fifty thousand pounds a-year*; for having tendered to a criminal, to one whom they believe to be a polluted woman, as much money annually as goes to the maintenance of *two thousand five hundred labourers' families*? And, if they did not believe her to be guilty; if they did not believe her to be a polluted woman, how are they to answer to us; how are they to answer to the laws of the land, to common justice and humanity, the having made such a proposition to a Queen of England? Let them, whenever they charge us with a want of respect for the Government, give us, at the same time, an answer to these questions. Let them, when they next accuse us of disloyalty; of endeavours to degrade rank and dignity, tell us whether this was a *loyal* proposition; tell us, whether this proposition was calculated to inspire us with respect for the Government, and with veneration for the kingly office and authority.

Monstrous, however, as this proposition was, there was, it seems, found upon the face of the earth, a man to be the bearer of it, and happy I am to say that that man was *not a Radical!* We ought to feel pride, also, that the *legal Adviser*; or, as he is called in the debates, the "*constitutional* adviser," has

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taken particular pains of late to convince the world that *he is not a Radical*. Yet, we are now to see, that the whole of the flame is to be imputed *to us*: all the mischief that has taken place; all that is taking place; and all that may possibly take place in future! Mr. TIERNEY is, indeed, to come in for a small share with us; but amongst us who are called the *factious* and *disaffected*, we are to divide the flame of all the hubbub, all the noise, all the scandal, belonging to this transaction. CASTLEREAGH, in speaking of the advice, supposed to have been given to the QUEEN, to come to England, calls it criminal. He calls the persons giving that advice, *mischievous* and *false* advisers. He says that they advise the QUEEN to make *an appeal to the lowest orders of the people*; he says that he is sorry to perceive that there is no lack of a disposition in *a portion of the country*, to turn the affair to mischievous account; he says that he trusts that she will awaken to a sense of her own situation, and reflect upon the *stain, opprobrium*, and *reproach* that must await her, if she suffer herself to be the dupe of such *weak, designing*, and *wicked* men, who, in the worst event, would render her cause *less pitiable*, as well as *more odious*, in the eyes of all honourable men. He says that if the spirits of those partial and garbled disclosures, which were calculated to agitate the country *and awaken crime*, had been suffered to penetrate into her mind; if any individual had been suffered to approach her person, who from incapacity to give advice, had led her into such a *crooked and dishonourable path*, he trusted she would awaken to a sense of her own dignity, and submit her case to that tribunal only, which would afford the best means of vindicating her character! Mr. BROUGHAM, the "*constitutional adviser*," observed that the Queen had not *courted those Mobs of which the noble lord had spoken*. He prayed and implored the house to consider the Queen's forlorn situation, and *not to blame her* for listening to *certain recommendations*, which he was persuaded were *well meant*, "although he admitted "that they were not those of "*absolute wisdom*. (A LAUGH "HERE!) Undoubtedly he con- "sidered those recommenda- "tions as *well intended*, and, "therefore, as not justly subject "for an instant to *reprehension*; "but he flung himself on the "House, as the illustrious Fe- "male had done for her justifi- "cation, whether it was very "extraordinary that the conduct "consequent on those recom- "mendations had borne the ap- "pearance of making an appeal "of the nature and tendency of "which she was, nevertheless, "not in the slightest degree "aware? To that house she now "applied for justice. Nothing "which he could say could add "to the force of the solemn ap- "peal which she had that night "made to it. But, he might be "permitted to remark that it "was not extraordinary that an "individual placed in the pe-

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"culiarly difficult situation of "her Majesty, should open her "heart to the overflowing af- "fection of the honest people "of this country. Neglected "as she had been by some, "slighted by others, not fairly "or liberally treated by any, "left almost exclusively to her "professional advisers, was it "surprising that she should, "*for a moment, yield* to the "agreeable and soothing feel- "ing which must be produced "by finding her countrymen (of "what rank soever) still cling to "her with the affection which "they had expressed in former "times? He had thought it "necessary to make these pre- "liminary remarks, in order to "show that her Majesty's "having given vent to feelings "of gratitude *at the reception* "*she experienced*, was not only "*not improper*, but incumbent "on her. The only way to "have *avoided the occurrence* "was not *to have come in con-* "*tact with those by whose con-* "*duct it was elicited*; and this "was an object *which was con-* "*templated*, but which an *un-* "*fortunate accident had defeat-* "*ed.*"

Now, what is the plain meaning of all this pretty talk between these two kind and affectionate friends of the Queen? The first *falls foul* of Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD for the advice, which he gave the Queen, or, is supposed to have given her, to come to England, and to enter London publickly and by day-light. For being supposed to have given this advice, the ALDERMAN is, by the first of these gallant heroes, called *incapable, weak, wicked*, and every thing that is bad; and the *Legal Adviser*, the "*Constitutional Adviser*," answers the charge by saying that the advice was (*he is persuaded*) WELL MEANT, though not dictated by *absolute wisdom*; and here followed *a roar of laughter* in the Honourable House.

Whether the Alderman will suffer this to go off in silence on his part we shall see. But, the "*constitutional* adviser" goes on to *apologize* for the Queen's conduct, not only in coming to England, but in her receiving gratefully a kind and cordial welcome from the people. *Apology!* What does Mr. Brougham think, then, that this conduct in her needs an *apology!* Is this an offence? A man was, indeed, taken up and *held to bail*, at Bolton, in Lancashire, for going round the town to inform the people, that "William Cobbett had arrived at Liverpool in good health," and the Manchester authorities sent a written paper to me to let me know, that, if I attempted to *pass publicly* through that town, *they should interfere*; and they actually did bring forth horse, foot, and artillery on the occasion. It was upon this Manchester principle, I suppose, that the *apology* of the "*constitutional* adviser" was founded. That is to say, that it is a *crime*, or, at least, a great *fault*, in any one to run the risk of receiving marks of respect from the people, if those marks of respect be disagreeable to the

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Ministers. And, on this principle, the Queen was not to come to England; or, if she did come, she was to slip along *incog.* and to *steal* in to London by some *back* way, or in the *dark*.

I believe in my heart, that her Majesty neither received nor stood in need of the advice of *any one*. I believe, that she has acted all through from the dictates of her own mind. All her conduct has, upon this great occasion, been marked by that *decision*, *promptitude*, and *sharp-sightedness* for which strong-minded women are always more remarkable than men. They see *quicker* than men of equal comparative mind; and they are more *rapid* in following their thoughts by *acts*. In cases where great *suspicion* is necessary, they far surpass men. They penetrate more quickly and more deeply into all machinations against them. A bungling hypocrite may deceive a man; but it must be a clever scoundrel indeed that dupes a woman of any mind. Therefore, I firmly believe, that her Majesty was her *own adviser*; that she took the liberty to think, that the "*constitution*" did not forbid her to consult her own credit and honour, and that it permitted her to come into London by day-light! Nay, that, though her "constitutional adviser" had "contemplated" the preventing her from "coming in *contact*" with popular applause, it was no crime in her to differ in opinion from that "*constitutional*" gentleman! We should be come to a pretty pass indeed, if she had not a right to pass along the street, and bow to those who welcomed her return. A pretty pass indeed we are come to, if her doing this demands *an apology* from her "constitutional" defender.

However, let the advice spring from where it might, the conduct of her Majesty was, upon this occasion, every thing that was *wise* and *brave*; and this will be proved by the result. To be sure that conduct does, as Mr. TIERNEY has said, place the parties to the *negociation* in a most "*piteous plight*," and of all these parties the "constitutional adviser" really seems to make the worst figure. He tries hard to wriggle out of the scrape, and he endeavours to cast a slur on the ALDERMAN; but, though the Alderman has not yet *spoken* on the subject, the public can clearly see that he triumphs over the arch adviser. If it were "not *absolute wisdom*" it was something too deep for this deep lawyer. It was a mine sprung under him and the Courtier; and must have left them looking very awkwardly at each other!

As to the question before Parliament, it will not be known how the House of Commons will decide, until what I am now writing has gone to the press. But, it is easy to see, that, be the decision what it may, the Queen will have done infinite service to the *country*, as well as to *herself*, by the bravery that she has displayed, and by the steps that she has taken; for, she will have opened the

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eyes of hundreds of thousands, who were blind before her arrival; and, therefore, all the oppressed part of the nation ought to feel great gratitude towards her.

The *conduct* of her Majesty stands in need of no *defence*, except against her "*defender*." And now, my friends, I beseech your attention to some passages in that singular defender's speech. He implores the House to *pause*. And, under what circumstances is the *pause* called for? Why, in the first place, 50,000 pounds a-year are offered to her Majesty, on condition that she will *keep away from the kingdom* and not use the title of *Queen*; and, she is told, that, if she set her foot in the kingdom, *proceedings will be instantly commenced against her*. She comes in defiance of this threat. A message is sent to Parliament accompanied with *evidence relating to her conduct*. And Lord Castlereagh, in moving for the committee distinctly says, that the documents on the table contain *grave accusations supported by the most respectable evidence*.

Thus stands the *charge*. The QUEEN sends *her* message, and demands *publicity*. She demands, that her accusers be *named*; and, in short, that there may be an *open* and *fair trial*.

Thus stands the question before the people of England and before the whole world. And what, then, when it was proposed by the Ministers to refer evidence to a *secret* committee; what, then, I say, ought, at such a time, and under such circumstances, to have been the language of her "*defender*?" Every one will say, that it ought to have been the language of defiance; that he ought to have expressed his indignation at the attempt to submit the paper to secret investigation; that he ought, in the most unqualified manner, to have insisted on the complete innocence of the Royal person who had honoured him with her confidence; that he ought to have challenged her enemies to do their worst; and that, in short, he ought to have abstained from the use of any one single word calculated to excite a suspicion that he entertained a doubt of the result. Instead of this, he calls upon the House not to treat the proposition of the Ministers with indignation and scorn; not to reject it agreeably to the wishes expressed in the message of his royal client; but to *pause!* to stop; to conceive themselves to be approaching the edge of a precipice, all the dangers of which it was impossible for them to foresee! He talked of nothing but of fearful consequences; dreadful results; horrible discoveries; indelible disgrace to royalty, and destruction to all order and all law! Was this the way to *defend* his royal client? Was this the way to convince the House and the public that he, her confidential adviser, knew that she was innocent; leaving out of the question all *feeling*; leaving this out of the question in a case where *he* is concerned; was this the way to prevent the possibility of any one supposing that he

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suspected the existence of weakness in the cause of his client? Was this the way, in short, that any man of even common understanding would have acted, if his object had been to *defend* the reputation of the Queen?

I have here nearly described this part of the speech of the "constitutional defender;" but, the passage is so remarkable that I must give it to the reader in the gentleman's own words as I find them reported in the newspapers. After saying that he had advised the Queen not to accept of the precise proposition that was made to her; after saying this, he said that he had felt *unfeigned concern* at the breaking off of the treaty; and, that it was but candid for him to add that if other propositions had been made to her which did not wear the *appearance* of an acknowledgement of guilt, he would have been the first to advise her "to go rather "a step *too far* than not far "enough, to lend herself to an "honourable but a private and "amicable adjustment." Now, observe, this gentleman could hear the degrading proposition made to her; he could hear the fifty thousand pounds tendered; he could hear the threat of proceedings against her if she dared to set her foot in England; and *after* this he would have dared to stand up before the Queen and look her in the face and tell her that she ought to lend herself to a private adjustment with the parties who had just made to her that proposition! It is related of Queen Elizabeth, that she gave her favourite the Earl of Essex a *box in the ear*. What her Majesty might have bestowed on this lawyer if her own sound judgment and promptitude had not withdrawn her from the sphere of contact with him, I shall not pretend to say; but, certain it is, if she could have received such advice from him under such circumstances without some most marked expression of her indignation, she must, to all her other excellent qualities, add that of possessing patience and forbearance to a degree beyond those ever before possessed by woman. The truth is (and where is the man so great a fool as not to perceive it?) that there could not be, after the making of the proposition to her by Lord Hutchinson, any private adjustment which would not have been, not only "an *appearance* of an acknowledgement of guilt;" but, an *acknowledgement* itself. This must be seen by every body. It is possible that the private adjustment might have been *kept private*. I say it is *possible*, but it is very unlikely. Nay, it is next to impossible. Her enemies would have had every motive in the world for making it public; and, when once made public, her reputation was blasted for ever. But, whether made public or not, she herself would know it; her adviser would know it; and the Court negociator would know it; and a woman that could have existed and shown her face in the world under a consciousness of having been a party to such a transaction could have been an object of envy with no creature that

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ever appeared in female attire. Yet, to place herself in such a situation is what this learned adviser tells us plainly that he would have counselled!

Is it not well known that, in certain cases, it is infamous *to treat at all?* Are not nations, in their concerns with each other; are not individuals, in their disputes, governed by this principle? If one nation make a proposition to another, which is *essentially* degrading and insulting, is not the treaty instantly broken off; or is not the nation who has been insulted, wholly dishonoured if they continue the negociation? If a quarrel take place between two men, and the one in the way of accommodation offer to the other terms essentially degrading, is not that other held to be for ever dishonoured, if he condescend to continue the negociation? This is so well known, that it needs no more to be insisted on than that summer gives us warmer weather than winter; and yet this principle, universally acknowledged and acted upon amongst all mankind, amongst all descriptions of persons, down to the very labourers in the fields, would have been abandoned by the advice of this legal defender of the Queen. It was not, then, "*absolute wisdom,*" that induced her Majesty to take a different course; but, it was something a great deal better than *his* absolute wisdom. It was a consciousness of innocence; it was rectitude of intention; it was indignation at insult. These were the guides of her Majesty, and they, together with her quick discernment, her promptitude and that bravery which will remain a subject of admiration when his harangues will all have been forgotten; it was these which extricated her from the trammels with which his advice was preparing to surround her, and brought her, swift as the winds, to appeal to the plain understandings and the honest feelings of the people of England.

I now come to that passage of the gentleman's speech, to which I before alluded, and which I shall here insert as I find it reported in the Times newspaper, which in this case, as in all others, contains the fullest report of the speeches delivered in Parliament. Having stated the nature of the advice which he should have given, he proceeds, in the passage I am about to insert, to give the *reason why* he should have offered that advice; and this he does in the following dread-inspiring words. "His reason was this;—that, "from the beginning to the end "of these distressing transac- "tions, it had been his most "fervent wish, and upon that "principle his conduct had been "built, that if it were pos- "sible for her Majesty, con- "sistently with her innocence, "her honour, and her safety, "to submit to a private com- "promise rather than provoke "a public discussion, she should "give her consent. In this "question the interest of the "royal family was most deeply "concerned, and the interests "of the constitution were im- "plicated in proportion; the

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" peace, the tranquillity, the
" very morals of the nation,
" were involved: we were on
" the brink of a precipice, or,
" rather, we were not quite so
" near the edge as to afford a
" clear view of all its dangers;
" and if those who counselled
" the Crown did not know,
" they ought to know, that
" when once the line was
" passed, retreat was impos-
" sible, and discussion inevit-
" able. Not merely was the
" Queen's character at stake—
" not merely must the treat-
" ment which she had received
" in this or that instance be in-
" vestigated—not merely must
" the inquiry extend to this or
" that illustrious house with
" which she was connected—
" but all the private history of
" all those exalted individuals
" to whom she was related,
" might (he did not say must)
" be forced into the conflict.—
" Then, the House must give
" him leave to say, it would
" have such another session as
" had been known some eleven
" years ago, when all public
" business was suspended, when
" all feelings of ordinary politi-
" cal interest were annihilated,
" when the common state gos-
" sip of the day was stilled, when
" parties ceased to engage, and
" political rancour had been
" overwhelmed in the great en-
" grossing topic of the private
" life, habits and feelings of one of
" the noblest personages in the
" realm (*Cheers.*) He must be a
" more sagacious man than he
" had hitherto had the fortune to
" meet, who, in the present
" stage of the business, at no
" great distance perhaps from
" the commencement of the in-
" quiry, could pretend to de-
" scribe the course it would
" take; but he must be a man
" indeed of miraculous sagacity
" (he did not think that even
" the noble lord was that man,
" and, if not he, certainly there
" could be no other) who would
" take upon himself to say what
" conflicting interests, without
" yielding to popular feeling or
" clamour, not desirous to gratify
" the greedy appetite of mobs,
" but holding them bad in
" themselve, and more dangerous
" in their embrace than in their
" enmity, (like some rabid
" animals, whose saliva was
" more dreadful than their bite,)
" might ultimately produce.
" Who should assert what
" course men bound by pro-
" fessional ties to regard no-
" thing but the safety of their
" client (he referred not to
" members of this house, and
" therefore had no allusion to
" himself or to his learned col-
" league) might think it neces-
" sary to recommend? Others
" must be trusted—their royal
" client must rely upon the skill,
" the knowledge, and the pru-
" dence of others; and who
" should decide that absolute
" necessity might not compel
" them to advise a proceeding,
" of which some idea might be
" formed by those who had
" marked what had passed in
" this country eleven years ago?
" He, then, must be a sagacious
" man who could assert what
" course necessity might com-
" pel; and he must be a bold
" man who would say, that if

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"he were in the situation of a "professional adviser of the "Queen, he would hesitate for "one moment in securing his "client, even at such a despe- "rate expense. An advocate, "be it remembered, had but "one point to look to; he was "ruined, disgraced, degraded— "he might even belong to a "Milan tribunal, if he looked to "any other interest than that "to which his character was "pledged. (*Hear, hear.*) But "he must be a much bolder "man still, who, with all these "prospects before his eyes, "would plunge the country "into such fatal inquiries, if "there were even a bare pos- "sibility of avoiding them. "(*Continued cheers from the "opposition benches.*) For "God's sake—for the sake of "the country—for the sake of "those whose memories might "mislead them, whose confi- "dence might betray, or whose "blindness might beguile them "—for the sake of the wives "and daughters of all who "loved decency, morality, and "who recollected when, but a "few years since, the opening "of a newspaper was regarded "with fear and disgust by the "father of every modest and "well conducted family—he "called upon the house to "pause—only to pause, to as- "certain if it were yet possible "to escape from this threatened "calamity."

So that, the amount of all this horrifying language is this; that he would have advised the Queen to submit to terms, which I say must have been everlastingly dishonourable to her, lest an investigation into her conduct should bring out matter that would produce almost the destruction of order and of law. He tells the house a little further on, that if the house go into the matter, they must, after they have done with the green-bag of the King receive one on the part of the Queen; that the late Mr. Whitbread and himself, were the only persons who had seen the whole of the documents it contained: and that of late they had been much increased. Now, without stopping to inquire whether this gentleman really consults the interests and tranquillity of the royal family in throwing out such a string of *terrifying hints*; whether he does this for the sake of preserving their reputation and for the sake of preventing the existence of an association of ideas, which, in these ticklish times, might lead the mass of the people to think less respectfully with regard to royalty than they now think; whether he had the real interest of the kingly office and of the royal family solely in view, without any consideration of the importance which it might be to himself to be distinctly known to be the almost sole possessor of this immense mass of hitherto closely concealed matter; whether the learned gentleman were more anxious to prevent the gratification of the greedy appetite of mobs, to prevent those "*rabid animals*" from participating in the enjoyment of this

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delectable matter; whether he were more anxious to do this than to impress the House, the Ministers, the King, and every branch of his royal house, that he, the learned gentleman himself, had almost the exclusive possession of the whole of this gratifying food; whether he was more anxious to prevent others from acting a "*rabid*" part than to let the world clearly see that he had the power of acting a rabid part himself; whether, in short, this was a first bold attempt to thrust himself into one of those places which, during the debate he more than once said the present ministers had held too long: how this might be, I shall not pretend to determine; but, as a *defence of the Queen;* as a *defence* of his royal client, this passage of his speech was the most extraordinary that ever fell from the lips of mortal man: for, what does it amount to? to a threat of *recrimination*, and nothing more! And, I put it to your plain understanding; to the experience of your whole lives from your childhood to the moment when you shall read this, whether you ever heard of a threat of recrimination *unaccompanied with the existence of conscious guilt?* Does it not happen every day of our lives; did not happen to us all when we were children? "I will tell "of your taking the fruit" says one; "and I will tell of your "taking the sugar," says the other. One Billingsgate drab calls another a thief; and the thief in return calls the other something else which women hold to be full as disgraceful as theft. When you hear a man charged with any thing of which he ought to be ashamed; and when, instead of denying the charge; instead of challenging his accuser to an investigation; instead of calling for proof relative to that charge, he says to the accuser, "I know "something of you," do you not immediately conclude that he is *guilty of the charge?* To be sure you do: this is the universal practice of mankind. Nay, we go a great deal farther than this; for there is a double conclusion: we conclude that the accused party is guilty, and that the accuser is innocent; and we justly so conclude, because, if the accused party had known of the existence of crimes in the accuser before, he should have made known the crimes before; and we therefore look upon the allegation of them as being now brought from motives of *spite and revenge.* We accordingly presume the party to be innocent against whom this spite and revenge is brought into operation. In the present case, there is not only all this that I have just been describing; but there is something in addition to it, and that is, here is a call on the part of this gentleman for the House to *pause.* That is to say, to hush the matter up. This makes a great addition to the quantity of suspicion which the threat of recrimination is calculated to excite: because, it would seem to say that, if the one party will say nothing more, the other will say nothing more; and this is

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the "constitutional defender's" way of *defending* the character of his royal client!

Is this the way in which that royal client *herself* has proceeded in the various long, tedious and vexatious chain of proceedings against her? Has she ever in any part of her defence on any occasion, put forward recriminatory matter? Let any one read the contents of Mr. PERCEVAL'S book, and they will there see how different her mode of defence was from that which this gentleman has adopted. Doubtless she had advisers then; but those advisers knew a great deal better than to pursue a mode of defence such as that upon which we are now observing. Doubtless, during the course of a trial, and particularly a trial relating to a subject of the nature of that here contemplated, matter may be given in evidence, which matter may not redound to the credit of the plaintiff or prosecutor, or to the divers parties concerned in the prosecution; and then such evidence is not to be looked upon as recriminatory matter arguing a consciousness of guilt in the party under trial; because it forms part of the evidence necessary to the defence. But, if recriminatory matter be *threatened* in order *to prevent a trial*, then, it amounts to the strongest possible presumptive evidence of consciousness of guilt in the party accused; and yet if the passage of the learned adviser's speech, which I have just quoted; and especially when taken in conjunction with another part which I am now going to quote, and which more immediately follows the passage already quoted; if these do not amount to a threat of recrimination in order to prevent further proceedings, there is no meaning in the words of the English language. If these do not amount to such a threat and for such a purpose, I must beg this learned teacher of the nation to be very clear in his "*Educa-*" *tion Digest*," to give us a clue by which we may get at the meaning of words when put together in sentences by a political lawyer.

The whole of this speech is remarkable for tortuousness of arrangement, round-about expression, and dubiousness of meaning and of object; so that, it requires no small pains to come at the real intention of the speaker. However, we clearly enough understand that he wished the House to pause; that he wished it to stop further proceedings; and that he intended to recommend to the Queen to enter again into negociation with the ministry or their *agents*, of whom he denied that he had been one, though it appeared that he had been informed a month before of the intention of the Ministers to take proceedings against the Queen if she landed in England; and though Mr. CANNING did, in his manly and feeling answer to the learned gentleman mention some things quite enough so stagger the faith of even the truest believer in the learned gentleman's total absence of all communication and concert with the Ministers.

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After having, as we have seen, threatened recrimination unless the proceedings were put a stop to, he proceeded to state how he should go to work, in order to prevail upon the Queen to submit to a renewal of the negociations; and these are his words. "If the means of avoiding it were yet afforded, he "put it to hon. Members, as "they valued every thing that "was dear to them—as they "valued the character of England as a nation—whether "they would not hesitate before they opened a subject disgusting in itself, and most destructive in its consequences. "Let it not be forgotten that "there were three parties who "took a deep interest in this "discussion. First, the King, "who was most desirous that "the inquiry should proceed—"who felt that he had nothing "to dread from disclosures, and "who was unfortunately impressed with the idea that in "his high office it was necessary for his vindication that "something should be undertaken. Next, the Queen, who "acted nearly, if not entirely, "in the same spirit, who thought "it requisite for her own security, for the clearing of her "own honour, that the inquiry "should be persisted in to the "end: she shrunk not from it, "but courted it: she was prepared to meet it: she had "come from safety into—he "would not say *jeopardy*, because the innocent could know "no jeopardy, but—trouble, "vexation, and anxiety, in going through the whole of this "painful, and, in his view, "*odious and frightful* investigation. Both of these high "parties would instantly reject "the advice he was now tendering; but there was a third "party, whose wishes he hoped "the House would not consult, "he alluded to those *out of* "*doors, who were possessed of* "*a greedy and diseased appetite for slander*, and who only "gave up their chase of vulgar "private scandal on some such "emergency as the present, "where the allurement was increased by its affecting the "most exalted individuals in "the land. Those who laboured under the infliction of such "a *morbid desire*, and those, "who *basely made a profit* by "*pandering for its gratification*, had a direct interest in "urging forward the inquiry, "and most bitterly would they "be disappointed if it did not "proceed. They formed a "powerful body; but he was "not their representative; and "if he had the honour of being "a servant of her Majesty, he "had also the higher honour of "being a member of this House. "As her servant he would not "disobey her commands, and "where her honour was at "stake, he would do his utmost "to defend it; but in the humble performance of his duty he "felt called upon here even to "*thwart* her Majesty's inclination, and he would tell her, "Madam, if negociation yet be "possible, rather go too far, and "throw yourself upon your "country and upon parliament "for your vindication, than not

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"go far enough: if yet it be "possible to avert the ruin "which this course, if persisted "in, will bring upon the nation, "do your utmost to postpone "the calamity."

This is very good abuse upon the publishers of newspapers and upon the public itself.—There can be little doubt that the learned gent. alludes more particularly to the *Times* newspaper, which has taken so just, so manly, and so powerful a part in these discussions; but, who does he mean by the people *out of doors*? Why, he means the public, to be sure; and the public he accuses of being possessed of a greedy and diseased appetite for slander, and says that they will be cruelly mortified if the investigation does not proceed. And which investigation he calls an odious and frightful one; and deprecates it as he values every thing that is dear to the character of England as a nation.—Why should he accuse the English people of possessing a greedy and diseased appetite for slander? and say that they will prefer slander on the Royal Family to any other species of slander; And why should he call it *pandering* for this gratification; why should he accuse of such pandering those who write for the information of the public? Having made use of these expressions, having resorted to this mode of *defending* his royal client, he need not, in words, have called our recollection to the year 1809, when the discussions were going on with regard to the corruptions of which *Mrs. Clarke* was the agent; he need not, to all the rest of what he said, have added this allusion and given rise to this association of ideas, so manifestly disadvantageous to his royal client: he need not have carried us back by precise words to the year 1809; for, his train of argument, so degrading to the cause of the royal lady whose defence had been placed in his hands; the train of argument, which he now resorted to, was precisely the train of argument resorted to upon that occasion. Eloquent as his abuse of the press and of the public; strong as is his picture of the pandering disposition of the one and of the voracious, foul and disloyal appetite of the other, that picture really contains not one single trait or tint which will not be found in the speeches of the injudicious, not to say treacherous "*defenders*" of his Royal Highness the Duke of York. In many of the points, agitated at that time, grounds were offered, and fair grounds too, for such a defence of his Royal Highness as would have satisfied any body but a fool, a fanatick or a real enemy of kingly government; and, as but a very small portion of the public consisted of men of this description, his Royal Highness might, by fair and candid argument, have been ably defended, as to many parts, at least, of his conduct. But, not so thought his defenders. They flew on upon the *press* and upon the *people*, in precisely the same manner, in precisely the same strain of invective, and in almost precisely the same words,

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the same "*rabid*" words, which have now come from the lips of the learned author of that famous "*Digest*" which he has in petto for the education, literary, moral, political and religious, of this people of "morbid desire," of "greedy appetite for slander," and of "peculiar taste for royal scandal." This mode of defence in the case of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, produced, as the learned gentleman can recollect as well as I, a degree of irritation in the public mind, never equalled, perhaps, upon any former occasion since the days of James the Second. The public have feeling as well as the members of Parliament. They are not very fond of that expression "*out of doors*;" but, at any rate, whenever it is made use of, it should be made use of without any thing of a degrading and insulting nature. Great care should be taken, in case of degradation and insult, to be very discriminating; to point out the particular class levelled at; and almost the particular individuals; because, even those persons who look upon the members of the House of Commons as being really and truly the representatives of the people, do not think it quite natural that the people should be spoken of with contumely by their representatives. In looking back, therefore, to the famous year of 1809, the learned adviser, even supposing him not to have been wholly under the guidance of "*absolute wisdom*," ought to have been taught a little by what took place at that period; and, he ought to have remembered that the public, the moment the *defenders* of the royal Duke *began their work of defence* by the most outrageous and most "rabid" attacks upon the conduct of the press and upon the disposition of the people to seek the gratification of an appetite for slander; he ought to have remembered that, from the moment this mode of defence made its appearance, the great mass of the people concluded that those defenders felt a consciousness that they were unable to produce anything like a real defence. Therefore, to carry the public mind back to that period; to produce an association of ideas such as must be produced by so carrying it back; to assimilate in this way the case of his royal client with the case which was then agitated; was, in my humble opinion, to do the very thing which the most bitter enemy of her Majesty (if such enemy she can have upon earth) would have wished to see done.

But, let us now come to the main point of all; and that is, the advice which that gentleman tells the House *he is now prepared to give to her Majesty*. The words, as above quoted, are these; "as her servant, he "would not disobey her com-"mands; and where *her ho-"nour was at stake*, he would "do his utmost to defend it; "but, in the humble perform-"ance of his duty, he felt called "upon here even to *thwart* her "Majesty's inclination, and he "would tell her, 'Madam, if "'negociation yet be possible,

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" ' rather go *too far*, and throw
" ' yourself upon your country
" ' and upon Parliament for your
" ' vindication, than not go far
" ' enough: if it yet be possible
" ' to avert the *ruin*, which this
" ' course, if persisted in, will
" ' bring upon the nation, do
" ' your utmost to postpone the
" ' calamity.' "

Now, I put it to any candid man of plain understanding, whether these be expressions to be expected from the lips of the defender of a woman's reputation? It is impossible for us to conclude that this man, who is in all the secrets of her Majesty, does not entertain some terrible *fears* as to the result of an investigation into her conduct. Why, upon any other supposition, should he apprehend *ruin*, and ruin to the nation, too, from this investigation? It is impossible for us not to conclude, that he thinks such facts must come out as will give at least a most terrible shock to the public mind. Upon any other supposition than this, we really must conclude that the gentleman was in a "*rabid*" state when he uttered these words. In short, I defy any man to say that there is in this case any other than this alternative: either the speaker knew that some dreadful facts would come out, most dangerous to the safety of the throne, or that the speaker himself was out of his senses; or, at the very least, that he was not under the guidance of "*absolute* wisdom."

The main point, however, is the *advice* which the "constitutional defender" is, as the report of the speech tells us, now about to give. The Queen thinks it requisite, for her own security, for the clearing of her own honour, that the inquiry shall be persisted in to the end. Her Majesty is very right; and though it may be consistent with the legal defender's sense of duty, while he says that she is innocent, to represent the trouble, vexation, and anxiety that she has to go through as a state of "*jeopardy*;" though the use of this word may be consistent with his sense of duty, still he does say that she is innocent. Well, if she be innocent, as she certainly is, what advice ought she to receive other than that which would lead her to insist upon the full enjoyment of all her rights; all and every one of her rights; or to insist upon a full, open, and fair trial? What other advice is there to give? This gentleman may talk as long as he pleases of the greedy and diseased appetite of the public; of the morbid desire of the people and of that of the press who "*busely*" would make a profit of "pandering for the gratification of this morbid desire;" he may talk about this as long as he pleases; but the public have *no desire to see any investigation at all*. The proposition at St. Omer's, that never-to-be-forgotten proposition and the still-less-if-possible-to-be-forgotten threat with which the proposition was accompanied; neither of these arose our of the morbid desire of the public, nor from that pandering disposition which is here ascribed to the press. That pro-

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position and that threat arose not out of any desire of the public; not out of any desire of those that this teacher of the nation calls "*mob*" and compares to "*rabid animals*," but it arose out of the desire of other parties with whom the learned gentleman was in some sort co-operating. The public have, therefore, no blame to take to themselves upon this occasion. The press, except the *ultra loyal* part of it, has, in no instance within my recollection, endeavoured to foment the differences unhappily existing between the present partners of the throne. And, coming to those "*disaffected*" persons to whom Lord Castlereagh alluded, and who, he said, would endeavour to profit from the unhappy differences to further their own seditious purposes, let me ask the honourable gentleman whether he can point to one single document, one single speech, or one single instance of any sort, in which the reformers have made even the slightest attempt to avail themselves of any advantage that might have been offered to them by this untoward circumstance relating to the relative situation of the royal husband and wife? They never have, but, I could refer the honourable gentleman to the writings of those *loyal* persons the Giffords, the Bowleses, and the rest of that most loyal and most hungry tribe, in which he would find every possible effort made to rake up dirt from this source wherewith to soil and fix an everlasting stain upon the character of his present Majesty. Therefore, the public in general, and particularly the reformers, having never meddled with this matter, the whole people are unjustly accused upon this occasion; and I believe that there is no desire on the part of the people, that any investigation at all should take place; provided always, however, and let that clearly be understood to be my meaning as far as I am concerned, that her Majesty the Queen, for justice sake in the first place, for her own sake in the next place, and for the honour of the women of this kingdom in the next place; that her Majesty be put in full and entire possession of all and every one of her rights as Queen of this country. If this be done, the people will of course look upon it that her Majesty is innocent of every thing that can in the mind of any sensible and candid person, reflect disgrace upon her sex and her high station. This will be quite enough for the people. It is for those perambulating budgets of slander, or as they are well described by the Times news-paper "the reptiles in Bond-street, filthy with snuff and blinded with whiskers;" it is for wretches like these to foment the difference and to urge on an investigation in order to get out something to justify the slanders which their sycophancy and their desire to live upon the labours of the people have urged them to propagate; it is for reptiles like these to desire to bring out the lies of turned-off valets and *femmes-de-chambres*; it is for reptiles like these to stand in need of stuff

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like this to enliven the circle of their gaming-tables and their stews and their other infamous places of resort; but the people of this country, who, generally speaking, and almost universally speaking, live very moral lives, and are happy in their own domestic relations, stand in need of no such gratification. But, they have heard of the insult, they have read the proposition, they have read the threat, and with the name of a lord at the bottom of them; and, if I can judge of the people by myself, they will never be satisfied until the infamous insult receive *reparation*; and that reparation is to be obtained but in one of two ways: an open and fair investigation; or, the placing of her Majesty in the full enjoyment of all and every one of her rights as Queen of England.

This is the feeling of the people; and how is this feeling to be met by the advice which the learned gentleman says he intends to give. He says that he will do his *utmost* to defend her honour where that is at stake. *Utmost* was not a very good word upon this occasion, in my humble opinion. If I had had the honour to be the defender of a Queen, I would have pawned, not my "*utmost*"; but my own honour; that is to say, I would have pledged myself at once and to a certainty to defend her honour. I would not have made use of a word in a case like this which should have implied a possibility of doubt in my own mind. I would have spoken as if I had been as sure as I was of night succeeding day. I would have spoken as if the *bare word* of a Queen was quite sufficient to make me certain as to the result. Or, *I would not have spoken at all.* In such a case there is no middle course to steer. That which WHITFIELD said in a fanatical flight may be said in seriousness here, that he who *doubts* is *damned*. To be damned is a very bad thing; but in such a case it is better to be damned than to appear to doubt. This wary gentleman seems, however, to be made of very different materials. He will go to the Queen, he says, and tell her that if negociation be yet possible (mind, if it be yet possible), to go into it, by all means; and when she is got into it, rather to go *too far* than not go far enough; and this you will observe, my friends, with those very identical parties who made her the proposition at St. Omer's to take a sum of money, to drop her title, to sneak about on the continent in dishonour, and who threatened her in case of non-compliance, with a prosecution for criminal conduct. We have heard, my friends, most villainous abuse heaped upon us radicals. We have been stigmatized as the "lower orders." Now I firmly believe from the bottom of my soul, that amongst all the ragged radicals in this our distressed and ragged country, there is not one single man who will not feel his blood boil within him at the idea of such advice as this being tendered, being uttered by a lawyer to the

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Queen of this country. "Where "her *honour* is concerned!" Why, her honour is concerned in the very existence of a negociation. There can be no negociation entertained by her with the parties who made the former proposition and uttered the threat, without an abandonment of honour. To treat with those parties is dishonour in itself. And as to the throwing of herself upon her country and the Parliament *for her vindication*, what does that mean? What import have these words, I wonder, in the "Education "Digest" forthcoming? How is her vindication to be made, without trial, or without a full recognition of her rights? Process is begun against her. Rights are withheld in consequence of the accusation. This withholding is punishment. Cease the process and give the rights, and there is vindication. But, any thing short of giving the rights and giving them all, too, is punishment still, and presumption of guilt. This is what I should say, if I were the advocate of the Queen. Her Majesty is called upon to *throw herself* upon nobody and nothing. She is called upon to do no act, to place herself in no situation to which this phrase, long appropriated to the purlieus of the Old Bailey, can be applicable. If I were the legal adviser of her Majesty, I would, if I had been accustomed to have criminals under my safe conduct, have endeavoured to drop the language of the cells of Newgate, and would by no means have thought to advise her to *throw herself* upon any thing or any body: but, to continue in the dignified course which her Majesty has always pursued; that is, demand the full enjoyment of her rights, or, if they were refused, a fair and open trial.

Whether the learned gentleman will have the hardihood to stand up before the Queen and offer her the advice, which he has described in the passage of his speech above quoted by me, I cannot tell; but I am quite sure that advice will be received with the same indignation and scorn that were the lot of the proposition and the threat at St. Omers. Her Majesty is here safe in England. She is in no danger; not even from that species of gentry, the employment of whom this same learned gentleman not long ago so ably defended, to the infinite satisfaction of the ministers. And, by the way, it is not very surprising, that the same person who so fully approved of the employment of Edwards, whom Mr. Alderman Wood so laudably endeavoured to bring to justice; it is not very surprising that this same learned gentleman should not attribute other measures, supposed to be imputable to the Alderman, to the dictation of "absolute wis-"dom." In a case like that of her Majesty, which needs no support but that of truth, fair dealing and justice, an ounce of honesty is worth a waggon load of craft; and I am very certain that her Majesty's clear sightedness will be a sufficient protec-

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tion against all the attempts that may be made to inveigle her into a compromise that would tarnish her fame.

In order to be able to judge properly of the conduct of the learned gentleman in this affair, we must not stop when we get as far back as St. Omers. We must go back to the month of July 1819, when, as we learn from the speech of Mr. Canning, a communication was made to the ministers, respecting the Queen, from the learned gentleman himself; and Mr. Canning says that every one of the propositions made to the Queen at St. Omers were founded on that communication; and, *therefore:* (mark the therefore); therefore the ministers did not suppose that the St. Omers proposition would be regarded degrading. Mr. CANNING says farther, that he could well understand that the QUEEN might receive the proposition with indignation, but that he could not understand how the learned gentleman came to receive it either with indignation or surprise. The following is the passage of Mr. CANNING's speech. "They "were asked how they could "think of making proposals to "her Majesty which must have "been instantly rejected! Ministers had, at an early period of these discussions received a communication under the seal of secrecy; the conditions under which they received that communication prevented him from stating the quarter from whence it came; but when Ministers "were goaded for originating "such monstrous propositions as "those made to her Majesty "were described to be, he felt "it necessary to, say, that nothing but the obligation of "secrecy prevented him from "naming the quarter from "whence that communication "came in the month of July, "1819; and *every one of the "propositions made to her Majesty were founded on that "communication.* Those propositions, he was entitled to "say, were but the prototypes of those suggested to "Government from a quarter "which certainly did not commit her Majesty (*hear, hear,* from Mr. Brougham), but still "from a quarter which led the "Government to suppose that "the propositions made to her "Majesty were not likely to "be considered as degrading. "He would declare upon his "honour, that he for one felt "the most undoubted confidence, that they would have "been accepted. If, therefore, "the negociation failed, as it "unfortunately had failed, the "lively and unexpected indignation of her Majesty he "could well understand (*hear, hear, hear!*)—but from the "propositions that had been "made he saw no reason for "the expression of surprise or "indignation coming from any "other quarter. He believed "the honourable and learned "gentleman went to the Queen "anxious to complete the treaty "in a satisfactory manner. He "(Mr. Canning) was astonished "when he heard that the ne-

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" gociation had failed; but what " he considered still more ex- " traordinary, were the terms of " surprise and indignation ex- " pressed by the honourable " and learned gentleman."

In another part of his speech, Mr. Canning spoke of Mr. Brougham as having been employed in the negociation by Lord Liverpool! This was a pretty tale, indeed. No wonder that he travelled in the same boat and same chaise with Lord Hutchinson. No wonder that he did not look upon her Majesty's speedy departure from him at St. Omers as having been dictated by absolute wisdom; or, in other words, as proceeding from what he evidently wished to mark, as the folly of Mr. Alderman Wood! When Mr. Brougham came to endeavour to explain these things alluded to in Mr. Canning's speech, he said and asserted most solemnly on his honour, that her Majesty was not in the slightest degree implicated in those proceedings; and that she had no more knowledge of them and no more influence over them than the child unborn. Here is a pretty matter to come out. Here is this offensive and insulting proposition traced back by the ministers to the " constitutional adviser" himself; that very " constitu- " tional adviser," who complains of *morbid desire* in the public, and of *base pandering* on the part of the press!

If the Queen knew nothing of that communication which Mr. Canning spoke of, by what authority did he make that proposition? Who gave him authority to make any communication at all? However, he comes next to speak of his having been employed, as was asserted by Mr. Canning, in the St. Omers negociation by Lord Liverpool; and, upon this he says, that no one of his Majesty's ministers had ever made such a proposition to him. He had, he said, waited on Lord Liverpool, not at the desire of Lord Liverpool. He had not applied to him. *He had made an application to a higher quarter.* Now, that must have been to the King; and he was himself the bearer of a proposition from Lord Liverpool to the Queen. Here we see the gentleman pretty thick in the business. Very much like an agent on both sides; and, as Mr. Tierney observed, all the parties concerned in the negociation had got themselves into a most piteous plight. The learned gentleman observed in his explanation, that he, " at pre- " sent, felt himself under a dif- " ficulty of entering into his " *own defence.*" And, verily, he seems to have been in difficulty enough. " But, he pledged " himself, *when the enquiry was* " *at an end*, to bring forward " that defence, and if he did not " show that there was nothing " inconsistent in being a party " to the proposal of 1819, and " if he did not show that there " was nothing inconsistent in " his taking part in the St. " Omers negociation, and also in " taking the course which he had " now done in the present dis- " cussion, he *hoped* . . . . ." what, think you my friends? to be d——d? No: but he hoped " that the House would never

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"give any credit to an assertion of his hereafter." And so I say too; and so we say all.

After these disclosures, which we feel as interesting as any that the Green Bag can contain, and infinitely more interesting to us, the people, we shall feel but very little uneasiness at this learned adviser's attacks on our morbid desires, on our greedy appetites and on the base pandering of the press. We shall, if we keep these disclosures in view, be able to console ourselves for the expression of the learned gentleman's disapprobation, and shall wait without ungovernable impatience for the production of that famous "Education Digest" which is to instruct us in the practice of sincerity, fidelity, and an absence of greediness. It has been observed, for some little time past, that the learned gentleman has appeared to take a longing look across the House. His memorable defence of the employment of spies, which was so loudly applauded by Mr. Canning, as a complete justification of the ministers in their pursuing that amiable system, was, it will be perceived by looking back a little, co-existent in point of time with his interviews with Lord Liverpool, relating to the St. Omers negociation; or, at least, to some negociation of somewhat the same kind. It was rumoured at that very time, that he was sheering off from the Whigs; and, now comes out the clear developement of the matter. No wonder that the learned gentleman is so outrageous at the Times newspaper which so laudably hastened to give to the public the insulting proposition and threat contained in the letter of Lord Hutchinson! No wonder that, in his rage he accuses the editor of base pandering for the sake of profit; and no wonder that he calls his readers "mob" and compares them to "rabid animals!"

"His royal mistress," for *I* will not call her so, has had, in her time, God knows, enough of *spies* and of the employers of spies. It is notorious that she has been sacrificed by the means of a set of the most infamous spies, some in high life and some in low life, that ever were suffered by God to infest the Creation. To have been able to exist at all among such pests is a thing really miraculous. In all the three professions there have been spies found to dog her steps. There is hardly a rank or degree in life which has not afforded more than one, two, or three spies and traitors to undermine and endeavour to destroy her. Both the political parties have afforded spies, betrayers of private confidence, pretended and treacherous friends, in abundance. But, amongst all the scores that have beset her and betrayed her and said and sworn falsely against her, there never has yet been found one single man known to be a sincere advocate of Parliamentary Reform. It is amongst the Reformers, and amongst them alone, that she has found disinterested friends, and warm and efficient support. It is impossi-

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ble to form an idea of conduct more honourable, more generous, more truly noble than that of Mr. Alderman Wood towards her Majesty. The Alderman has several sons, who from their education may, probably, have fair pretensions to elevation in life, and such elevation as cannot be obtained without the countenance of persons in power. Not only, therefore, can he not have had any interested motive in view, upon this occasion; but he must have been well convinced, that the step he was taking would most effectually operate during his whole lifetime, against him and against his family, in that road of ambition along which all rich people wish to travel. He knew that her Majesty would have no power to procure either honours, preferments or emoluments of any sort. He knew, also, that he should incur the strong displeasure of the court, of a tremendously powerful government, of all the great of the country; and of every thing that could by possibility do him mischief. He knew he should have to endure the taunts of keen and experienced debaters, for whom he was not a match. It is, therefore, impossible to conceive conduct more truly praise-worthy. I am quite satisfied, and the public are satisfied, that he has been actuated by no feeling of ambition, of vanity, or of any thing selfish; but by that pure and innate love of justice which has marked his conduct in all the transactions of his public life. The Alderman is a brave as well as an honest man; and wherever oppression has made its appearance, and he has been able to combat it, he has always been ready to rush forward. Her Majesty was much safer in his hands than she would have been in the hands of almost any other man that could have been picked out of this whole kingdom. She acted with perfect wisdom; yes, it was *absolute* wisdom, to do what she did at St. Omers, at Calais, and at Dover. If she did stand in need of advice it was most fortunate indeed that the honest, sincere, and humane Alderman was with her. The learned gentleman said, in speaking against the Alderman's motion with regard to Edwards the spy, that, as long as there were such men as Thistlewood and Ings in the world, there ought to be such men as Edwards; but it may be said with much more propriety, that as long as there are in the world such men as the negociators of St. Omers, there ought also to be such men as Alderman Wood.

W. COBBETT.

P. S. I should be curious to learn whether Lord HUTCHINSON has returned; and, if he have, whether he made a public or a private entry into London.

[*From the Observer.*]

"*St. Omers, Thursday Night, June* 1.

"Her Majesty the Queen of England arrived here this morning at half-past five o'clock. A courier reached l'Hotel de l'Ancienne Poste at half-past one (in the night), announcing her Majesty's near approach. He

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and her Majesty might be expected immediately; but, owing to the difficulty of procuring horses, her Majesty's progress was retarded in such manner as to detain her till the hour we have mentioned.

"The courier dispatched by her Majesty from Dijon, whose arrival at Calais, and subsequent embarkation for Dover, we have already noticed, was charged with a letter to Mr. Brougham, in which her Majesty informed that Gentleman that it was her intention to be at St. Omers on Wednesday, and requested his presence at that place, to confer on the step she was about to take in immediately proceeding to England. At the time of the departure of this courier her Majesty had not been joined by Alderman Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton, although she had received letters from them announcing their intention to meet her on the road.

"After the departure of the courier, her Majesty again continued her journey to Montbard, which she reached on Saturday morning at seven o'clock. Here her Majesty retired to rest, and when at dinner was agreeably surprised at the arrival of Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, who by keeping the route pointed out by Count Vasali, were thus enabled to fall in with her Majesty without difficulty. They had missed the courier on the road, who, it was supposed, must have taken another direction. Her Majesty received the worthy Alderman and Lady Anne Hamilton with great condescension and kindness, and expressed much pleasure at receiving such an accession to her suite. At six o'clock the same evening, they all pursued their course to Villeneuve, which they reached the next day. Here, upon consultation with Mr. Alderman Wood, her Majesty repeated her determination to proceed forthwith to England; there to assert her rights as Queen, and openly to meet the accusations of her secret enemies. She seemed to be perfectly acquainted with many of the stories which had been circulated to her prejudice. She treated them with contempt, and said she would fearlessly throw herself upon the justice and candour of her people. Indeed, she added, that she would long since have been in England, had not her advisers recommended her to wait until his Majesty's Government should afford her the means of going thither in a manner becoming her illustrious rank. Her Majesty having now resolved no longer to delay her intentions, immediately sat down and wrote three letters—one to the Right Hon. Lord Liverpool, another to the Right Hon. Lord Melville, and a third to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. The first of these important documents, we understand, was a dignified demand that a palace should be forthwith prepared for her reception, as she intended proceeding to London without delay. The second to Lord Melville, as First Lord of the Admiralty, was a desire that a royal yacht should be sent on Friday to Calais, to receive her on board: and a third to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, was a recapitulation of both demands, as well as a protest against the manner in which she had been treated.

"These letters her Majesty instantly sent off by a courier, and it was this messenger who, on Tuesday night, on his coming to Calais, erroneously stated that he had left her Majesty at Valenciennes. This man gained Dover on Wednesday morning, and delivered his dispatches the same night in London. His orders were to return with as little delay as possible to her Majesty, and to join her at St. Omers.

"Her Majesty remained at Villeneuve that night, and the next morning pursued her route to Melun; from thence, avoiding Paris, she went directly to Abbeville. She reached Abbeville on Wednesday morning, and threw herself on a bed, to gain a little repose.

"During her Majesty's retirement, several English families, resident at Abbeville, requested to be admitted to pay her their personal respects. They were, however, informed of the fatigues which her Majesty had undergone, and of her inability to receive the kindnesses which were intended.

"At four o'clock a courier was sent off to St. Omers, with instructions to have beds prepared for her Majesty and her suite; and at six her Majesty recommenced her wearisome journey. As she was about to leave the inn, the English inhabitants already alluded to were in attendance, and as she passed through the hall of the inn, they bowed

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most respectfully. Her Majesty was much affected by this testimony of their affection, and uttering a few words of thanks, and gracefully returning the salute, she hurried into her carriage.

"The cavalcade now commenced the last and most difficult stage of their route. From Abbeville to St. Omers they were scarcely able to obtain a single change of horses, and those that were procured, were brought from the fields and ridden by the ploughmen. In one instance, where the courier had called at the post-house, and had announced the approach of her Majesty, the post-master, who had but three horses in his stable, was so alarmed that he ran off and concealed himself, and was not to be found when his services were required. It was to these delays that the late arrival of her Majesty was attributable.

"M. Degacher and his wife (an English woman), who had made every arrangement for the accommodation of their royal guest, had almost come to the conclusion that she had stopped at some other house on the road—when the well-known cracking of the postillions' whips, as they drove down the street, gave notice of the approach of some of the party.

"In a few seconds afterwards, Mr. Alderman Wood, who, with the Count Vasali, had come forward to see that every thing was in readiness, entered the inn-yard, and ordered fires and refreshments. The worthy Alderman appeared to be a good deal fatigued, but still shewed a praiseworthy activity in securing the comfort of his royal mistress.

"An English Gentleman (Mr. Moreland), who, with his family, were on their way to Paris, now rose from his bed, and tendered the use of his rooms, which were in a retired part of the building, for the use of her Majesty, but this was not necessary. He also expressed a hope that he might be allowed to pay his personal respects to her Majesty in the course of the day.

"After a short interval, the renewed cracking of whips called all who were in attendance to the gate, where her Majesty and suite were seen advancing: and here a serious accident had nearly occurred, in consequence of the want of experience in the drivers. In descending the hill one of the leaders of her Majesty's carriage fell, and for a few seconds there was almost reason to apprehend that the carriage would have been overturned. The prompt assistance of the persons present, however, prevented this misfortune, and her Majesty was driven safely to the inn.

"A carpet was spread on the steps, and she immediately alighted; and leaning on the arms of Alderman Wood and Count Vasali entered the house. She appeared to be somewhat exhausted from the fatigue she had undergone, but soon recovering herself, she resumed her wonted spirits. She ascended to her bed-chamber, accompanied by Lady Hamilton and some of her female attendants, of whom there were three—two French women and one Piedmontese.

"Her Majesty was dressed in a rich twilled sarsenet pelisse, of a puce colour, lined with ermine, and wore on her head a white willow hat, similar in shape to the present fashionables Leghorn hats. Notwithstanding the unfavourable effects which must have accrued from the journey which she had just accomplished, she looked uncommonly interesting. It was not a little singular, that the bed-chamber into which her Majesty was first shewn, was that in which the late Duke of Kent, when coming with the Duchess of Kent to England, had slept. Her Majesty preferring a room where she could have her female attendants closer to her (her uniform habits), chose a room of a less magnificent description in the upper part of the house. It may now be interesting to our readers to state the persons who composed her Majesty's suite. There were five carriages in all. The first was that in which Alderman Wood and Count Vasali arrived. It was a sort of calash, drawn by three horses. The second was an English post chariot, yellow body, with "C. P. W." and the royal arms in the pannels, drawn by four horses. In this were her Majesty, Lady Anne Hamilton, and a fine little female child, about three years old, whom her Majesty, in conformity with her benevolent practices on former occasions, has adopted. Then came a large English travelling carriage, similar in colour, and the pannels emblazoned in the same way with the chariot. In this were her Majesty's three female domestics. There were two other calashes, in which were

Mr. Austin, the young man adopted by her Majesty at Blackheath, whose name has been so repeatedly mentioned; Mr. Wood, jun. and several male branches of her Majesty's household; among these, we believe, we may include the Count Bergami, her Majesty's Chamberlain, respecting whom there have been such repeated speculations. This Gentleman, it appears, has engaged her Majesty's confidence, in consequence of the fidelity with which he had attended to her pecuniary concerns. It is not certain whether he will accompany her Majesty to England. He is a tall, robust, military looking man, of middle age, and was respectfully attentive to her Majesty's person; his manners are those of a man who had moved in the highest circles.

"After her Majesty had partaken of some refreshments, she retired to bed; and when this dispatch left St. Omers, she was anxiously expecting the return of her couriers. One of these persons was to bring her Majesty some articles of dress from London.

"Her Majesty has expressed a full determination to proceed to Dover by a common packet-boat, if the yacht which she has demanded be not sent; and if a royal palace is refused, she has had an offer of the beautiful house of Mr. Angerstein, on Blackheath, which she means to accept. She evinces a strong desire to be in England.

"Soon after her Majesty had reached l'Hotel l'Ancienne Porte, the Captain of the guard on duty at the gates of St. Omers, arrived at the inn, and expressed an intention of granting to her Majesty a guard of honour, to be placed at the entrance to the hotel, as long as she should remain in the town.

"The offer having been communicated to her Majesty, she said that, however flattered she might be by the attention of the officer in question, yet she felt herself bound to decline the intended distinction. In her progress through France, she had been treated with studied neglect; and she knew too well what was due to the high rank which she held, to accept from an isolated town that which had been withheld from her elsewhere, and which she could not but consider as an offence, not towards herself personally, but towards that nation of which she was the Queen!

"The officer left the hotel, apparently mortified; but whether his offer proceeded from the suggestions of his own gallantry, or from orders which he had received from his superiors, we were unable to ascertain.

"Upon the arrival of Mr. Brougham and the courier with answers from Lord Liverpool and Lord Melville, it is anticipated that her Majesty will, without delay, advance to Calais; from thence embark, and once more visit the shores of 'Old England.'

"*Friday.*

"Her Majesty was yesterday so much fatigued that she was unable to quit her bed-chamber to attend the dinner party. She is this morning, we are happy to state, improved in health and spirits.

"The courier who carried the letter from her Majesty to Mr. Brougham, arrived last night. Mr. Brougham stated that he would leave London on Thursday morning, and that in all probability he would be at St. Omers this day. Her Majesty anxiously expects his arrival.

"Her Majesty expresses most fervently her desire to reach England. She always appears cheerful, except when speaking of the Princess Charlotte, to whose memory her heart is fondly attached.

"Her Majesty makes constant inquiries after every person with whom she was acquainted in England, and seems fully sensible of the attentions which many of the English families she has met felt it their duty to pay to her.

"Among her Majesty's domestics is a cook, who prepares every thing for her table.

"Several naval and military officers, who were resident here, have quitted the town in order to avoid paying their respects to her Majesty.

"Alderman Wood remains here, and will accompany her Majesty to England. He is in excellent health, and has repeated interviews with her Majesty.

"It would seem that her Majesty cannot, however desirous, sail for England this week."

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"*Calais, Friday night.*

"The courier sent by her Majesty to Mr. Brougham, who passed through this town on Monday evening, returned last night, and immediately proceeded with dispatches to her Majesty at St. Omers.

"A telegraphic annunciation has been made to the military authorities here, intimating that no official attention is to be paid to her Majesty the Queen of England; and, as if influenced by the notification, the Commandant, following the example of the Mayor, whose conduct was noticed in a former letter, sent for an English Gentleman known to possess a considerable acquaintance with his fellow-countrymen, to whom he stated, that if any public demonstration of respect were offered to her Majesty, in the slightest degree calculated to produce confusion in the town, he should be under the necessity of interfering to prevent it, by means even extending to imprisonment. This threat, we apprehend, could only arise from an apprehension that it was intended to take her Majesty's horses from the carriage, and draw her into the town; but it has received a more extensive construction, and has produced much indignation among the family of John Bull, who cannot stomach such restrictions upon the honest effusions of their hearts.

"The Commandant says, that her Majesty is travelling as the Countess of Oldi, and that in that character he will visit her himself. This is not the case. All her Majesty's couriers have their passports drawn up as messengers from 'La Reine d'Angleterre,' and her Majesty has invariably adopted that style and title herself. There is no pretence, therefore, for witholding from her the respect due to her rank.

"The messenger who took the letters to Lord Liverpool and Lord Melville have not as yet come back.

"Her Majesty is still at St. Omers, but is expected to come forward to this town without delay. The Consul is still with us. The mails have been detained here since Tuesday; this goes by express."

"*Calais, Saturday Morning.*

"The courier sent by her Majesty to Lords Liverpool and Mulgrave returned here by the Lord Sidmouth packet yesterday evening. He brought a box, containing a dress for her Majesty, together with dispatches. In a few minutes after the arrival of the Lord Sidmouth, the Prince Leopold packet reached the Quay, with Mr. Brougham, her Majesty's Attorney-General, and Mr. Sicard, her Majesty's Steward, on board. Lord Hutchinson was also on board the Prince Leopold, but she was especially engaged by Mr. Brougham. The Quay was crowded to see the Learned Counsel disembark. He proceeded to the Bourbon Hotel, and shortly afterwards, in company with Mr. Sicard, set off to St. Omers.

"The Countess of Byland has also reached this port, and is gone to join the Queen at St. Omers."

"*Calais, Sunday Afternoon.*

"No intelligence has yet been received in this town as to the intended movements of her Majesty. The result of her Majesty's conference with Mr. Brougham will, no doubt, soon be known; whether it will be in conformity with her Majesty's previous resolution, seems still to be a matter of speculation.

"The Prince Leopold packet, by which Mr. Brougham came to Dover, and which is the largest in the service, still remains in the harbour, and rumours are afloat that she is destined to bear her Majesty to England.

"Orders have been issued by the Commandant, that in the event of her Majesty's arrival at Calais, no additional flags shall be hoisted by the vessels in the harbour.

"Additional guards have been mounted at the Basvilla Gate, in the event of any jocund disposition being evinced by the English inhabitants, on the approach of her Majesty.

"The British Consul went on board the Prince Leopold, when Mr. Brougham arrived; but little passed between these gentlemen.

"Letters were received at the Post-Office here yesterday, which were sent on by a Courier to St. Omers.

"The wind blows a hurricane.

"Lord Hutchinson and another gentleman, reported to be a relative of Mr. Brougham's, went in the same carriage with Mr. Brougham to St. Omers. It is rumoured that horses

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have been ordered on the road for her Majesty's journey to this place."

Calais, 12 o'Clock Sunday Night.

"Mr. Brougham and his brother, together with Lord Hutchinson, did not reach St. Omers till Saturday evening. They were most graciously received by her Majesty. The latter announced that he had a proposition to submit to her Majesty from the King. Her Majesty declared, that it was her intention to abstain from taking into consideration any proposal, or giving any answer, till she arrived in England. She said she was ready to set out for the British shores immediately, having already obtained passports for her Italian suite to return to Italy.

"Matters rested in this state till the ensuing day, and preparations were made for her Majesty's departure to Calais, in order to embark on board a packet, no yacht having been sent in compliance with her demand.

"Yesterday morning, however, Lord Hutchinson stated the object of his mission. It was to propose on the part of his Majesty, that a pension should be granted to her Majesty of Fifty Thousand Pounds a year, upon condition that she should renounce her title as Queen—refrain from using the name of the Royal Family of England, and never return to this country.—And in the event of her not agreeing to those terms, she was told that the moment she set her foot in Great Britain, a message would be sent down to Parliament, and in all probability proceedings would be commenced against her.

"Her Majesty heard these proposals with indignation, quitted the room, and in a short time afterwards set off for Calais accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton, Alderman Wood, and other individuals. She did not reach Calais till half past ten o'clock, and immediately drove to the Pier, where she embarked on board the Prince Leopold packet, together with her suite.—Her carriages were embarked on board the Lady Jane. They were both to sail this morning at half past six. She contemplated sleeping at Canterbury on Monday night, and being in London on Tuesday at four o'clock.

"Lord Liverpool not having answered her Majesty's letter, with respect to the preparation of a palace, her Majesty will, for the present, take up her residence in the house of Alderman Wood, in South Audley-street, whose family will immediately quit the house for her Majesty's accommodation.

"Her Majesty's Italian Chamberlains have quitted her service.

"Her Majesty left the Messrs. Broughams and Lord Hutchinson behind her at St. Omers. Her departure was as sudden as her indignation was great. She sent on a courier to Calais to secure the Prince Leopold packet for her use. On her Majesty's sudden appearance in Calais the greatest ferment prevailed. She was immediately recognised from the colour of her liveries and the number of her carriages (five). She was followed to the quay by a considerable crowd, and was loudly cheered. The tide was out, but she fearlessly descended into the packet by a ladder of many steps. Refreshments were brought to her from Dessin's Hotel. She was greatly agitated, and appeared to be highly indignant at what had passed at St. Omers.

"The General of the garrison came on board, and paid his respects to her Majesty; she received him graciously.

"Alderman Wood, who had felt it his duty to offer his house for her Majesty's reception, sent off a special messenger to Mrs. Wood, requesting her to make the necessary preparations.

"The British Consul also sent off a messenger to London, stating the occurrences which had taken place.

"The Leopold, on her Majesty coming on board, hoisted the royal standard. Her Majesty sailed yesterday morning at half-past six. In the town of Dover there was the greatest confusion: every one seemed to anticipate with delight the moment of her Majesty's arrival, and all appeared desirous of giving her a most enthusiastic welcome. The same feeling pervaded all the towns in the way to London, through which expresses, and post-carriages and four, were passing with rapidity the whole of the day.

"Her Majesty is attended by Lady Anne Hamilton, and only one female and three male servants."

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"Her Majesty's Chamberlains, the Count Bergami and the Count Vasali, requested their own dismissal. They acknowledged the pleasure which they had had in being her servants for six years; but having at last placed her in the protection of her friends, and about to take refuge in the arms of her people, they presumed from among those people she would be enabled to find persons, perhaps, less likely to excite prejudice. These gentlemen have returned to their own country.

"The letter written by her Majesty to Lord Liverpool, demanding a suitable residence, was as follows:—

'*Villeneuve le Roi, May* 29, 1820.

'Having been prevented by indisposition from arriving sooner in England, I take now the earliest opportunity of communicating to the Earl of Liverpool my intention of arriving in London next Saturday, 3d of June; and I desire that the Earl of Liverpool will give proper orders that one of the royal yachts should be in readiness at Calais to convey me to Dover; and likewise, that he would be pleased to signify to me his Majesty's intentions as to what residence is to be allotted to me, either for a temporary or a permanent habitation. I trust that his Majesty the King is perfectly recovered from his late severe indisposition.

'CAROLINE, Queen of England.

'To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.'

"The letter to Lord Melville, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was written by Lady Anne Hamilton. It was as follows:

'*Villeneuve le Roi, May* 29, 1820.

'Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded by her Majesty the Queen of England, to signify to Lord Melville, that it is her Majesty's intention to return to England immediately—therefore she desires, that Lord Melville will be so good as to give orders that one of the royal yachts should be in attendance at Calais next Saturday, 3d June, to convey her Majesty and suite to England.'

"To this the answer subjoined was received by Lady Anne Hamilton, at St. Omers:—

'*Admiralty, 1st June, 9 A.M.*

'Lord Melville had the honour to receive yesterday Lady Hamilton's note of the 29th ult. conveying the information that the Queen intends being at Calais to-morrow. His Majesty, however, being absent from London, Lord Melville cannot receive his commands as to the Board of Admiralty giving orders for one of the royal yachts to proceed at present to Calais.'

"While her Majesty was on her road to Calais, she met a courier proceeding to Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson with dispatches.

"Thus this extraordinary case stands. How it may end time will develope."

The following is a private letter, which we received by express last night:—

'*Dover, Monday,* 10 *o'clock.*

'A gentleman has just landed from an open boat, out twelve hours. The Queen embarked last night on board the Leopold packet, at ten o'clock, with Lady Anne, Alderman Wood, &c. all in good health. She is expected in every moment, as a packet is in sight. Her baggage was embarked on board the Jane. The Leopold could not sail before about half-past six this morning. There is but little wind. Lord Hutchinson and Mr. Brougham are left behind.

'They wanted her to take 50,000*l.* a-year, renounce the title of Queen, never make use of that of her family, and never to put her foot in England, which she rejected with disdain.'

[*From the Times.*]

After the interview between the Queen, Lord Hutchinson, and Mr. Brougham, on Saturday night, at St. Omers, during which nothing passed except conversation on different topics, Mr. Brougham sent the following letter to Lord Hutchinson. (It may be proper here to mention, that Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson were at differ-

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ent hotels, and did not see each other during the negociation, except in the presence of the Queen.)

"Mr. Brougham having humbly submitted to the Queen, that he had reason to believe that Lord Hutchinson had brought over a proposition from the King to her Majesty, the Queen has been pleased to command Mr. Brougham to request Lord Hutchinson to communicate any such proposition as soon as possible, in writing. The bearer of this (Count Vasali) will wait to receive it from your Lordship.—June 4, 1820."

To this letter Lord Hutchinson sent a written answer, which is not material to publish, as it merely stated that his Lordship had no written proposals, but merely some scattered memoranda on scraps of paper. Mr. Brougham instantly sent the following reply to Lord Hutchinson's letter:—

"Mr. Brougham is commanded by the Queen to express to Lord Hutchinson her Majesty's surprise at his Lordship not being ready to state the terms of the proposition of which he is the bearer: but as Lord Hutchinson is desirous of a few hours' delay, her Majesty will wait until five o'clock, in the expectation of receiving a communication from his Lordship at that hour.—2 o'clock, June 4, 1820."

This letter is dated two o'clock on Saturday, and it was not till within a few minutes of the stipulated time (five o'clock) that Lord Hutchinson communicated his proposals in the letter which we published in yesterday's paper, and which is a literal transcript of the original document.

As soon as this offensive epistle was read by the Queen, Mr. Brougham, at her Majesty's request, made the following answer in writing:—

"Mr. Brougham is commanded by the Queen to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Hutchinson's letter, and to inform his Lordship, that it is quite impossible for her Majesty to listen to such a proposition.—Five o'clock, June 4, 1820."

Within a few minutes after this last communication her Majesty suddenly left Mr. Brougham, and went into her carriage, which was ordered to drive away with the greatest possible speed. The suddenness of her departure was such, that Mr. Brougham had no time to follow her Majesty to her coach, and indeed scarcely knew she was gone till he saw from a window the carriage hastening away. The reason of this precipitate departure, which prevented Mr. Brougham from paying the respect which he would otherwise have most anxiously paid, has been since very satisfactorily and naturally explained. Lord Hutchinson, a very short time before her Majesty's leaving St. Omers, happened to say that he expected almost immediately a courier from Paris. Her Majesty, conceiving that the only object of a courier from the capital of a country which had treated her with such marked neglect must be a hostile one, and probably might end in intercepting her journey, took the prompt resolution of setting off that very instant, lest the delay of a few minutes might allow time for the arrival of a messenger with powers to refuse her the means of travelling. Her Majesty was even afraid

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that some difficulties might be thrown in her way at Calais, and therefore, to make all sure, determined to go at once on board the English packet-boat. Such an apprehension fully justified her Majesty's abrupt departure from the hotel at St. Omers, and as fully explains the non-attendance of Mr. Brougham at her carriage door: for her Majesty, in her anxiety, did not mention to any one the reason of her haste till she had arrived almost at Calais. It turns out, however, that her Majesty had misunderstood Lord Hutchinson's meaning: the courier expected from Paris was merely to bring an answer from Lord Hutchinson's nephew, who resides in that metropolis, and to whom his Lordship had written, requiring him to come and assist him, as his confidential amanuensis, in the same manner as Mr. Brougham's brother assisted Mr. Brougham.

Lord Hutchinson so little expected her Majesty's departure, that he was in the act of writing the following letter to Mr. Brougham when the Queen went away. This letter was sent after her Majesty to Calais, in an enclosure from Mr. Brougham. The Queen was asleep on board the packet-boat when the parcel arrived, about 1 o'clock, and it was therefore received by Alderman Wood, who was on deck. The worthy Alderman did not think it right to wake her Majesty; but, about two hours afterwards, hearing her speak to her female attendant, he sent the letter to her: her Majesty read it, and desired Mr. Alderman Wood to acknowledge it; but to add, that the Queen saw no reason to alter her course:—

"*St. Omers*, 5 *o'clock*, *June* 4, 1820,

"My dear Sir,—I should wish that you would enter into a more detailed explanation; but, to show you my anxious and sincere wish for an accommodation, I am willing to send a courier to England to ask for further instruction, provided her Majesty will communicate to you whether any part of the proposition which I have made would be acceptable to her; and if there is any thing which she may wish to offer to the English government, on her part, I am willing to make myself the medium through which it may pass. I have the honour to be, &c.

"HUTCHINSON."

The preceding letter of Lord Hutchinson exhibits at once the promptitude and firmness of her Majesty's character. We have no doubt that, had she suffered the wicked and disgraceful negociation to be opened again, her enemies would then have proposed terms yet more alluring, to tempt her to stay on the Continent. They would have offered her an hundred thousand a year instead of fifty.

We now subjoin some interesting facts relative to her Majesty's departure from France, and her arrival at Dover, which came under the personal observation of our own correspondent, or were related to him on the best authority:—

"*Calais*, *Sunday*, 12 *o'clock at night*.

"The Queen and Lady Anne Hamilton have been on board the Prince Leopold packet ever since half-past nine o'clock, and are now sleeping in the harbour, as the vessel cannot put to sea

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till the tide rises. About half an hour ago Alderman Wood, and two persons who seemed to be domestics, went on board and took possession of the further cabin. The carriages are all placed in another packet. The decisive step being thus taken, it will be interesting to state the events and motives which appear to have led to it.

"Mr. Brougham, as I told you in a former letter, set off on Friday afternoon from Dover, in company with Lord Hutchinson; they reached Calais in a few hours, and on Friday morning proceeded to St. Omers. Mr. Brougham, as is well known, went professionally as the adviser of the Queen; Lord Hutchinson as the friend of the King, and the bearer of proposals from his Majesty, as well as from the Government. As soon as they arrived, they were introduced to her Majesty, who was attended by Lady A. Hamilton, and took coffee with her. Lord Hutchinson, with considerable agitation in his manner, briefly announced the proposals of which he was the bearer. The Queen expressed great indignation, but, before she gave her final answer, desired to see the proposals stated at length, and in due form in writing. Lord Hutchinson replied, that at present he had merely some memoranda on scraps of paper, but that he would reduce them to form previous to the next meeting. Her Majesty then appointed the next morning (Sunday) for the second interview. His Lordship, at the stated time, waited upon her Majesty, and in her presence, and in the hearing of Mr. Brougham, made the following proposals in form:—

"'That her Majesty should renounce all right, title, and claim, to the name, dignity, and honours of Queen of England, and should from henceforth be styled and considered simply as Princess Caroline of Brunswick:

"'That her Majesty should agree never to put her foot in England, or in any part of the British dominions; that, should she comply with these conditions, an income of 50,000*l.* a year should be settled upon her, which she might enjoy without molestation: should she refuse, criminal proceedings would be instituted against her afresh, and the severest penalties might be expected.'

"The Queen read the proposals deliberately: she then promptly and decidedly expressed her indignation and disgust, and directed immediate preparations to be made for her passage to England. Mr. Brougham, whose opinion was asked, is said neither to have recommended the adoption nor the rejection of the proposals. His remark was, that her Majesty was the best judge of the real state of her case, and that it was for her to decide what was best and most consistent with that knowledge. Her Majesty did decide: she sent off couriers immediately to prepare horses on the road to Calais, and the packet to convey her to Dover. Nay, with so determined a spirit was she animated, that she declared that, rather than delay her voyage,

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she would put to sea in an open boat. And accordingly, as soon as the preparations were completed, her Majesty left St. Omers, and never stopped till she embarked on board the English packet. Mr. Brougham did not attend her Majesty even to the coach-door, nor did he follow her: he remains with Lord Hutchinson at St. Omers. From this circumstance it may perhaps be inferred that some difference of opinion exists between her Majesty and her legal adviser, and that she has preferred the advice of Alderman Wood. We know not how this may be, but we feel assured that Mr. Brougham could have been no party to the proposals which we have enumerated: his acute mind must have seen that, putting all views of insult and degradation out of the question, if her Majesty was guilty of the offences imputed to her, she had no right to receive fifty thousand pounds annually from a generous but burdened people; if she was innocent, then no human being had the right to call upon her to renounce her claim to her just titles, privileges, and dignity. If, therefore, any difference of opinion exists between the Queen and Mr. Brougham, it can scarcely be on the broad question of the rejection or adoption of the proposals brought by Lord Hutchinson. In justice to Mr. Brougham it must likewise be observed, that Lord Hutchinson, though his fellow traveller, never disclosed his message, even in substance, till he came into the presence of the Queen. Lord Hutchinson, at both interviews with her Majesty, particularly at the last, was so agitated as to be scarcely able to articulate. Her Majesty was high-spirited, firm, and decisive."

"*Dover*, Monday, 2 o'clock, p. m.

"HER MAJESTY'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

"Before I proceed to the narrative of this important event, I wish to correct two or three trifling inaccuracies in my former statement, dated Calais. It seems that when Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson first arrived at St. Omers, on Saturday evening, Mr. Brougham was first introduced to her Majesty, who was taking coffee: after a few complimentary observations on both sides, Mr. Brougham announced to the Queen that Lord Hutchinson, who had formerly been a warm friend of her Majesty, and who was now a confidential friend of the King, had come in the spirit of sincere friendship to both, to make some proposals in his Majesty's name. The Queen immediately answered that she should be most happy to see Lord Hutchinson forthwith: his Lordship was accordingly introduced, and took coffee with her Majesty, who conversed on different topics, till his Lordship rose to go away, when her Majesty said, that as she understood he had some proposals to make to her from the King, she should wish to see them in writing, and without delay. In consequence of this request, Lord Hutchinson wrote the following letter to Mr. Brougham as the official adviser of her Majesty:—

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"'SIR,—In obedience to the commands of the Queen, I have to inform you, that I am not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words which I could lay before her Majesty: but I can detail to you for her information the substance of many conversations held with Lord Liverpool. His Majesty's Ministers propose that 50,000*l.* per annum should be settled on the Queen for life, subject to such conditions as the King may impose. I have also reason to know that the conditions likely to be imposed by his Majesty are, that the Queen is not to assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England. A condition is also to be attached to this grant, that she is not to reside in any part of the united kingdom, or even to visit England. The consequence of such a visit will be an immediate message to Parliament, and an entire end to all compromise and negociation. I believe that there is no other condition, I am sure none of any importance. I think it right to send to you an extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to me: his words are—'It is 'material that her Majesty 'should know confidentially, 'that if she shall be so ill advised as to come over to this 'country, there must be an end 'to all negociation and compromise. The decision I may 'say, is taken to proceed against 'her as soon as she sets her foot 'on the British shore.' I cannot conclude this letter without my humble though serious and sincere supplication, that her Majesty will take these propositions into her most calm consideration, and not act with any hurry or precipitation on so important a subject. I hope that my advice will not be misinterpreted. I can have no possible interest which would induce me to give fallacious council to the Queen. But let the event be what it may, I shall console myself with the reflection that I have performed a painful duty imposed upon me to the best of my judgment and conscience, and in a case in the decision of which the King, the Queen, the Government, and the people of England are materially interested. Having done so, I fear neither obloquy nor misrepresentation. I certainly should not have wished to have brought matters to so precipitate a conclusion, but it is her Majesty's decision and not mine. I am conscious that I have performed my duty towards her with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the Queen has refused to give any, even the shortest, delay.

"'I have the honour to be, Sir,

"'With great regard,

"'Your most obedient

"'Humble servant,

"'HUTCHINSON.'"

[We shall conclude the account of the Queen's Progress to London in our next.]

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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A LETTER

TO

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD;

CONTAINING THE PROVERBS OF "ABSOLUTE WISDOM;"

OR

A HISTORY OF THE ADVICE GIVEN TO THE QUEEN, AT THE SEVERAL PERIODS OF HER LONG AND UNPARALLELED PERSECUTION.

London, 13 June, 1820.

MR. ALDERMAN,

The transactions of the last ten days have been, are, and will long remain, a subject of deep interest, not only in this country but in every part of the civilized world. Amongst the actors in these transactions your own generous and benevolent disposition have allotted you a conspicuous place; and, therefore, in speaking of the *advice*, which has been given to her Majesty, I think it proper to address myself to you, especially as you have been so broadly charged with, and so strongly censured on account of, the advice, which you are, or have been, supposed to have recently given.

In order to be able to form a right judgement as to the advice given to the Queen, and of the degree of confidence, which her Majesty ought to repose in former advisers, or in persons likely to be animated by motives similar to the motives of those former advisers, we must take a retrospective view of former advice and of the effects of it, at the several stages of her Majesty's afflictions.

In 1806, when the first secret investigation took place, the adviser of the Queen, then Princess, had prepared all the documents for publication. He had caused them to be printed in a book. And, when all was ready, he, at an enormous expense, *suppressed the book*; and the accused party was advised to content herself, with a *news-paper assertion of her innocence*, and with a *public reception at Court*. Was this *good advice*? It was the most foolish, or most wicked, that ever was given to woman. Where is there a woman in the whole world, knowing that the

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world knows her to have been *accused* of foul conduct, on which there has been an investigation, and knowing her own innocence, who must not desire that the *proof* of her innocence should be as notorious as has been the accusation? The being *received at Court* fell far, very far, short of such proof, unless, when we see parents take back to their house an accused daughter, we look upon *that* as proof of the daughter's innocence, which, I take it, it would be absurdity to suppose ever was, or ever will be, the case in this, or in any other community. Parents have in such cases, powerful motives to suppress, and to save appearances; but, strong as those motives are, they can never be stronger, than the motives, which must have animated the late king and his family upon the occasion here referred to. Therefore the *reception at Court* did nothing *for*, while it did, really did a great deal against, the Princess of Wales, who kept *silence*, while her principal accusers, the DOUGLASSES, not only went unpunished, but were openly caressed, and *who were received at Court as well as she herself!*

Was this *good advice*, then, which her Majesty received from *Lawyer* Perceval in 1806? Its effect, however, though so very injurious as it soon proved to her, was very good as to Lawyer Perceval himself; for, he *burnt the book, became a Minister*, and left the Princess's reputation to shift for itself.

In this equivocal state the affairs of the Princess continued until the year 1812, when the Prince was become *Regent*; and when it was urged by me that it was necessary that she should take her place as *Princess Regent*. Just about this time, a copy, though in a very piecemeal state, of *Perceval's book* had come into my hands. I was myself in Prison; and I had no means whatever of obtaining any communication of any sort with the Princess. I took care, however, to put this copy of the book in a state of safety. In short, *I sent it, by a safe hand, to America*; and hence, my confident assertions which attracted a great deal of attention at the time, that the book would come out at last in spite of PERCEVAL and all his crew. The question of the Princess's right to hold Drawing Rooms was very much agitated, during

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the months of March and April 1812. I, having read the book, imbibed a strong feeling in favour of the persecuted Princess; and, I did as much as lay in my power to urge the Citizens of London to present an Address to her upon the occasion of her husband's elevation to the Regency. They did not do this. They were under the influence, most likely, of that "*absolute wisdom*", which Mr. BROUGHAM would wish to have prevailed upon the present occasion. The subject of the Princess's rights was, however, discussed in Parliament, and her cause was zealously espoused by Mr. WHITBREAD in particular. Still, however, the question was made by him, rather a question of money than of honour; nor did he ever appear to entertain proper notions upon the subject. I believe him to have been a very just man; but his vanity and his great desire to gratify it by possessing what is called *weight* in the House, seldom failed to marr that which his integrity and love of justice would otherwise have accomplished.

It was of the greatest importance, that, upon this occasion, the Princess should assert her right to hold Drawing-Rooms. In one instance, namely, in the Register of the 25th of April, 1812, I, after using such arguments as occurred to me in order to shew the necessity of her then asserting this right, made the following remark: "My opinion is, that "there are people who would "not be sorry to see the Prin-"cess thrown, by degrees, so "completely into the back "ground, that EVEN WHEN "SHE BECAME QUEEN, "SHE SHOULD HOLD NO "COURT."

Was not this, Mr. Alderman, something like prophecy; were not my opinions at that time pretty correct, and were those wise advisers who counselled the Princess to keep *quiet*; and not to listen to those whom they had the folly or the baseness to denominate factious men? PERCEVAL was pushed in the House of Commons by Mr. WHITBREAD to declare the Princess to be perfectly innocent. He did this in the most ample terms: but, as long as the Princess herself remained quiet; as long as the people saw her so backward in claiming her rights; as long as they saw the husband acting the part of king, and the wife living in contented obscurity; as long as they saw what was never seen

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before, the heir to the Throne holding his court; and his consort excluded from holding a Drawing Room, while that was done by the mother of the heir; as long as the people saw this, and the same was seen by foreign courts, Lawyer PERCEVAL might declare and swear till he was black in the face, and the world would still believe, that there was *a something*, which the Princess wished for the world not to know.

I put it to any man living, whether such was not the natural and inevitable consequence; and then, I put it to the public of the present day, whether this illustrious and persecuted lady was, at *that time*, surrounded by wise and faithful advisers. I do not wish to insinuate, that Mr. WHITBREAD was not sincere in his professions of friendship for the Princess; but, I think it is now pretty evident, that his advice of that day had not its foundation in "*absolute wisdom.*"

We next come to the year 1813, when new discussions arose. It was impossible that any thing but neglect and ill-treatment should result from the course which the Princess had been advised to pursue in 1812. Her silence upon that occasion was an *invitation* to a continuation of insult. And, in 1813, she had to complain of her being almost wholly cut off from all communication with her own and only child. This was a complaint, so natural for her to make, and so well calculated to call forth the commisseration of every good man and woman in the country that it could not fail to excite universal attention and an universal desire to know the cause of her having been so cut off. Her complaint was made in a letter to the Prince Regent, which letter was by her then Royal Highness communicated to the Parliament. Upon this occasion, the Parliament appeared disposed to do nothing; but the matter was forced upon them by a motion of Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, made in the House of Commons on the 5th of March, 1813. He proposed two resolutions, in the first of which he described the charges which had been preferred against her Royal Highness in 1806; and in the next, he called for the minutes of the evidence which had been produced upon the subject of that charge. His motions were negatived—but his resolutions got

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into print; and, as the resolutions brought out *so much*, the BOOK ITSELF came out in less than ten days from the making of the motion.

The public were now in possession, not only of the full extent of the calumnious charges against her, but also, of the perjury of her foul accusers, and of her own innocence. Upon that memorable occasion, the city of London addressed her Royal Highness; and you, Mr. Alderman, had, if I rightly remember, the honour of proposing that address. Nothing could be more complete than the public sentiment respecting her Royal Highness's case. Every one was convinced of her innocence. The citizens of London said, "we have felt indignation and "abhorrence inexpressible, upon "the disclosure and detection "of that foul conspiracy, which, "by perjured and suborned tra-"ducers, has been carried on "against your Royal Highness's "honour and life." In this instance, the citizens of London spoke the sentiments of the nation. This, therefore, was another occasion for her Royal Highness to take high and lofty ground, and to insist upon the enjoyment of her rights. Mr. WHITBREAD and Mr. BROUGHAM were now her advisers; and they advised her to remain *quiet*, to bear and forbear. Her complaint with regard to her daughter, therefore, remained wholly unredressed; she continued to lead her life of obscurity. Submission to wrong and insult is always sure to produce new wrong and insult; and this, as we shall presently see, was the effect of this third chapter of the Proverbs of "*absolute wisdom*."

Chapter IV. of these Proverbs of the legal Solomons of our day, opens with a letter of the late Queen, dated on the 23rd of May, 1814. In this letter, the Queen tells her Royal Highness that the Prince, her husband, has declared that he considers his own presence at the approaching Drawing Room indispensible, and that, he desires it may be distinctly understood to be his fixed and unalterable determination, *not to meet the Princess of Wales, upon any occasion, public or private*. Wherefore, the Queen intimates to the Princess the *impossibility* of her Majesty's receiving her Royal Highness at the Drawing Room.

At the time when this extraordinary letter was written, the foreign Kings were in this coun-

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try; and the Princess Charlotte was, for the first time, to be presented at Court. The Princess was *advised* to acquiesce in the commands of the Queen, to whom she wrote a letter, notifying that acquiescence. She also wrote a letter to the Prince Regent, complaining of the indignity offered to her; but, at the same time, notifying that she waived her right in order to relieve the Queen from the painful situation in which her Majesty had been placed by her Royal Highness, and not from any consciousness of blame, nor from any doubt of the existence of those rights, or of her worthiness to enjoy them.

To go to the Drawing Room was necessary. It was absolutely necessary for the Princess to do this; for, if she yielded now, who was ever to expect resistance from her in future? Yet her advisers called upon her to yield; in fatal hour she yielded; and from that hour her enemies appear to have thought that nothing was too much in the way of injury or insult to offer for her acceptance. Here ends Chapter the IVth, of the Proverbs of "*absolute wisdom.*"

Chapter the Vth, is short and uninteresting. Her Royal Highness was now shut out from all access to the Court. People talked of their visits to her as a sort of *charity*; and the SOLOMONS who were confided in by her, contrived, in a very short time, to inveigle her *out of the kingdom*, under the pretence, as is now alleged by Mr. CANNING, that "*faction* had marked her as its own!"

Was it *perfidy*, Mr. Alderman, or was it *folly*, from which this advice sprang? I leave the public to answer this question; but this I know well, that I pointed out, at the time, that a more unwise step never was taken by any human being. When the first report of her intended emigration was afloat, I said "If she go, she will at "once, take leave of peace of "mind, security of person and "of the means of existence. "The only real friends that she "has upon the face of this earth "are the kind hearted, just and "generous people of England."

Was this something like prophecy, Mr. Alderman! And will her Majesty (if by any lucky chance she should happen to read this paper) still believe that *lawyers* ingross all the foresight, all the sound sense, all the justice, all the humanity and all the fidelity,

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which it has pleased God to put into the heads and hearts of mankind? No: she will not believe it; she will at last see that her calamities have been produced by bad advice; and that, she has nothing to rely upon but the bold and fearless assertion of her innocence and an assertion not less bold and fearless of her own rights as Queen of this country. With this assertion on her lips she may sleep in quiet. Let lawyers and political intriguers bark and wriggle and twist as they may, she may rely safely on the goodness of her cause and on the support of the nation.

Chapter the VIth, of the Proverbs of "*absolute wisdom*" contains the History of the proposition and threat at ST. OMERS, where she was met by her "*Legal and Constitutional Adviser*," who had travelled post haste from London to Dover, who had been tossed in the same skiff, who had sailed in the same packet boat, who had jolted along cheek by jowl in the same post chaise, who had taken up lodgings at the same inn, who had done all but sleep in the same bed, with the *courtier* who had come for the purpose of making to her a proposition, and uttering to her a threat, amounting to an insult such as never was before offered by man to woman. Nay, so close was the connection between the "*Constitutional Adviser*" and the tenderer of this insult, that, in the penning of the insult, that odious and detestable paper, the brother of the former is said, in the very instrument itself, to have been the amanuensis of the latter!

When this insult had been offered; when this insult, which would have made any ragged Radical's blood boil had it been offered to a female of his acquaintance; when this insult was offered to the Queen, what feelings did it excite in the breast of the "*Constitutional Adviser*?" The newspaper writers, judging from the feelings of their own "*rabid*" breasts, took the liberty to say, that it excited indignation in the gentleman; but the gentleman himself takes the earliest opportunity of denying this, and says that it was not indignation. But what did he do? What advice did he give? He says that it was not his duty to feel indignation. "It was his duty "simply to communicate the "proposition; it was her Ma-

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jesty's to feel indignation!" Truly a very discriminating gentleman, a very *cool* gentleman! It has been her Majesty's misfortune to have to do with Solomons who could restrain their feelings so completely.

But *what advice* did he give? Why, he told her Majesty that she must *know her own case best*, and that it was for *her* to judge *what propositions* she would listen to. This is so *like a lawyer!* So like a lawyer, accustomed to have to do with bad cases. It is so every way unbecoming the case of an innocent woman, an insulted woman, and *a Queen*, that one wonders how the man could have stood up in her presence and look her in the face while he was expressing an opinion so abhorrent from her natural feelings.

Happily, upon this occasion, her Majesty *became her own adviser*. Happily, I say; for if she had stopped at St. Omers long enough to receive a second proposition from the same source, nothing which she could ever have done afterwards would have washed away the stain. No matter what the proposition might have been: no matter how low the courtier might have crouched; no matter how fawning, how supplicating, his tone; no matter how he might have whined, whimpered and blubbered; even if he had gone upon his belly, and, reptile-like, had worked himself along the pavement from the *Hotel du Diable* to the *Hotel de Dieu* (I don't know the names of the Inns); still to have received another proposition from the same person, though the proposition had been finally rejected, would have been a dishonour to her Majesty, to all the women of this kingdom, and to every thing bearing the name of woman. Nay, it would have been dishonour to remain in the poisoned atmosphere. To flee was commanded by virtue, with voice as imperative as that which commanded the flight of Lot. This voice her Majesty instantly obeyed, leaving her "Constitutional Adviser" to keep the advice, which he would have given her, for the use of some client of doubtful fame, whom he might have the good luck to pick up on his summer's circuit.

Let us take a somewhat more minute view of this advice which was to be given at St. Omers;

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or, rather, the advice which was given; for her Majesty was told by her legal adviser that it was his opinion, that she might hear *further propositions*. Now, leaving the dishonour of further listening; leaving this aside, for a moment, let us suppose, that the threat had been withdrawn; that the condition, as to abandoning the title of Queen, had also been withdrawn; and that, the sum, or annual allowance had been doubled. Let us see how her Majesty would have stood then. There would have been no need to *stipulate* for her remaining abroad; for she never could have shewn her face in this country again. Every story that had been circulated against her would have been believed to its fullest extent; and the people, knowing that she was expending in foreign countries, a large sum of money annually drawn from them, would very soon have held her in abhorrence as complete as is their affection for her at this moment. But, let us suppose it possible for a lady of her illustrious rank to have been able to endure existence under such circumstances, what security would she have had for the receiving of her stipend, or allowance, for any length of time? It must always have depended solely on the will of the ministry of the day; and, when once she had been gotten completely rid of; when once she had been placed in a situation such as to make her an object of hatred in place of love with the people; what reason is there to suppose that her allowance would have been continued, except upon some new and still more degrading terms than those proposed to her before? What sort of *wisdom* was it then that counselled her Majesty to *hesitate*, and by that means to expose herself not only to certain dishonour, but to probable absolute beggary.

Besides, supposing the disposition of the present ministry to have been such as to give security for the payment of the stipend during their continuance in power; neither their power nor their life is of any certain duration. The King himself is not exempt from the laws of mortality. Another Ministry, or another King, might not think themselves bound by any bargain now made. Nay, the Parliament is at no time bound to abide by any such stipulation. It might,

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at any time, not only reduce the amount of the stipend, but might take it away altogether; and, in these times of distress, and in the times of greater distress which are approaching, who does not see that the Parliament would have been disposed to take away the stipend; who does not see also, that in doing this, they would have given great satisfaction to the people? who never could have been contented to see fifty thousand pounds a-year raised upon them, and sent to be spent out of the country by a woman, who dared not set her foot in England for fear of being prosecuted?

Was it then, Mr. Alderman, "*absolute wisdom*" which counselled her to consider of terms at St. Omers. I shall be told, perhaps, that her stipend, or the means of maintaining her rank and state are as precarious, she being here, as they could have been had she remained upon the continent. But, this is by no means the case. There is a third party here. There is the Ministry; there is the Parliament; and there is the *people*. If the two former were to be indisposed, there would be the latter to come to her support; and these latter would be friends, her Majesty being here, whereas being abroad, these latter would be her enemies; or, at least, they would, under such circumstances, be wholly indifferent as to her fate. To advise her, therefore, to enter into negociations at St. Omers, no matter what the terms might have been, was as unwise, to give it no harsher epithet, as any thing that ever entered the mind of man.

Her Majesty, listening to nothing but the dictates of her own mind; conscious of her innocence; despising her calumniators and eager for her justification, rushed out of the pestiferous town; hastened away from the inhospitable shore of the Bourbons and bravely came to answer, in the capital of England, the threats of her dastardly foes. There is something well calculated to excite the highest degree of admiration in this conduct of her Majesty. To see her, a Queen, the daughter of a long line of Sovereigns, the mother of an heiress to the Throne of this Kingdom, whose untimely death had made such an impression upon the nation; to see her coming along during the night from St. Omers to Calais, having no protection but her

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mere domestics, and a citizen of London, who had gone to offer her his voluntary services; to see her coming into Calais in the dead of the night, going down the pier, hanging by ropes like a sailor boy, carried upon boatmen's shoulders into a skiff, in that skiff tossed and buffeted about and covered with the spray; to see her lodged in the cabin of a packet boat, beating over to the shore of England; to see her, the tide being out and the sea rough, bravely fling herself into a wherry in order to get upon that land, on which the insolent messenger had forbidden her to set her foot; to see her push on, her miserable equipage covered with dust and exhibiting every mark of distress and penury; to see her drive into the Capital of England, dash by the Palace of the King and through the crowds of glittering courtiers and sycophants, and take up her abode in the house of a private individual who had offered her shelter; to behold all this, is quite enough to account for the generous enthusiasm which prevails in her favour; and ought to be quite enough to convince her "*Constitutional Adviser*" that her Majesty stands in need of no such advisers as he.

It has appeared to me something astonishing, that, after having been a witness of her Majesty's brave and wise conduct, and of the *effect* of that conduct too, this adviser should have the hardihood to say, as he did in the debate of sixth of June, that he would "*thwart her*" and would *tell* her, "to go *too far*, rather than not go far enough," in the way of yielding. But, the fact is, that this lawyer appears to have been unable to *bring his mind up to the mark*. Nature appears to have made him of materials, which unfit him for being the counsellor of a high-minded woman. He appears to have been little aware of the effects produced in the mind of such a woman by persecution and insult; he appears not to have imagined that life, in the opinion of such a person, is nothing when compared with the assertion of her honour and her rights. In short, Mr. Alderman, there are some minds which are wholly incapable of entertaining ideas which are the constant inhabitants of other minds; and this total dissimilarity seems to have existed upon the present occasion; and to this, probably,

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more than to bad intention, we ought, in charity, to ascribe the conduct of the "*Constitutional Adviser*" in this important case.

We now come, Mr. Alderman, to the VIIth and last and eventful and yet unfinished CHAPTER of the Proverbs of "*absolute wisdom*;" namely, the transactions which have been going on, and the advice given or proposed to be given to her Majesty since her happy arrival amidst the plaudits of an admiring people in the metropolis of the kingdom.

She had been told at St. Omers that the moment she sat her foot on English ground, proceedings would be commenced against her. Accordingly on the very evening of her arrival, and about the very moment that five hundred horsemen were galloping beside her carriage upon Blackheath, the following message, accompanied with a *green bag*, was delivered to the two Houses of Parliament; which delivery was accompanied with an intimation that a motion would the next day be made to refer the contents of the bag to a *secret* committee of each house.

"*GEORGE R.*

"The King thinks it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the Queen, to communicate to the House of Lords certain Papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty, since her departure from this kingdom, which he recommends to the immediate and serious attention of the House.

"The King has felt the most anxious desire to avert the necessity of disclosures and discussions which must be as painful to his people, as they can be to himself; but the step now taken by the Queen leaves him no alternative.

"The King has the fullest confidence that, in consequence of this communication, the House of Lords will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case, and the honour and dignity of his Majesty's Crown may require."

This message is couched in terms perfectly indefinite. It appears to me, therefore, that the course for her Majesty to have pursued was not that which she was advised to pursue. And here you will please to observe, Mr. Alderman, that she *necessarily* had to resort to advice and assistance. If she could, with propriety, have gone to the Parliament herself, or, if she could have known perfectly the forms of proceeding, the case would have been different. It was necessary for her to send a *message*, but that message must be written; it

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must have a certain form; every word must have its true meaning; and it was impossible, or next to impossible, that her Majesty should be able so completely to divest herself of a foreign idoom as to draw up, with propriety of expression, a message upon so important a matter.

I think that the main subject of the message sent in her Majesty's name was not a subject fit to be selected for the occasion. Her Majesty should, in my opinion, have taken no notice at all of the message which had been delivered by the Ministers, in the name of the king. She had had no official communication with regard to it; and it was not for her to express any anxiety or any opinion respecting it. The subject of her message ought to have been, a complaint that no palace had been provided for her, that no answer had been given to her letter to the first Lord of the Treasury, requesting a palace to be provided, and that she had received, in the name of the ministers, an insulting proposition and threat at St. Omers, the tenor of which she might have described.

If this course had been pursued, and if an intimation had been given, as matter *of course*, that her Majesty was come to enter upon the exercise and enjoyment of all her rights and privileges as Queen, she would have preserved that same dignity of attitude in which she landed on our shores. But, by condescending to speak, in this official manner, about accusations against her, and to protest, beforehand, against the formation of tribunals, her Majesty lost somewhat of that dignity of attitude, and seemed to say that she had to *wait the result* of the proceedings commenced against her; an idea that ought not to have appeared to have entered her mind.

However, if a message, embracing the topics which are embraced in the Message which Mr. Brougham delivered in the name of the Queen, were resolved on, it should have been written in a manner worthy of the personage whose name it bore. It should have been highly dignified in language; it should have been clear as to meaning; it should have been consequent in reasoning; and surely, Mr. Alderman, where "*absolute wisdom*" was the

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penman, it was not too much to expect it to be free from grammatical errors, of which latter, there are no less than three or four in this very short composition, and that, I may not be charged with garbling and classed amongst the "*rabid animals*" of the press, I here insert the whole of the message.

"The Queen thinks it necessary to inform the House of Commons, that she has been *induced* to return to England *in consequence* of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace for some time by secret agents abroad, and *lately sanctioned* by the conduct of the government at home. In adopting this course her Majesty has had *no other purpose* whatsoever *but* the defence of her character, and the maintenance of *those just rights which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered Monarch*, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support.

"Upon her arrival the Queen is *surprised* to find that a message has been sent *down* to parliament, requiring its attention to written documents; and she learns with still greater *astonishment* that there is an intention of proposing that these should be referred to a *select* committee. It is this day 14 years since the *first charges* were brought forward against her Majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a *privilege* not denied to the *meanest* subject of the realm. In the *face* of the *Sovereign*, the parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents, privately prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding unknown to the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies with full confidence upon the integrity of the House of Commons for defeating the only attempt she has any reason to fear.

"The Queen cannot forbear to add, that *even before any proceedings were resolved upon*, she had been treated in a manner too well calculated to prejudge her case. The *omission* of her name in the Liturgy; the *withholding the* means of conveyance usually afforded to all the branches of the Royal Family; the *refusal even of an answer* to her application for a place of residence in the Royal mansions; and the *studied slight*, both of English ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence—must be viewed as *measures* designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction."

As to language, is it dignified, Mr. Alderman, except amongst footmen, at the West end of the Town, to talk about sending messages "*down* to Parliament?" Is it dignified in a Queen to say that she protests

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in the "*face* of the Sovereign?" And, in short, is there any thing of dignity in the language of any one part of this message from the first word to the last. As to the meaning, read the first paragraph, Mr. Alderman, and say whether you understand it. I do not; I cannot tell whether it be meant that the Government at home sanctioned the measures pursued by secret agents abroad; whether they did this *some time ago*, and have of late ceased to do it, or whether they have sanctioned it *of late*. Similar obscurity is found in almost every part of the message.

The reasoning of the message is as defective as the meaning is obscure, and the language undignified. Her Majesty is advised to say, in the first sentence, that she has been induced to come to England *in consequence* of the workings of secret agents abroad; in the next sentence, her Majesty is made to say that she has had *no other* purpose in adopting this course than that of defending her character and the maintenance of those *just rights which have devolved upon her in consequence of the King's Death.* Here one sentence contradicts the other; and that, too, in a most important point; for, from the first sentence, we must inevitably conclude, that, if her Majesty had not been annoyed abroad, *she would not have returned home;* because she says she had been induced to come home in consequence of that annoyance. The next sentence, indeed, brings forward an additional motive; but it looks very much like a second thought; and, after all, it leaves us fairly to suppose, that, she *might* still have remained abroad if she had not been annoyed there; a supposition extremely injurious to the cause of her Majesty, especially, standing as it does in the very front of her first message. This complaint about annoyance experienced abroad is made also to form the close of the message. It forms the top of a climax of injuries and insults, which climax begins with the omission of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy; and surely the latter was of far more importance than the former. In short, the impression produced by this document is, that, if her Majesty had been well treated abroad, she would not have returned home; and this impression, if it was not so completely counterbalanced by her

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Majesty's heroic conduct, would operate amongst the people, most powerfully to the disadvantage of her cause.

Then, we might have expected, from a high "*Constitutional* "*Adviser*;" from a *learned* gentleman; from a teacher of the nation, something a little more consonant with the rules of grammar, than "no other "purpose *but*;" than "*the* "*withholding the* means;" than "*greater astonishment*," when no astonishment had been mentioned before, or even alluded to. And, Mr. Alderman, *omissions, not answering of letters*, and *slights*; these, Mr. Alderman, are not "*measures*," though they are called such in this message. A Lawyer might have known better than to call an open investigation a "*privi-* "*lege*;" and he might also have known better than to advise a Queen to speak of the "*meanest* "subject of the realm;" a term, I believe, that never was before made use of by King or Queen, when speaking of any part of the people. It is very well for us who are subjects; it is very becoming in us, in certain cases, to talk of the meanest subject of the King; but it is not well for the King himself or any of his family to speak in the same style.

Many other observations might be made upon the subject of this message, which, take it altogether, is one of the most defective performances that ever made its appearance in print. Mr. Brougham may say what he pleases about the "*rabid* "*animals*," who conduct the press of this country; but I will engage to pick out, with only a day's notice, fifty men in London, who belong, in one way or another, to that press, either of whom might justly think it a dishonour to him to suffer a composition like this to proceed from his pen. Being, as we are, amidst transactions so substantially important, I should not have taken up my time with a criticism on this document; but it became necessary to do it when the author of the document had assailed all those who dared to differ from him in opinion, as ignorant, incapable and illiterate persons; and when efforts were still making to represent every one, who should attempt to meddle with the subject, out of Parliament, as being foolish, mischievous, and almost criminal. I do not ascribe, and, indeed, it is im-

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possible that I can ascribe the writing of this document to her Majesty. For the reasons before stated, it is impossible that the Queen could have been the author of it. She has been compelled to employ the pens of others, and all that we have to lament on this part of the subject, is, that those pens had not been in abler hands.

This document is the first evidence of that "*absolute wisdom*" which, is now, for the seventh time, at work upon her Majesty's affairs; and I shall now endeavour to follow the Solomons through the steps which they have taken and appear now to be taking. With the King's Message lying before it, and with this Message of the Queen also lying before it, the House of Commons has submitted to it a motion for referring the contents of the Green Bag to a Secret Committee, in just the same way that the Bags relating to the Reformers were, in 1817, submitted. As a preface to this motion, the Minister (Lord Castlereagh) makes a speech, and, in that speech, he, who had seen the contents of the Bag, gives the following account of its contents: "But, at the "same time, he should mislead "the House—and on that point "he deprecated the idea of the "learned gentleman (Mr. "Brougham) deceiving himself "—if he disguised *that in these "communications there was "matter that gravely and deep-"ly implicated the illustrious "personage to whose conduct "the documents referred.* He "understood, from the commu-"nication just made by the "learned gentleman, that that "illustrious personage looked "upon the present proceedings "as a secret proceeding of par-"liament, involving charges "that rested on written docu-"ments, and that were to be "decided by parliament as a "secret tribunal, to the preju-"dice of the honour and the "interests of that illustrious "person. *He wished he could "as easily relieve the mind of "the learned gentleman on the "other parts of the case* as he "could on this misapprehension "respecting the character of "the proceedings. God forbid "that he, standing in his pre-"sent situation, should say, "that, to be accused was the "same thing as to be guilty! "But at the same time he "thought it proper to say to "the learned gentleman, *that*

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"a charge of crime necessarily "implied a presumption of "guilt, and that the present "charge rested on grave and "serious grounds. It would "not be expected that he should "disclose to parliament the "substance of these documents, "but this he would state—that "the charges were grave and "serious; and, as far as he "was at liberty to describe the "information on which these "charges were founded, he "would say that it came from "individuals who were ready "to corroborate, by their per-"sonal testimony, all the state-"ments which they had made."

Here, then, was a charge very explicitly made. It was a charge, to which Mr. BROUGHAM gave a sort of answer which certainly I should not have given; but the *principle* was wholly overlooked by the learned defender. The principle was, that a "*charge of crime necessarily* implied a *presumption of guilt.*" Now, was ever such a principle as this laid down before in this world? When a man is taken up for highway robbery, or any other crime known to the laws, that crime being particularly defined; and when *oath* has been made against him, as having been guilty of that specific crime; or, when circumstances are produced and sworn to which convinces a magistrate (a third party), that there is *good ground to suspect the guilt*, then, indeed, the charge amounts to a suspicion of guilt, and, in some cases, to a presumption of guilt. But, what have we here! Have we any oath here? Have we any *third party* here? Have we here any magistrate? Have the accusers here been confronted with the accused? Did any magistrate consent to the putting of the paper into the Bag? Is the crime *defined* or even named? No! all these things are wanted. What a monstrous thing then is it to say that the presenting of a Bag by one party against another party, and the mere presenting of that Bag is presumption of guilt in the party against whom it is presented! There may be countries, as far as I know, where the things called laws, allow of such a principle, but I know well that the principle, the horrible principle, is utterly unknown to the laws of England. It goes, you will perceive, Mr. Alderman, a step farther than the principle acted upon in the case of the Reform-

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ers, in 1817. The principle (if so it can be called) which was then acted upon was this, that men might be taken and imprisoned, if suspected of traiterous designs, though they might be clear of all guilt; because, as it was said, it was necessary to do this to prevent them from becoming criminal. That was the principle upon which the Bag-Bill of that day proceeded; and, accordingly, great numbers of innocent men were shut up in prison for a long while and afterwards released without trial and even without a charge ever having been preferred against them. But, here, there is no pretence of danger to the state, of any sort whatever; here there is no pretence of a necessity of *preventing crimes*; the house is simply told that there are some papers in *that Bag*; that the ministers who have got them together assert that they contain grave and serious charges against the Queen, and, that, upon this ground, and this ground alone, they are *to presume that she is guilty*, or, in other words, that the bare fact of their having made a charge against her "*necessarily* implies a *presumption of her guilt*." Was there ever any thing in this world before heard of so offensive to justice as this principle? And yet this horrible principle is suffered to pass without comment by him who has the honour to be the legal defender of a Queen!

A sophistical comparison was drawn between the intended Secret Committee and a *Grand Jury*. It was, indeed, denied that the Secret Committee would resemble a Grand Jury in its constitution or in its functions. But, why not strip the thing of its sophistry, at once, by shewing that the Grand Jury is *a second stage* in the process of accusation of criminals. Before the Grand Jury can take cognizance of a crime, there must have been an accusation before a magistrate; oaths must have been made against the party accused; the accused party must have been confronted with the accusers, and must have been heard in his defence, too; and all this before the Grand Jury can know any thing of the matter. So that, this sophistical trash, calculated to deceive unwary persons, ought instantly, and upon the spot, to have been blown into air, and not suffered to go forth without a complete refutation and exposure on the part of the defender of the Queen.

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In my Register of last week, I pretty fully noticed the other points, as to which the learned defender failed to do what I should have done if I had been in his place; and I shall now proceed to offer some remarks upon what has passed since the night when the message was delivered in the name of her Majesty. In this case, I can only proceed upon what has passed in the Parliament, in the report of whose proceedings, it is stated that, on Friday last, it was stated in the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham, "that "the Queen had thought it most "important not to *begin* a ne- "gociation, lest in beginning "she should appear to be mak- "ing improper concessions, es- "pecially as the other party, "who did not commence any "negociation, stood in a situa- "tion, not to be injured by mak- "ing concessions." Nothing could be more prudent, nothing more sound in reason, than this determination. But, now the law adviser began to work, as he tells us; for, he says, that "the remonstrances of her legal "advisers had, however, at a "late hour in the day, over- "come the reluctance which "the illustrious individual in "question felt to being the first "to negociate." I am very sorry, Mr. Alderman, that they were able to overcome that reluctance; and, if this first step do not lead to consequences, which her Majesty will have reason to regret, it will be owing entirely to herself, and to the steps which her own wisdom and high sense of honour shall induce her to take.

On Monday the subject was again mentioned in the House of Commons; but, in the mean time, certain accounts had got abroad, through the medium of the Sunday paper, *The Observer*, which accounts are said to have been wholly incorrect, but which I insert here, not because I believe them to be correct, but because it is necessary for us to have them before us, in order that we may the better understand the commentary which was made upon them in the House of Commons.

"*Fife-house, Whitehall, Saturday Afternoon, 3 o'clock.*

"Lord Liverpool informs her Ma- "jesty, that the only proposition he "had to make was the one submitted "to Mr. Brougham, in April last, "which was nearly the same as that "proposed by Lord Hutchinson at St. "Omers; but that Lord Liverpool "assures her Majesty, that the King's

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"servants will still think it their "duty, notwithstanding all that has "passed, to receive for consideration "any suggestions which her Majesty, "or her advisers, may have to offer "upon their propositions."

To this note of Lord LIVERPOOL her Majesty replied—

"That she demanded all the rights "belonging to the Queen of England. "That, before she was in possession "of all her dignities, she could not "listen to any other proposal. That, "when she was restored to them, she "should be ready to listen to any pro-"posal from his Majesty's Ministers."

I am of opinion that these cannot be documents correct in all their parts; but, I am also of an opinion that *something of this sort* did pass between the parties. And now let us see what was said upon the subject in the House of Commons. In this case, I shall insert the *whole* that is reported to have been said; because every word is, in such a case, of importance; and because it is above all things necessary to keep clear of the imputation of garbling; an imputation which was set up, and very unjustly, against those who first published the accounts from St. Omers, and which publication was amongst the really wise things that was done upon that occasion. I shall now insert what passed on Monday night in the House of Commons, deeming it to be of the very greatest importance, and thinking it worthy of the particular attention of the public.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said—"I rise "for the purpose of moving the order "of the day, for the further considera-"tion of his Majesty's most gracious "message, with a view to its post-"ponement until Friday next. In "moving this adjournment, I trust the "House will feel that it would be un-"becoming in me to state any thing that "has passed during the discussion "*(cheers)*, or to say a single word, "as on the former occasion, as to the "situation in which matters now stand. "*(Hear, hear!)* But I entreat Hon. "Gentlemen to keep themselves and "their impressions on the subject pre-"cisely in the same state, until a full "explanation shall be given as to the "position in which the great question "may ultimately stand. In proposing "to the House Friday next for the "postponement of the order of the "day, I mention it as the most conve-"nient day. On Thursday his Ma-"jesty's birth will be celebrated, and "it has been usual for the House to "adjourn over that occasion, and I "would rather take a later than an "earlier period for the further discus-"sion of this important matter. These "successive adjournments ought to "be viewed, not only as satisfactory "to the House, but as material to the

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"public interest, in order that the "real state of the question may be "made known as early as possible.— "*(Hear, hear!)* Before I sit down, "I have to beg the Noble Lord (J. "Russell), who has already shown so "much indulgence for the more con- "venient arrangement of public busi- "ness, and for which I have to ex- "press to him my personal obliga- "tions, further to defer the discussion "of a question in which he is particu- "larly concerned: any other day "would be more convenient than the "present, as it will certainly be the "duty of his Majesty's servants to be "in deliberation in the course of the "evening. If the discussion to which "I refer be brought on, I must there- "fore retire from it, and nothing but "a sense of the necessity of the case "would induce me to request the "Noble Lord again to name a day un- "objectionable to all parties, and "when I shall be ready to enter into "the subject."

Sir M. W. RIDLEY.—"I hope the "House will be aware that I shall not "for a moment transgress the bounds "so properly fixed by the Noble Lord, "nor utter a single word on this very "delicate subject; but I rise to ex- "press the very anxious hope I enter- "tain that every individual, in the "House *and out of the House*, will so "far *forward the views of the Noble "Lord*, as most rigidly to abstain "from *injuring the cause* of either of "the illustrious parties, or of *the nation "at large*, by *giving publicity to any "documents or any correspondence "(hear, hear!)* whether *genuine* or "garbled, *(hear!)* which may by pos- "sibility fall into their hands. I am "sure that I need only mention the "circumstance to the House; for every "gentleman who hears me will be im- "mediately convinced of the dangers "that may arise, that must inevitably "arise, from publications which can "have only one effect, however unin- "tentional—that of exciting prejudice "against one party or the other. I "trust that, in saying thus much, it "will not be thought that I have unne- "cessarily trespassed on the House, "but that the opinion I have given "will meet with unanimous support." *(Repeated cheers.)*

MR. BROUGHAM.—"I heartily con- "cur in the recommendation of the "Noble Lord, and of my Honourable "Friend who last spoke, in wishing "to abstain from saying one word "upon the progress of these transac- "tions. I rise only to express my en- "tire concurrence more particularly "in the latter part of the worthy Ba- "ronet's observations, and to make "my most positive assertion, if it be "required, that *neither the illustrious "personage for whom we are con- "cerned, nor her legal advisers*, en- "tertain any other sentiment *(hear!)* "It is our sincere desire that *every "thing should be concealed*, or "known only *to the illustrious per- "sonage, and to us three, her Ma- "jesty's legal advisers*. If any other "disclosure has taken place (though "I have seen nothing disclosed, be- "cause I have seen nothing the least "like the real state of the facts), it "can only have been produced by "*some incredible degree of indiscre- "tion or breach of confidence*, for "which no blame is attributable to my "learned colleagues or myself, no

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"to the illustrious personage for "whom we act; but it must in fair- "ness be in part ascribed to a circum- "stance, I am sure, as unprecedented "as all the rest of these transactions, "—that her Majesty is placed in a si- "tuation which renders it difficult to "prevent the access of indiscreet per- "sons." *(Cheers.)*

Lord CASTLEREAGH.—"In the spirit "of what has just been said, I may "add, that this is a question on which "all parties ought to say as little as "possible; and I cannot give the "House a stronger pledge of my feel- "ing regarding it, than the determi- "nation I evinced to pass it over on "the present occasion in complete si- "lence. I am happy to hear what has "been so properly stated by the Hon. "Baronet, and confirmed by the Hon. "and Learned Gentleman, *regarding* "*publications*, though I certainly feel "that the latter part of his observation "was unnecessary."

Mr. BROUGHAM.—"I meant nothing, "I can assure the House, offensive "to any quarter, because I know that "offers have been made to her Ma- "jesty, which would have enabled her "Majesty to be better accommodated "—pecuniary offers to an unlimited "amount, that the Queen might be "provided for in a much more suitable "style. *(Cheers).* Thus *many of* "*the chances of disclosure* to which I "alluded might have been *removed;* "but accidentally her Majesty was "placed in a situation which rendered "it more difficult, as I said, *to pre-* "*vent the access of indiscreet per-* "*sons.*"

Now, Mr. Alderman, what does all this amount to? Why, to a most anxious desire that her Majesty should be completely shut out from all possibility of receiving advice from any other persons in the world than the colleagues of Mr. BROUGHAM, and Mr. BROUGHAM himself; and I am decidedly of opinion that it would be greatly injurious to the cause of her Majesty were she to consent to be so shut out. Who are these "*indiscreet persons*" of whom Mr. Brougham talks so freely? Who are the persons that can have committed acts of "*incredible indiscretion,*" and "*breaches of confidence?*" Is her Majesty, who knew no more of Mr. BROUGHAM's proposition of 1819 than (to make use of his own elegant phrase) the *child unborn;*" is her Majesty to whose innocence of that disgraceful proposition, which served as the basis of the one made at St. Omers; is her Majesty, to describe whose want of knowledge of that proposition he resorted to the slang of the Old Bailey; is her Majesty so very much of a baby, so wholly destitute of experience; is that illustrious and sharp-sighted Lady, who had wit enough to flee from St. Omers, turning her back upon her "*constitutional adviser,*" and leaving him standing bolt upright and staring like a stuck pig; is this illustrious personage, this woman of penetration and firmness unparalleled, is she not able to discern her friends from her foes; is not she who scouted his advice at St. Omers able to

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prevent the access of indiscreet persons to her; and does not she know how to prevent incredible indiscretion and to drive from her presence those who are capable of breaches of confidence!

Wonderful, indeed, Mr. Alderman, is this change in the affairs of her Majesty; or, at least, in the language made use of by some of those who speak of those affairs. You remember, Mr. Alderman, what abuse was poured forth against this persecuted lady at the time of his late Majesty's death, by the viperous reptile who conducts the COURIER. Nay, even since her Majesty's arrival, he has revived his attacks upon her; but now, behold, all of a sudden, he has turned round to be *her protector*, and against whom? Why, *against you*, Sir! For it is you whom he means; you, who have acted so excellent a part in these transactions, and the memory of whose conduct will endear your name to your countrymen when all the swarm of calumniators and blood hunters shall be remembered only as instances of human infamy. Yes, the COURIER has now taken her Majesty under his protection, and he tells his readers, that, "if the person who does commit these *offences* be known, some means ought to be devised for protecting her Majesty from their repetition." "Who is it," he exclaims, "that has thus dared to *betray* the Queen? Who is it that has been guilty of this *treachery*?" This impudence surpasses any thing that the world ever witnessed before. I wonder that common sagacity did not prevent an advocate of the Green Bag system from making use of the word *treachery* as applicable to the affairs of the Queen. What species of treachery has there ever been known amongst men, which has not been employed for the purpose of degrading and destroying this illustrious female? Servants bribed and corrupted; associates bribed and corrupted; the most innocent conversations twisted, tortured and made to appear to be as black as the dialogues of a brothel; spies set upon the track of her footsteps in every part of Europe; offers of service tendered to her by wretches whose business was to trace out her secrets and communicate them to her implacable enemies; the basest of lies hatched against her and circulated with as much system and regularity as the promulgation of laws or the collection of taxes; a volume might be filled with a bare description of the endless variety of snares and frauds and machinations that have been practised against this illustrious lady. An account of them all, if collected in a book, would not only astonish mankind but almost make us ashamed of our shape as men. And, after all this, and this notorious to the world, too, out comes one of the basest of her calumniators, while the Green Bag is lying upon the table of the Parliament, and talks of the necessity of protecting her Majesty against *you*, Mr. Alderman, who have been the only man to go to meet her on her return, and to

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afford her a roof under which to take shelter!

However, it is good to see that even the vilest of her traducers begin to be afraid of the public indignation; and begin to practice their arts in order to prevent *publicity*. This is what they wish to prevent, Mr. Alderman. In publicity are her safety and the discomfiture of her enemies. In secrecy; in *concealment*, are her certain ruin and degradation. If the Ministers will not negociate with her publicly, she ought not to negociate at all. It was the publishing of the ST. OMERS propositions and threat; it was that wise and spirited step that gained her those hearts which she had lost by her yielding on former occasions; and there is no concealment which can now take place which must not operate to her injury. She has every thing to fear and nothing to hope from concealment; and if she were once to consent (which I am sure she will not) to a private, secret, concealed, arrangement, she would very soon find herself completely at the mercy of her enemies, and of the nature and tendency of that mercy she has already had more than a sufficiency of experience.

From what Mr. BROUGHAM said, one would gather that it is the incommodiousness of her Majesty's present *place of residence* that exposes her to the access of *indiscreet persons*. What can he mean else? does he mean, then, that it is necessary to put her Majesty in a place where those indiscreet persons may be kept from her *by force*? This must be his meaning, one would think; for, surely her Majesty is able to say whom she wishes to see and whom she does not wish to see. Therefore, we must suppose, that *you*, Mr. Alderman, *force* yourself in upon her and insist upon the publication of certain documents. Nay, we must suppose that you really seize the documents with force and arms, and carry them off to the press. However, nobody will believe this, and, therefore, what is to be done short of shutting her Majesty up in a house which shall, in fact, be a prison; in which she shall not have the use of pen ink and paper; where she shall receive no letters, until after they have been examined by her keepers; and that she shall not be suffered to send out any thing which they have not first examined and approved of. There is absolutely nothing short of this that would seem to me to answer the purpose that it appears to be the wish to effect.

But, Sir, one can easily see what this would lead to. One can easily see that, if her Majesty is, after all, to be totally sacrificed; this is the effectual way of accomplishing that object. Once let her be safely shut up; once let her be completely cut off from her friends, and her enemies will take care of her, I will warrant them. It is necessary that her Majesty, under her present circumstances, should not only not be shut close up; not only not be kept at a distance from the people,

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as the Eastern tyrants are, but that the access to her should be as *easy* as is possible, consistent with comfort and convenience to herself. She ought to know every thing that is passing in public. She ought to be supplied with all the periodical publications; she ought to see that almost every pen that moves is moved in her behalf; she ought to know that her portrait is exhibited in every part of the Metropolis with a Crown on her head and a Sceptre in her hand; she ought to know that Ballads are sung through the streets in her praise and welcoming her home in language the most affecting; she ought to be told that her name, with blessings attached to it, is written upon the walls; she ought to be informed that the very, very few who dare to doubt of her innocence and to doubt even of her being *crowned*, are compelled to hide their heads, and are hooted from all virtuous society. This is what the King ought to be told, too; and, if it were truly and honestly told him by a spirited and faithful servant, we should soon see an end of all this turmoil: the Green Bags would be driven into everlasting night, and the fillers of those bags would not be far behind them.

One hope which the enemies of the Queen entertain, is this: that her zealous friends, and especially you, Mr. Alderman, will be driven away from her by these repeated attacks in the House of Commons. It is hoped, I dare say, that the censure, bestowed upon you, and the direct charge of *breach of confidence*, made in Mr. Brougham's speech of Monday, and which would seem to infer that her Majesty participated in making that charge; it is hoped, I dare say, that those repeated charges, and particularly the latter, may have a tendency to excite disgust in you, and make you desist from your laudable endeavours. In this hope, the projectors will be deceived; for, you know them a great deal better than they know you. But, if they do not succeed to the full extent, they may succeed in part; and now, if her Majesty should, by any chance, confer on the paper which I am now writing, the honour of reading it, I must earnestly, though most humbly, request her to be pleased graciously to bestow her attention upon what I am now going to say.

Be it, then, known to her Majesty, that the regular and settled mode of proceeding in this country now is, when any one is marked out for a victim, first to bring against him a heavy charge. To make this charge as notorious as possible; to blacken the victim with all sorts of bad qualities, private as well as public; to excite against him a prejudice so deep and so general as to render it almost impossible that he should not be condemned by the whole community; and, then, if any persons attempt to defend the victim, to afford him the smallest degree of protection, to express even sorrow for his sufferings; to lay on upon those persons with more malignity, if possi-

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ble, than that which has been shown towards the victim himself; and thus to reduce them to *silence*. This, which is a very efficient mode of proceeding, and against which few men are proof; this is the regular settled mode of proceeding now in use in this country, so that, when the victim is once stricken, when he is once marked out for destruction, no one ventures to say a word in his behalf or even to speak in mitigation of his woes: like the wounded stag, he is shunned by the rest of the herd, and he may think himself happy if they confine themselves to shunning, and do not proceed to actual hostility.

There is another mode, or, rather, a branch of the same mode of proceeding, and this, probably, may be adopted with regard to her Majesty. It is this (and I beseech her Majesty to pay attention to it), when the victim is to be destroyed by *craft*, rather than by direct brutal force; and when his friends are too numerous and too sensible to be terrified by the threats of the persecutors, these latter play off their detractions, not upon the public, but upon the victim himself; they discover those who take a prominent part in support of the victim, and then they *caution* the victim; yes, while they are laying snares for his feet, and are actually bargaining for his blood, they kindly *caution* the victim against listening to his supporters. They ascribe to those supporters selfish, base, wicked, and diabolical motives. By these means, they excite suspicion in the victim. They induce him to distrust his real friends; they induce him to behave with coldness towards those friends, who finally are driven from their office of friendship; and, when once the victim is thus stripped of his supporters, the persecutors fly on him as the wolves did upon the sheep who had been silly enough to give up their guardians the dogs.

This is precisely what the enemies of the Queen are now attempting to effect with regard to her Majesty. I have, for my part, not the smallest fear of their accomplishing their abominable purpose. I have a firm and unshaken reliance on the wisdom and resolution of her Majesty. If I had a thousand lives I would stake them all upon the conduct of her who turned her back upon the negociators of St. Omers, and who descended the pier at Calais in the middle of the night, in order to fly to the scene where the threateners were all-powerful.

Some persons may deem it premature to offer an opinion as to the terms upon which her Majesty ought to insist. However, I am to judge for myself, in this case. It is not yet sedition to be loyal; and, therefore, while I know my duty better than to hint at any thing improper in motive or in conduct on the part of the king, I am at full liberty to express my opinion as to what I think ought to take place with regard to the Queen.

My opinion is, then, that, as to

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a place of residence (so that it be in one of the palaces); as to the *quantity* of money as an allowance for a separate establishment; as to accompanying the king in person upon any occasion (except that of being crowned); as to any of these matters, I should say that they are of very little consequence; and I should say that the avoiding of any further altercations or investigations, would be happily got rid of by giving them up. But, there are two essential points. The first is, that of being crowned, and the other is that of having her name inserted in the Liturgy in the same manner as the last Queen's name was. Provided that I obtained these two objects, I should care, if I were in the place of her Majesty, very little about the holding of Drawing-Rooms. The Act of Coronation, and the insertion of the name in the Liturgy, are those which affect the nation most; and are those about which the public are most anxious.

It has been said, that there is a precedent in the case of Henry the VIIth. of the Queen not being crowned with the King. The exclusion, upon that occasion, arose out of particular circumstances. The King and Queen were the heir and heiress of two branches of the Royal Family of England which had long embroiled the Kingdom with their wars for the succession. Each branch contended that the right to the Crown was in it; and, therefore, the King would not suffer the Queen to be crowned with him, lest it should be supposed, that he entertained some little doubt of his own exclusive right to that Crown, which it was well known he had acquired merely by the fortunate result of a battle. The fortune of war had decided for him; and, if his wife had been crowned with him, he had some fears that she might reign in his stead to the exclusion of his son.

These fears were not entirely groundless; therefore, there was a reason in policy for excluding the Queen from the Coronation; and such exclusion reflected no dishonour upon her. This, therefore, is no precedent at all for the present case, where no such reason can exist, and where, unless the Queen be crowned, there can be no reason given, which must not admit of an interpretation dishonourable to her Majesty. The Coronation is not a thing done in a corner. It is a thing which will occupy the attention, in a greater or a less degree, of the whole of the civilized world; and, if the Queen be excluded, what will the world think, what will it say of the cause of that exclusion?

If his Majesty has one faithful Councillor this exclusion will never take place; for, it would be attended with every thing ominous and dangerous to the Crown. The people of England have fully given the lie to those base calumniators who have represented them as having no attachment to the Constitution and the Throne. They have

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no speculations upon the subject; they want no investigations, private or public, secret or open: they have no rabid desire to gratify an appetite for scandal; they unanimously and sincerely deprecate all discussions upon the subject; they see, in the Queen, a parentless child and a childless mother; and they wish to see her receive some compensation for her long and unmerited sufferings, in being crowned and honoured as Queen.

This is the feeling of the People; this is their desire; and, if the King knew how strong this feeling was, how anxious this desire, I am sure he would be the last man in his dominions to refuse their gratification. But we all know but too well how difficult it is for truth to find its way to a Royal ear. Courtiers seldom are faithful Councillors. It is their business to administer pleasing poison, rather than unpalatable, though necessary drugs. When once the mind has taken an unhappy bent, even its own native integrity operates, in many cases, against its return; and how are we to expect that, where to please is the only object, any efforts will be made to accomplish that which cannot be accomplished without the risk of giving displeasure?

For my own part, I can make great allowances, in this case; and, I believe that, in this respect, I think with a great majority of the nation. We all see what a mass of difficulties and troubles our country is involved in. Before this new source of trouble arose it puzzled the wisest man to say what was likely to take place. Difficulties so numerous, and all of them so great, that no man could tell which was the greatest or which the most pressing. Surely this was enough for us without being agitated by this new and unparalleled subject, which excites the feeling of every creature, and sets in motion a greater mass of passion than ever before existed in the breasts of any people. Surely, to all our other calamities, we ought not to have added a calamity so great as this, and, be it observed, a calamity, too, which may, even now, be put an end to with a breath.

However, Mr. Alderman, if the ministry should still persist (for I ascribe it not to the King) the path which her Majesty has to pursue is straight and clear; unobstructed by turning or stumbling-block. In her letter to the Prince Regent, dated on the 26th of May, 1814, which I shall insert in the Appendix to this letter, her Majesty reminds him that there must come a time when necessity will compel him to appear with her in public; and then she mentions the *time of their coronation*. This clearly shews, that her Majesty regarded this as a point from which she could never recede; and from this point she cannot recede. It signifies nothing that divers other things may be granted in lieu of this. This is the touchstone; and, if this be given up, nothing is, in my opinion, left worth preserving.

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In conclusion, Mr. Alderman, let us take a look back at the sad fruits of former concessions. When her Royal Highness had been declared innocent, in 1806, she conceded the point of giving publicity to the proceedings. In 1812, when the Prince became Regent, she conceded the point of her right to hold Drawing Rooms. In 1813, she conceded the point of visiting her daughter at her pleasure. In 1814, she conceded again, and then she was shut out of appearing at the Queen's Drawing Room herself. At every stage, she conceded; at every stage, she was declared innocent; and, at every stage, she had inflicted on her some new degradation; till, at last, from concession to concession and from suffering to suffering, she was brought into a state, in which she was thought capable of enduring the tender of 50,000*l.* a year, to become an outcast, upon pain of process against her, if she should dare to set her foot on English ground!

This has been her progress during a pilgrimage under the guidance of "*absolute wisdom*;" under the guidance of those, so singular has been the fate of this illustrious and persecuted person; under the guidance of men, some belonging to one political party and some belonging to the other, who have all risen to riches, promotion, and honours, in nearly a very exact proportion to the conspicuousness of the part which they have acted in her affairs. She has had wonderfully acute l arned, able and wise advisers. They have, at every stage, been able to illicit the most ample proof of her innocence, and to cause that innocence to be declared to the world; but, strange to relate, at every stage, she has fallen, while they have risen: she has had to endure fresh humiliations and additional punishments, while they have been loaded with honours and rewards; and, Mr. Alderman, it is very likely that her breaking loose from the trammels of "*absolute wisdom*," at Saint Omers, spoiled two or three of as good fortunes as ever were made in this world.

I, for my part, think that her Majesty is quite safe in her own innocence, and in her own greatness of mind. I think her in no danger now from intrigues of any sort. Her case, if it come to be a subject of trial, will stand in need of the employing of lawyers: and, as far as I know, those that are now said to be employed by her may be able enough. But, I cannot help observing that, as to all matters that tower above the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, lawyers are not the fittest men to be employed. Surely, amongst 658 members of Parliament, there are some to be found with zeal to undertake, and talent to conduct, a cause like that of her Majesty. Shall it be said of England, that all her Commoners and all her Nobles produce not one man of great talent, and of heart glowing with true ambition, to fly to the defence of an injured Queen? When the late Queen

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of France was only gently constrained by the populace to join her husband in a procession from Versailles to Paris, BURKE exclaimed that the days of chivalry were gone, or thousands of swords would have flown from their scabbards, to prevent what he, in his insolence towards the people, called an indignity offered to this Queen of France! What, then, shall be said now, when apparently not an unhired tongue is, in any eminent station, moved in defence of this injured Queen of England? BURKE, if he had lived till these days, would have seen somebody on the part of the Countess FITZWILLIAM, publicly contradicting, in print, a statement that her Ladyship had *condescended* to call upon the Queen! If thousands of swords ought to have flown from their scabbards to avenge the insult offered to the Queen of France, what ought to be the feelings of the people of England, at the insult offered to their Queen at St. Omers? However, the age of chivalry is not wholly gone. The spirit of that age is still left in England, but it appears to live only in the breasts of the people; that people, which have been charged with a want of loyalty, with a want of reverence for the Throne, with a want of attachment to Kings and Queens; and who now are charged with factiousness and sedition, because they set up an unanimous shout of "GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!"

In this shout, Mr. Alderman, I most heartily join; and I conclude this letter to you in the very same words in which I concluded my letters to my son on the English language: "Never esteem men merely on "account of their riches or their "station. Respect goodness, "find it where you may. Honour talent wherever you find "it unassociated with vice; but, "honour it most when accompanied with exertion, and especially when exerted in the "cause of truth and justice; "but, above all things, hold it "in honour, when it steps forward to protect defenceless "innocence against the attacks "of powerful guilt."

I am,

Your most obedient

And most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Copy of a Letter from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

"SIR,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of

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my own—and that your Royal Highness knows it.

"But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to Myself and my Daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my Husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly—or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her, as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the Mother of your Daughter—the Mother of her who is destined, I trust, at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

"It may be known to your Royal Highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain, has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard to the two dearest objects which I possess on earth,—mine own honour, and my beloved Child; or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the Mother and the Daughter, is equally injurious to my character, and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of those. To see myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your Royal Highness could never inflict upon me, if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a Mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a-fortnight; and I now learn, that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

"But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your Royal Highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a Daughter from her Mother will only admit of one construction, a construction fatal to the Mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced—or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicion in your ear,—betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your Daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a Mother who may not enjoy the society of her only Child.

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"The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of you Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself: but I will not disguise from your Royal Highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself,—that the serious, and soon may be, the irreparable injury which my Daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness than any sufferings of my own could accomplish: and if, for her sake, I presume to call away your Royal Highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the Constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the Royal Family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope, that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine, by impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved Child.

"Is it possible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections — the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for me, with whom, by his Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know; and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect, how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my Child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my Daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the Sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the Crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much: but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my Daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journies to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the Royal Family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing, both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the Royal Family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our Child?

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of ad-

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dressing myself to your Royal Highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it: they are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved Child, and the country, which I devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to shew by a new example the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional Monarch.

"I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter, your Royal Highness's most devoted and most affectionate Consort, Cousin, and Subject,

"CAROLINE LOUISA."

"*Montague House*, 14th *of Jan.* 1813."

No. 1.

THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Windsor Castle, May 28, 1814.

The Queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales, that she has received a communication from her son the Prince Regent, in which he states, that her Majesty's intention of holding two Drawing Rooms in the ensuing month, having been notified to the public, he must declare, that he considers that his own presence at her Court cannot be dispensed with; and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private. The Queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales, the impossibility of her Majesty's receiving her Royal Highness at her Drawing-rooms.—CHARLOTTE, R.

No. 2.

ANSWER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM—I have received the letter which your Majesty has done me the honor to address to me, prohibiting my appearance at the public Drawing-rooms which will be held by your Majesty in the ensuing month, with great surprise and regret. I will not presume to discuss with your Majesty, topics which must be as painful to your Majesty as to myself. Your Majesty is well acquainted with the affectionate regard with which the King was so kind as to honour me, up to the period of his Majesty's indisposition, which no one of his Majesty's subjects has so much cause to lament as myself: and that his Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me most unequivocal and gratifying proof of his attachment and approbation, by his public reception of me at his Court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to me. There I have since uninterruptedly paid my respects to your Majesty. I am now without appeal or protector. But I cannot so far forget my duty to the King and myself, as to surrender my right to appear at any Public Drawing-room to be held by your Majesty. That I may not, however, add to the difficulty and uneasiness of your Majesty's situation, I yield in the present instance to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, announced to me by your Majesty, and shall not present myself at the Drawing-rooms of the next month. It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to inquire of your Majesty the reasons of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his Royal Highness can alone be the judge. I am unconscious of offence; and in that reflection, I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience; even for this, the last, the most unexpected and the most severe; the prohibition given to me alone, to appear before your Majesty, to offer my congratulations upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious Personages who will in all probability be assembled at your Majesty's Court, with whom I am so closely connected by birth and marriage. I beseech your Majesty to do me an act of justice, to which, in the present circumstances, your Majesty is the only person competent, by acquainting those illustrious Strangers

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with the motives of personal consideration towards your Majesty, which alone induce me to abstain from the exercise of my right to appear before your Majesty; and that I do now, as I have done at all times, defy the malice of my enemies to fix upon me the shadow of any one imputation which could render me unworthy of their society or regard. Your Majesty will, I am sure, not be displeased that I should relieve myself from a suspicion of disrespect towards your Majesty, by making public the cause of my absence from Court at a time when the duties of my station would otherwise peculiarly demand my attendance. I have the honour to be your Majesty's most obedient daughter-in-law and servant,—CAROLINE, P.

Connaught-house, May 24, 1814.

No. 3.

LETTER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

SIR—I am once more reluctantly compelled to address your Royal Highness, and to enclose for your inspection, copies of a note which I have had the honour to receive from the Queen, and of the answer which I have thought it my duty to return to her Majesty. It would be in vain for me to enquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by your Royal Highness, that you have taken the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet me, upon any occasion, in either public or private. Of these your Royal Highness is pleased to state yourself to be the only judge. You will perceive by my answer to her Majesty, that I have only been restrained by personal consideration towards her Majesty, from exercising my right of appearing before her Majesty, at the public Drawing-rooms, to be held in the ensuing month. But, Sir, lest it should be by possibility supposed, that the words of your Royal Highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to demand of your Royal Highness—what circumstances can justify the proceeding you have thus thought fit to adopt?—I owe it to myself, to my Daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your Royal Highness of what you know; that after open persecution and mysterious inquiries, upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that I was restored by the King, with the advice of his Ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his Court, upon my complete acquittal. Since his Majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of Parliament and the country, to be proved guilty, or to be treated as innocent. I have been declared innocent—I will not submit to be treated as guilty.—Sir, your Royal Highness may possibly refuse to read this letter. But the world must know that I have written it; and they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank. Occasions, however, may arise (one, I trust, is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your Royal Highness must be present also. Can your Royal Highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your Royal Highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation? I waive my rights in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the Queen, as far as I can, from the painful situation in which she is placed by your Royal Highness; not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the existence of those rights, or of my own worthiness to enjoy them.—Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious Strangers are already arrived in England; amongst others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the House of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law. From their society I am unjustly excluded. Others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your Royal Highness in the peace of Europe. My Daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive Heiress of this Empire. This season your Royal Highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and of all his Majesty's subjects, I alone am pre-

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vented by your Royal Highness from appearing in my place, to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection, permitted to every mother but me.—I am, Sir, your Royal Highness's faithful Wife, CAROLINE, P.

Connaught-house, May 26, 1814.

No. 4.

THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Windsor Castle, May 25, 1814.

The Queen has received, this afternoon, the Princess of Wales's letter of yesterday, in reply to the communication which she was desired by the Prince Regent to make to her; and she is sensible of the disposition expressed by her Royal Highness not to discuss with her, topics which must be painful to both.—The Queen considers it incumbent upon her to send a copy of the Princess of Wales's letter to the Prince Regent; and her Majesty could have felt no hesitation in communicating to the Illustrious Strangers who may possibly be present at her Court, the circumstances which will prevent the Princess of Wales from appearing there, if her Royal Highness had not rendered a compliance with her wish to this effect unnecessary, by intimating her intention of making public the cause of her absence.

CHARLOTTE, R.

No. 5.

THE ANSWER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE QUEEN.

The Princess of Wales has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from the Queen, dated yesterday; and begs permission to return her best thanks to her Majesty, for her gracious condescension, in the willingness expressed by her Majesty, to have communicated to the Illustrious Strangers, who will in all probability be present at her Majesty's Court, the reasons which have induced her Royal Highness not to be present. Such communication, as it appears to her Royal Highness, cannot be the less necessary on account of any publicity which it may be in the power of her Royal Highness to give to her motives; and the Princess of Wales therefore entreats the active good offices of her Majesty, upon an occasion wherein the Princess of Wales feels it so essential to her that she should not be misunderstood.—CAROLINE, P.—*Connaught-place, May* 26, 1814.

No. 6.

THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

The Queen cannot omit to acknowledge the receipt of the Princess of Wales's note, of yesterday, although it does not appear to her Majesty to require any other reply that that conveyed to her Royal Highness's preceding letter. CHARLOTTE, R.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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A

SECOND LETTER

TO

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD,

CONTAINING

Observations on the Negociation carried on between the Ministers and the Queen; being the second part of the seventh and last Chapter of the Proverbs of "Absolute Wisdom."

London, June 21, 1820.

Mr. Alderman,

In my former letter to you upon this subject, I but too clearly anticipated that which has now come to pass. It was quite enough for me to see that Mr. Brougham continued to be the principal manager of the Queen's affairs. That fact was, after what had passed at St. Omers, and after that gentleman's speeches in the House of Commons, quite enough to convince me that a surrender was in contemplation; and that, it would turn out, in the end, that, what I had said to a certain person in a letter on the very evening of her Majesty's arrival, would prove but too true; namely, that her arrival was but a *temporary triumph*, and that, unless both talent and integrity came to her support, she would find, at last, that she had gained any thing but a *victory*.

Her Majesty's message to the House of Commons was, as I described it in my former letter, of a very unsatisfactory character. It was undignified, inconsequent, obscure and ungrammatical; but there ran through the whole a hankering after the Continent of Europe; there was a talk about rights, dignity, and honour; but the great burthen of the paper was *annoyance received at Courts abroad*; which must have appeared to the People of England a matter of very inferior importance, when compared with the rights and honour of the Queen as connected with this country. The annoyance upon the Continent was passed; it was a thing *gone by*: it was a thing which the people in this country looked upon as

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not possible to happen again; and, therefore, the making of it the chief subject of the message, was by no means calculated to excite confidence in the minds of her Majesty's friends.

Next came the answer to the Address of the City of London. To be sure that address was a most miserable performance. It talked about every thing but that which it ought to have talked about. It was unworthy of the City, and still more unworthy of a Queen to receive. But, still there was enough in it to call for something stout in the way of answer; instead of which, however, the answer trembled in every joint of it. It was as cautious as the step of him who treads amongst thorns or moves along the edge of a precipice. It seemed something wonderful that a falsely accused, and outrageously injured person should be advised to express her wish 'that *nothing should be done to hurt the feelings of others*; that is to say, of course, her false accusers; and this appeared to be the more strange as it was wholly uncalled for by any thing contained in the address. But, we now find that there was very good reason for this cautious and timid mode of proceeding; for we see by the papers of the negociation that, on the 15th; that is to say, on the day before this answer was given to the Address, her Majesty's Law Officers had actually entered upon a negociation the *very basis of which was that her Majesty should reside abroad*; and, one of the preliminaries of which was that the King was to *retract nothing*.

Upon reading her Majesty's answer to the City Address, I, at once, concluded that the system of *concealment* had not been adopted in vain. My last Register was gone to the press; or, I should, even in that number, have warned my readers of that which they had to expect; and when, on the Saturday, or, rather, on the Friday night, I heard of the soldiers *shouting for the Queen*, I said, that, in a few days, their shout would be a subject of ridicule even amongst themselves.

I shall now, Mr. Alderman, proceed to make some observations on the documents relating to this curious negociation, the whole of which documents, taken from a parliamentary copy, I insert as a supplement to this letter. I shall consider the negociation on the part of the

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Queen, as *the act and deed of her "Constitutional Advisers;"* for even now, I will do nothing, that truth will suffer me to leave undone, that shall be calculated to inflict pain on her Majesty. We regard the negociation on the other side as the act of the Ministers of the King, and on the Queen's side, we must regard it as the act of the servants of her Majesty.

This negociation begins as it ends. It is one series of concessions and humiliations on the part of the Queen; and it presents a chain of consistent and dignified conduct on the part of the King. The Queen is advised to *begin* the negociations; that is to say, to apply to the Ministers for some terms of arrangement. Ought this to have been the course, Mr. Alderman; ought her Majesty, while the green bag lay upon the tables of Parliament, and while Lord Castlereagh's description of the contents of that bag lay under the eyes of the people; ought her Majesty, under such circumstances, to have applied to the Ministers for an arrangement; which arrangement was to *put a stop to inquiry?* Such an application clearly indicated a desire to prevent an inquiry. And upon what ground is the application made? Why, "the *declared sense* of Parliament"! The declared sense of Parliament, Mr. Alderman! What does this mean? The Parliament declares its sense by *orders, resolutions, votes,* and *acts;* but there had been none of these in the present case. Besides, how long has it been considered that the whole of the Parliament resides in the House of Commons? There are two Houses of Parliament, and one of those Houses had not only voted that the Green Bag should be referred to a Committee; but had actually appointed the Committee; and had appointed a day for opening the Bag. It was absurd, therefore, to talk of "the declared sense of Parliament;" and it was shockingly degrading for a Queen to talk of "*submitting* to that *high authority.*" It was to discover uncommon anxiety to find out an excuse for entering upon a negociation whereby to procure an arrangement. If we were all of us so ready to catch at the "*declared sense of Parliament,*" what would become of a good many of us? During the passing of the *six acts,* I, and some others, might, without

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any very great straining, have supposed that the Parliament could not be displeased if we took ourselves off to some foreign land, or treated ourselves to a suitable portion of ratsbane; but, no thank ye; we were not in such haste to submit to the "*declared sense of Parliament.*" We waited with patience to see the Acts. These we were compelled to obey; but we were not ready to yield obedience to hints delivered in the way of speech. We stood ready to defend our character and honour; and, I trust, we have succeeded in so doing.

The Queen, having been advised to take this first step, the sequel followed, of course; and the answer of Lord Liverpool, in Number 2 of the correspondence, is precisely what might have been expected. Instead of offering her Majesty conciliatory terms; instead of indicating a disposition to relax; instead of receiving with gladness the proposition to renew discussion as to terms, his Lordship merely refers her Majesty to the terms offered before, and informs her, that, rather as a matter of favour, the King's servants will, "*notwithstanding* "*all that has passed,*" receive for consideration, any suggestions which her Majesty may have to offer upon *those propositions.*

And, did not this seem to be enough; was not this humiliating enough for her Majesty? Oh, no! this seems to have been nothing in the view of her advisers. The lofty-minded Messrs. BROUGHAM and DENMAN appear to have thought nothing of this. They go on as cheerly as if they were gaining ground at every step. And they send to my Lord Liverpool the next day, a communication in which his Lordship is told that the Queen has now seen the former propositions for the *first time;* though, you will observe, they had been delivered to Mr. Brougham on the 15th of April last! This was a very surprising thing, indeed; and, as we shall, by and by, see, the reason given for her not seeing them before, was not less calculated to excite surprize. The terms of the proposition were these. That her Majesty should receive 50,000*l.* a year, provided she would engage not to come into the British dominions; not to exercise any of her rights and privileges except that of appointing law officers; and that she should

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take some other name or title than that of Queen.

Lord Liverpool, in his answer (Number 4) expresses his extreme surprize, and well he may, that the proposition should not have been submitted to her Majesty until this time. And we will here step aside a little from our examination of the terms brought forward by her law officers, in order to follow this matter out. We perceive, then, that Mr. BROUGHAM received the propositions from the Ministers on the 15th of April. We naturally ask how Mr. BROUGHAM came to keep them so snugly in his pocket all this while. We naturally ask this; and Mr. BROUGHAM *advises her Majesty* to *order him* to tell Lord Liverpool that her Majesty *takes it for granted* that the proposition was not submitted to her until now, "*only* because "her legal advisers had *no opportunity of seeing her Majesty*, until Lord Hutchinson "was on the spot to treat with "her."

Now, Mr. Alderman, do, I pray you, look at this excuse, and see how it tallies with your ideas of sincerity of proceeding. No opportunity of seeing her, Mr. Alderman! What! could not Mr. BROUGHAM have gone to Italy? Was he afraid to encounter the fatigues of the journey? *Chivalry*, indeed, is not to be expected of a lawyer; but duty, Mr. Alderman; punctuality, Mr. Alderman; execution of commands; did not these call upon him to go? However, could he not have *sent*? How came the two gentlemen by their appointments? How came they by those commissions which put silk gowns upon their backs, and placed them before the Bar? These were sent; and why could not the propositions have been sent back by the same messenger? It could have been no very unimportant person who brought Mr. BROUGHAM his commission. Could not that person have taken the propositions back? Pray observe, too, that one of those propositions was that the Queen should be *allowed to appoint law officers*! Pray mark that. Mr. BROUGHAM takes care to communicate *that part* of the propositions to her Majesty *immediately*; but all the other parts he keeps snugly in his pocket! He gets his appointment; but he leaves his Royal Mistress to hear the propositions derogatory to her honour when and how she may.

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This gentleman is by no means deficient in that quality which is essential to make a man look people in the face, under any circumstances; but, if he get himself clear out of this, he will have much better luck than any man that I ever heard of before.

But, supposing it possible that it was impossible for him to carry or send the propositions to the Queen, before he saw her at St. Omers; even supposing in his favour any thing so wholly incredible as this, what excuse is there for his not having shewn her the propositions *at St. Omers?* What excuse, I say, is there for this? Why, he is commanded by her Majesty to tell Lord Liverpool; that is to say, Mr. BROUGHAM *advises* the Queen to command Mr. BROUGHAM himself to tell Lord Liverpool, that the April propositions were kept from her knowledge because the proposition made by Lord HUTCHINSON *"had appeared "to supersede"* them. This is nonsense in language; it is jargon almost unintelligible; it is, in this respect, like the rest of the notes of the learned advisers. It is confusion of ideas; but what a shuffle is it, Mr. Alderman? Look back at the transactions at St. Omers, and you will find that her Majesty and her legal adviser were some time in *waiting*, while Lord HUTCHINSON was preparing his propositions. Was there not time then for Mr. BROUGHAM to communicate the April propositions, before the propositions of Lord HUTCHINSON were communicated; and was it acting a fair and candid part towards the Ministers and towards Lord HUTCHINSON, and a faithful part towards the Queen, to keep the April propositions snug in the pouch, and bring them back to London without ever having divulged them to the Queen at all? But, what is of a vast deal more importance than any thing else as to this part of the subject, was it wise, was it just towards her Majesty, to act in a way that might by possibility excite a doubt as to the fact of whether these important propositions *might not have been communicated to her long ago?* Was it wise, Mr. Alderman, was it *"absolute wisdom"* to pursue a line of conduct calculated to give room in the minds of evil disposed persons to entertain this suspicion; and thus, to all the other calamities of this unfortunate Lady, to add that of the possibility of being sus-

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pected of a want of sincerity, and of a want of scrupulousness in the stating of facts?

The whole of the negociation proceeds along under the lowering aspect produced by this disclosure; and the result will prove that, in this case, as well as in all others, integrity stands in no need of subterfuge, and that an ounce of frankness is, in such a case, worth a ton of cunning.

Returning now to the terms brought forward by the Queen's Law Officers; they, in their bungling note, No. 3, say that the terms of the proposition of April are not considered at all *according with* (did you ever hear such language as this before?) the condition mentioned in the note No. 1; namely, that the proposal should be *consistent with the Queen's dignity and honour*. The note then proceeds to say, that the Queen can make no further proposal until it be clearly understood that the "*recognition of her "rank and privileges as Queen "must be the basis of any ar-"rangement that can be made.*" Now, mark, Lord Liverpool, in his answer (No. 4), again refers the Queen to the April propositions, and observes, that she was never called upon to *renounce* any thing belonging to her as Queen; and reminds her that, whatever appertains to her by *law*, as Queen, must continue to belong to her until abrogated by law; but that she was required to *abstain from the exercise* of her rights and privileges, except in the case of appointing Law Officers; which right, by the by, she has already exercised. His Lordship concludes with saying, that the King's servants think it right, in order to save time, distinctly to state that they will make and entertain no proposition which HAS NOT, FOR ITS BASIS, HER MAJESTY'S RESIDENCE ABROAD!

Well! the Queen now flies off, to be sure! Her Majesty never can go a step further! Oh, yes, she can! *Ce n' est que le premier pas qui coute!** When once her Majesty had been advised to authorize the making of an excuse for *soliciting* an opening for the making of an arrangement; when once this step had been taken, there was no length in the path of concession and humiliation, which she

* It is only the *first* step that gives pain.

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might not be expected to go. Accordingly, she is advised to proceed; and, in note No. 4, she accepts of this humiliating basis, while her bungling negociators endeavour to shuffle it out of sight. They say, that, "*as the basis of her recognition is admitted by the King's government,*" her Majesty will proceed, in manner hereafter to be mentioned. Why, Mr. Alderman, there was no such recognition in Lord LIVERPOOL's note, No. 4. His Lordship neither admitted it nor denied it. He explained that she was Queen in law; that she never had been called upon to renounce her rights and privileges; but that she had been called upon, and was still called upon, to abstain from exercising them. This, therefore, was no basis of any new arrangement; but there was a basis most distinctly stated by my Lord LIVERPOOL; and that was in very plain words; namely, *her Majesty's residence abroad.* Yet, in the note of the Queen's famous advisers (No. 5), which is the answer to this note from my Lord LIVERPOOL, no notice is taken of this basis, so distinctly laid down by my Lord LIVERPOOL. It is passed over *in silence*, and the pretended basis appears to be greedily catched at as an excuse for going on with the negociation. This note (No. 5) concludes with the grand scheme of her Majesty's Legal Advisers, and it is laid down in the following remarkable words: "her Majesty's "dignity and honour *being secured*, she regards all other "matters as of comparatively "little importance, and is willing to leave every thing to the "*decision of any person or persons* of high station and character, whom both parties "may concur in naming, and "who shall have authority to "prescribe the particulars as "to *residence, patronage* and "*income*, subject, of course, to "the approbation of Parliament."

Now, Mr. Alderman, it would seem that the Law Advisers of her Majesty thought that they *had secured* her dignity and honour. It would seem that they thought that this was done by Lord LIVERPOOL's having told them, or rather told her Majesty, that the Ministers knew that she was Queen *by law*, that her rights, as such, must continue until abrogated by law; but that, she must ab-

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stain from exercising them, and *that she must go out of this kingdom*. Yes, Mr. Alderman, her Majesty's wise and able advisers appear to have thought that this was a *complete security* for her dignity and honour, which were, by this simple repetition (for, in substance, it was nothing more) of Lord HUTCHINSON's so much abused propositions; these wise advisers appear to have thought that this was *ample security* for her Majesty's dignity and honour, while the threatening green bags lay upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament, and while Lord CASTLEREAGH's description of the contents of those bags lay under the eyes of the people of this kingdom!

The answer of Lord LIVERPOOL (No. 6) contains a rejection of the proposition for an arbitration, which rejection is founded on clear and sound reasons, and conveyed in language precisely the opposite of that which you find in the illiterate notes of the advisers of the unfortunate Queen. This note of Lord LIVERPOOL rejects the proposition for an arbitration, and proposes personal conferences; but, at the same time, repeats that the arrangement must proceed upon the basis of Lord LIVERPOOL's note of the 11th; that is to say, upon the condition, the indispensable condition, *that her Majesty shall go out of the kingdom!*

Here ends the epistolary part of the negociation; and, you will perceive, Mr. Alderman, that the King's servants have, from the first word to the last word, maintained the ground which they took on the 15th of April; and that the negociators of the Queen have gone on, from the beginning to the end, *receding*; giving up; submitting, till, at last, they become bound to enter into conferences to frame an arrangement, the basis of which shall be that very condition which was represented as being so odious and detestable at St. Omers, only, with the *aggravation* that her Majesty is now *to go out* of the country, after charges have been actually brought against her; whereas the proposition then was for her to *keep out* of the country, lest charges should be brought against her!

Yet, upon this basis, most clearly defined, do the Queen's wise and able counsellors advise her Majesty to proceed in the

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negociation. In this same spirit, this same humble and conceding spirit, they enter upon the conferences and upon framing the preliminaries. In the first preliminary they agree that the object is, to "*avert the necessity of public inquiry.*" I would have chopped my hand off before I would have signed such a preliminary. For averting public inquiry *into what?* Not into the whole matter on *both sides.* Oh, no! but "*into the infor-*" *mation laid before the two* "*Houses.*" That is to say, inquiry into the contents of the green bag. It was to *avert this* that was to be *the object* of the negociation. It was to avert *this* that the Queen's negociators consented to treat. This is what they set in the front of their proceedings. This was to stand as the *cause* of the negociation. This, which ought scarcely to have been mentioned as a *consequence,* these wise and clever men consent to agree to as the very first and great *motive* of their coming into the conclave. The second preliminary is quite worthy of the first. There is a pair of them; and they will go down to posterity as a warning to Queens, and to every body else, when they are about to chuse lawyers to negociate terms for the maintenance of their dignity and honour. In this second preliminary it is laid down and agreed to, that *the King shall retract nothing;* it is also laid down, indeed, that the Queen shall *admit nothing.* And it would have been hard, indeed, if her Majesty were *to* be called upon before-hand to subscribe to the truth of the contents of the Green Bags. This was gaining a monstrous deal, to be sure. The Constitutional Advisers were wonderfully *clever,* and not less *wonderfully* stout, in obtaining a stipulation, and that at starting, too, that their Royal Mistress should not be understood as pleading guilty to the accusations contained in those ample Bags, to avert the opening of which her advisers had explicitly acknowledged to be the object of the negociation in which they were engaged; but, at the same time, as a counterpoise to this *stiffness* on their part, they *candidly* agreed that the King is to *retract nothing!*

Now, Mr. Alderman, let us see how this matter stands. Let

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us see what all this amounts to when elucidated by a case supposed to arise between some of us common mortals of the "*Lower Orders*," who would have, of course, no Dukes, Viscounts, nor learned gentlemen to arbitrate or negociate for us. And here let me observe, before I proceed to such an elucidation, that her Majesty's gentle and complaisant servants yielded, at the outset, a point, which a crusty fellow would not have yielded; for, they agreed that the negociators should not consider themselves as *opposed to each other*, but as *acting in concert*, though representing different interests! This was very curious, Mr. Alderman; yet it was very much like what we daily see going on in an Assembly, which it is not necessary more particularly to point out; and in which, though there is a talk about *opposition*, there really is none at all, and men, in fact, act perfectly in concert; and for the purpose, too, very frequently of *averting public inquiry*.

With all due deference to persons wearing long black gowns, and big wigs with many tails, think that the Queen's negociators very much degraded her Majesty in consenting to act in *concert* with persons representing, not the King, but the *King's Ministers*; and, through the whole of this negociation, the *principals* are, not *the King* and *the Queen*, but the *King's servants* and *the Queen*. However, as all was to be concession and humiliation on the part of the Queen, this is only of a piece with the rest.

Now, Mr. Alderman, in order to place this matter: this *non-admission* on the part of the Queen, and this *non-retraction* on the part of the King, in a clear light. In order to bring such high matter down to the level of vulgar capacities, suppose me to accuse my wife of having been guilty of naughty tricks. No matter with whom, whether foreigner or native. Suppose me to take a bag; no matter whether a Seed Bag or a Hop Bag; put a parcel of papers into it, tie a piece of pack-thread round the mouth, and then, shaking the Bag at her, say, "here mistress, I have "got something about your "conduct in this bag; that "which I have got in this bag "contains an account of your "pretty tricks." And then suppose me to turn her out of

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my house, and tell her that I am immediately going to bring her into Court and to open my bag, unless she scamper off out of the neighbourhood, take some other name than mine, and let me hear no more of her. After all this suppose her to make a fuss, and to call in her friends to advise about the matter. Suppose her, at last, to have the misfortune to fix upon a couple of the most dung-hill dogs that ever walked; suppose these to meet two chaps on my part, and my chaps were to propose, and the others were to agree to, *a preliminary, that I should retract nothing;* that I should be understood to persevere in asserting her to be guilty of the paw-paw tricks; supposing her two trusty friends to agree to a preliminary like this, and supposing them to go back to her and tell her that they had come to such an agreement; do you not believe, Mr. Alderman, that she, with her little hand, would give each of them such a slap in the face as would bring up into his cheek the few drops of blood that he might have in his body? To be sure you do; and there is not a woman in England who would not say she was dishonoured for ever if she did not do as much.

What! retract nothing! The Queen was to admit nothing. This is a pretty equivalent, indeed. I accuse a man, for instance, of highway robbery; and, if he do not *admit* that he is guilty, I am *not to retract* my charge! The Law Advisers are, as we shall see by and by, profoundly learned in the doctrine of *equivalents;* but an equivalent like this never, I believe, entered into any head not covered with a big wig with more than a couple of tails.

From so hopeful a beginning, very little, indeed, was to be expected, and, therefore, wretched as the sequel is, we have not to complain much of attempts to deceive us. The preliminaries having been agreed on, the points for discussion were next defined; and they were, as follows:

"1. The future residence of "the Queen abroad."

"2. The title which her Ma- "jesty might think fit to "assume when travelling "on the Continent."

"3. The non-exercise of cer- "tain rights of Patronage "in England, which it "might be desirable that

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"her Majesty might desist
"from exercising should
"she reside abroad;" and,
"4. The suitable income to
"be assigned for life to the
"Queen residing abroad."

Now the *discussions* begin, and, which is very surprizing, the very first thing that the Queen's advisers do, is to state that the fourth point is to be wholly left out of consideration in these discussions; when, as we have seen just now, this was one of the very points, which they themselves had, in note No. 5, stated to the Ministers her Majesty's wish to have discussed. However, leaving this strange and whimsical objection to be accounted for by those who can unravel the windings of a hare, let us proceed to matters as to which these clever lawyers were willing to enter upon discussion. They say that, "*under all the circumstances of her Majesty's position*," they will not say that her Majesty has any *insuperable objection to living abroad*. No, to be sure they will not; only the observation was ridiculously superfluous, seeing that the negociation by conference was entered into upon the express condition that her living abroad should be *the basis* of the arrangement, whatever it might be in other respects. But then, say the gentlemen of the long robe, certain steps must be taken to remove the possibility of any *inference* being drawn from such compliance, and from the inquiry not being proceeded in, *unfavourable to her Majesty's honor*, and inconsistent with that recognition which is the basis of these negociations. Here, again, there is a repetition of the stale artifice of representing the recognition as Queen, as being the basis of these negociations; when it is as plain as words can make it, that the basis of these negociations is *her living abroad*.

The plain meaning of these observations of the lawyers, is, the Queen has no insuperable objection to going out of the country; but then, you must do something to *save her character*. You must do something which shall amount to an acknowledgment of innocence of the charges you have brought against her. You must do something, in short, that shall make the world believe, that, in order to *please Parliament*, she is willing to go away and spend

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her income out of the country; you must do something, which she can hold up to the world as *a proof of your acknowledging her innocence.* And this something, which these clever gentlemen suggested, was THE RESTORATION OF HER NAME TO THE LITURGY! What a singular taste! What pious gentlemen these must be! The Liturgy was all that they cared for! They despised the Green Bag. They thought nothing of Lord CASTLEREAGH'S Speech, describing the contents of that Bag! They held as nothing, what the Lord CHANCELLOR had said about certain Acts which might have been committed with a foreigner; and the impossibility of reaching her Majesty by the law of High Treason. The Premier, Mr. BROUGHAM, seems to have forgotten the horrible and almost rabid picture which he himself had drawn of the contents of the Bag. All appears to have been forgotten: every thing seems to have disappeared, when the bright thought of the Liturgy rushed into the minds of these learned advisers. The Duke of WELLINGTON and Lord CASTLEREAGH, at once rejected this proposition, in the most decided manner, and upon the best of all possible grounds. The learned Gentlemen flew to the *Statute-Book*, but they were soon driven from that, as the fox, with the hounds close at his heels, is driven from his work of endeavouring to scratch a hole under a hay stack, or a faggot pile. Indeed, whatever may be said about the law, in this case, it is perfectly monstrous to suppose that the legislature who enacted the book of Common Prayer, could possibly mean that the Queen Consort's name must absolutely have a place in the Liturgy, let her conduct be what it might. Let us suppose a Queen Consort to be notoriously a woman of ill-fame; let us suppose (for the doctrine goes all lengths) her to be a woman as flagrantly dishonourable as a girl of the town. Will any man pretend that the King and his Council would not have the right to keep her name from the book of Common Prayer? Must not all the world see, that to put the name there would be a mockery too scandalous to be endured by even the most enslaved and degraded people upon earth? And are we to be told, then, by a couple of men stuck up in black gowns and big whigs, that the *Letter of the Statute* requires that her name should be so inserted? It is clear that, if the law did admit of this construction it would be a law such as neither the legislature nor the nation meant should have an existence.

Besides, as to the present case, it was stipulated at the outset, that the King should be under-

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stood to retract nothing; and, how were the Ministers to be expected to recommend a retractation like this? The King, or his Ministers, rather, stipulate, at the commencement, to retain all their impressions; and, as the legal gentlemen had agreed that all the impressions should remain, what reason was there for their asking for this retractation. It was observed, and with great propriety, that the King had taken the measure with regard to the Liturgy, long before the arrival of the Queen; and that things were brought back to their state at that period as far as related to this matter.

A pretty absurdity, indeed, would it be to restore the name to the Liturgy, *on account of her Majesty's* return *home*; and to make her going off again to the Continent a *condition of that restoration*.

The answer given to this proposition was sufficient; but it offered occasion for giving a still better answer. It might have been represented to these grave and big-whigged gentlemen that the thing, if acceded to, would be the subject of everlasting scoffing at the established religion, and everlasting merriment upon the Queen herself. The bare idea of going into exile while the Green Bag lay sealed up upon the tables of the Houses of Parliament; the bare idea of her Majesty doing this without any inquiry having been instituted into her conduct; and in consequence of an arrangement, the object of which was to avert the necessity of public inquiry; the bare idea of her thus scampering off, aided and assisted, cherished and sustained by nothing but the *prayers* of the people in England, would have been a jest as long as jesting should be known amongst men. It really would not have been too much if the Ministers had suggested whether it might not be agreeable to put her name in that particular part where names are occasionally mentioned of persons that are in "*a very low and weak condition*;" or, that are "*travelling by land or by water*." This might have been done by those of the Parsons that might chuse to do it; and really, since her Majesty's law advisers were so anxious to have *prayers* in her Majesty's absence, this was an "*equivalent*" much more suitable, it seems to me, than the one which we shall presently see proposed by the law advisers.

To make *a good retreat* is, they say, the most difficult part of the art of war. In another Conference, these two law gentlemen will probably be more able in this way. Driven from the Liturgy, they, towards the close of the first Conference take a new position; namely, "*the official introduction of her Majesty to Foreign Courts by the King's Ministers abroad*." To this it was objected, in the first place, that this would be a retractation on the part of the King; and, therefore, inconsistent with the preliminaries of the negociation; and, besides this, that to cause such introduction would be to give to her Majesty's conduct that *counte-*

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nance, which the state of the case, as at present before his Majesty, altogether precluded. Aye, to be sure, not an inch did the King's Ministers give up; and not an inch would they give up. They stood firm upon their charges. They would give money, they would give yachts, they would give ships of war; but they would not flinch one hair's breadth from the ground they had taken. Driven off here, too, the law advisers closed the first Conference by observing, that there was no reason to think that the Queen could not be induced to depart from the propositions before stated *unless some others*, founded on the same principles, were acceded to on the part of his Majesty's government.

Driven from the Liturgy; driven from the official introduction at Foreign Courts generally; the brave law advisers do, nevertheless, still remain in the field. They stop. They face about, and attempt to make a stand, though in a sort of dodging and bush-fighting way. They pretend that they must not be understood to contend for a general power in her Majesty to be received and presented by the English Ministers abroad; but that they wish that her Majesty should have a public introduction at *some one Court*, where she might fix her residence. Mr. BROUGHAM, during the debate of the sixth of June, and while the Duke of WELLINGTON was *standing full in his view* under the gallery, took occasion to observe, that *the Ministry had in it the greatest Captain of the age.* Precisely what might be the *view* of the learned gentleman for hooking in that compliment on this prodigy of powers, I know not; but certain it is that the Duke has outgeneralled the lawyer upon this occasion. No sooner was the above proposition made, than the Duke charged the law gentlemen with horse and foot; and drove them scampering off to get shelter where they could. He beat them at their own weapons; showed the cowardliness of adopting a partial or covert proceeding; said that the principle was the same, whether at one Court or at more than one Court; and then he talked to them of the *comfortable* manner in which her Majesty might *depart from England*; mentioned the yacht to cross the channel with, or a ship of war for a longer voyage. After this, the Queen's law officers recurred to the mention of the Liturgy, or devising *something as an equivalent*, and said that it was necessary to press one or both of these objects, *or some other of a similar nature and tendency.* No answer being given to this, they asked whether a residence in one of the *Royal Palaces* would be secured to her Majesty during her residence in this country; to which they received for answer, that this matter had already been disposed of by supplying her Majesty with the funds which were necessary to furnish her with a suitable residence elsewhere. So that they were now beaten out of the PALACE as they had before been beaten out of the LITURGY, the

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FOREIGN COURTS, generally, and any one FOREIGN COURT in particular.

After these repeated defeats, the wigs and gowns appear to have been in a very depressed and deplorable state. They seem to have lost all hope of carrying any thing in the field, and to have been contriving, in the *Bivouacs*, which they had hastily taken up, how they might clearly get out of the war, without being in an infinitely worse condition than when they entered on it for the purpose of making acquisitions. They had gained nothing; had been much shattered in the contest, and seemed now to be anxious about nothing but getting out of it. To effect this, they resorted to a *ruse de guerre*. The Bags were lying still upon the tables. To get them off the tables seemed to be as difficult as to get LEICESTER and his soldiers off their knees in the play of the CRITIC. They, however, set to work about this, and asked the Duke and his Comrade "whether, "supposing an arrangement "made, *the mode of winding* "*up the transaction*, and with- "drawing the information re- "ferred to Parliament had been "considered, and whether the "King's servants saw any ob- "jection, in the present instance, "to the Houses of Parliament "expressing, by suitable Ad- "dresses, both to the King and "Queen, *their grateful Thanks* "*for their Majesties having ac-* "*quiesced in an arrangement*, "by which Parliament had been "saved the painful duty of so "delicate and difficult a pro- "ceeding."

To this curious proposition, they received for answer, the next day, that the King's servants saw no difficulty in effecting this job, provided the terms of the proposition to Parliament were *properly guarded!* These three last words were quite enough to enable the Ministers to propose and carry such addresses as should by no possibility convey the idea that any man in either House of Parliament believed the charges against the Queen to be unfounded. And, observe, that the Duke and Lord CASTLEREAGH took special care to suffer no expression to drop from them with regard to the *withdrawing of the bags*; a matter about which the wise advisers of the Queen appear not to have been wholly without anxiety.

I beg you, Mr. Alderman, to look well at this proposition, as coming from the Queen's advisers. This is the last thing, it appears to me, that they should have done. They should have let drop nothing that would convey to the world the idea that the Queen was anxious to get the bags withdrawn. In no case should they have done this. What then must we think of their bringing it forward after they had met with a distinct, frank, absolute, point-blank refusal of every thing that they had asked for even down to the very palace. Yea, when even the palace has been refused; and the instant after the refusal,

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they put a question which clearly implies they are ready to submit to all, and that they are now eager to get the bags away from the tables of the Parliament, and that they wish to plaister all over with addresses to be got from the Parliament in consequence of this negociation.

However, in the conference of the 17th of June, it appears that her Majesty could stand this retreating work no longer, the interval between the meeting of the 16th and that of the 17th, appears to have produced in the mind of her Majesty a sense of the danger to which she was exposed; and, in the conferences of the 17th, therefore, the Law advisers of her Majesty say, that the name in the Liturgy or something equivalent was a *sine qua non* with the Queen; that is to say, that she would have one or the other which might have the effect of protecting her against the unfavourable inference to which she might be liable in leaving the country.

In the next conference, which was the last but one, the Ministers told the law officers that the King would cause official notification to be made of her Majesty's LEGAL character as Queen to the government of the particular state in which she might think fit to reside. But that it must *rest with the Sovereign* of such state *what reception* should be given to her Majesty *in that character*. This was nothing at all; for such Sovereign would certainly not receive her, at his Court.

Thus, then, this negociation ended without the Queen obtaining one single fraction of any of the things she had been contending for; and, what was a million times worse, with her legal advisers having put into the hands of the Ministers, papers from which she had ten thousand million times more to apprehend than she had to apprehend from the contents of fifty green bags. The contents of those Green-Bags require oral testimony to support them. The papers upon which I have been commenting are of undoubted authenticity: they are official: they are signed, sealed and delivered by her own constitutional advisers. These gentlemen appear, at the close of their work, to have been frightened at a sight of their own doings; for they, in the fifth Conference, having looked at the mass of materials that they were putting into the hands of the Ministers, and having perceived, in appearance, the effect it was calculated to produce, enter into an explanation of an expression made use of by them at the outset of the Conferences. "In "order," say they, "to avoid "any misinterpretation of the "expression used on mention- "ing their belief that her Ma- "jesty might overcome her re- "luctance to go abroad, viz. "'UNDER ALL THE CIRCUM- "'STANCES OF HER POSITION,' "they stated that they meant "thereby, *the unhappy domes- "tic differences which created "the difficulty of her Majesty "holding a Court, and the un- "derstood sense of Parliament,*

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"*that her Majesty's residence* "*in this country might be at-*" *tended with public inconve-*" *nience.*"

In the first place, Mr. Alderman, if I had been in her Majesty's place, I would have selected negociators able to state a proposition in language not liable to misinterpretation. I would have chosen men with clear heads, and pens able to put their meaning plainly upon paper. In the next place, what a figure does this phrase make when thus interpreted by the learned gentlemen? Their interpretation of a single phrase forms a long statement, and brings forward new and extraordinary matter. This single parenthetical phrase, which does not amount to even a simple sentence, has, in it, no verb, and contains no complete sense; this single phrase is made to mean, that there were *unhappy domestic differences*; that these created *the difficulty* of her Majesty's holding a Court; and that it was the understood sense of Parliament, that is to say, the opinion of Parliament, *that her Majesty's residence in this country might be attended* with public inconvenience. So that, this phrase, which was merely flung in, between words which had no meaning; this insignificant phrase, *being interpreted*, is made to contain three distinct propositions, each of them of considerable importance. As to the first of these propositions, namely, that unhappy domestic differences exist, it is pretty notorious, and acquires nothing in the way of observation. As to the second proposition, namely, that these differences created *the difficulty* of her Majesty's holding a Court, leaving the ungrammatical expression out of the question, this seems to say that her Majesty conceded the point of holding the Court, but that, not being able to hold the Court, was a reason for her being willing to withdraw herself from the country. It was any thing but wisdom that dictated an acknowledgment like this. But let us go on to the third proposition, which is, by far, the most important; namely, that it is the understood sense, or opinion, of Parliament that her Majesty's residence in this country might be attended with public inconvenience; and that, therefore, her Majesty has not any insuperable objection to living abroad!

This is the stinger, Mr. Alderman. If the Parliament had expressed such an opinion, was that to drive the Queen out of the country to spend fifty thousand pounds of English money a year in Italy? But there wants another interpretation here; for, pray what is meant by the words "*public inconvenience*"? Would it be an inconvenience to the public for her Majesty to live in one of the many palaces that are now empty? Would it be an inconvenience to the public to have spent in the country that fifty thousand pounds a year which is destined to be her Majesty's allowance? Or, would her Majesty's mode of life and example produce inconvenience to the public? We want an explanation of the meaning of these

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two words. Men should say what they mean, or they should say nothing. As to the *opinion of Parliament*, upon this subject, it has expressed no opinion at all; and, if it had, its opinion was not law; nor was it a thing to guide the Queen in her conduct, especially in a matter where her character as a virtuous woman was at stake. It is impossible, Mr. Alderman, to look upon this pretended opinion of Parliament as any thing other than an excuse, on the part of her Majesty's Advisers, for recommending to the Queen, the fatal step of consenting to run away out of the country, leaving all the Green Bags and all the charges behind her in precisely the same state in which she found them.

Here, Sir, I may dismiss the negociation and the negociators, and, addressing myself to her Majesty's sound understanding, and high sense of honour, I may be permitted to tell her that, the publication of the papers relating to this negociation, disclosing the fact, that her Majesty was willing to go out of the country, and take up her residence abroad, produced a greater shock in the public mind than any thing ever produced within my recollection; that, it came upon the People with an effect similar to that which the chill hand of death falls suddenly upon youth and beauty; that, it filled the women's hearts with lamentation, and those of the men with a feeling which Englishmen had never before entertained towards her Majesty; that, as to terms, there were no terms; no stipulations, no conditions, no concessions on the other part, nothing that could possibly do away the effect of this staring tangible concession, a consent to go out of the country, while all the accusations were left in full existence behind her; that no recognition of her rights; that no declaration of her innocence, that nothing which words or even acts could effect, would remove the indelible impression made upon the minds of the people by the bare act of consenting to go out of the country.

Had I, like you, Mr. Alderman, had access to her Majesty, I would have taken the liberty to ask her *for what* she had come to England at all, if she were to be induced to consent to be sent out of it again? The basis of the proposition at St. Omers was her residence out of the country. Upon that basis she has been advised to consent to treat now; and, if she go out of the country, her case is infinitely worse than when she came into it; seeing that, before she came, no distinct charges were made, no Green Bags were laid before Parliament; and the proposition of Lord HUTCHINSON might, if she had liked, been kept a profound secret. Therefore, if she be now to go from the country, her situation is infinitely worse than it would have been, if she had never come to it. All her bravery, in coming hither to *face* her accusers All the presumptions of her innocence, founded on her indignant rejection of the proposition at St. Omers, and on her rushing to the scene of accusation;

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all her acts of defiance vanish into air in a moment, when she gives her consent to be driven from the country. This is the touch-stone, Sir. Her name may be restored to the Liturgy; addresses from both Houses may declare their belief in her innocence; her innocence may be proclaimed by the Heralds; a Jubilee may be held to celebrate its annunciation; but never will it be believed in by any persons of common sense, if she give her consent to leave England and to reside abroad.

If we could suppose, Mr. Alderman, all sense of dignity and of honour, all sense of female pride, to be banished from the bosom of a Queen, even common prudence; even the desire to live comfortably in obscurity; even self-preservation, to which the necessaries of life are requisite; even in this vulgar view of the matter, what could be more fatal than the advice given to her Majesty to consent to live abroad? Fifty thousand pounds a-year, would furnish the means of endless gratifications, in the way of living; and the delightful climate of Italy is, doubtless, pleasanter than that of England. But what assurance is her Majesty to have that this sum; that half this sum; nay, even that one solitary pound per annum, would continue to be paid to her for any length of time? The settlement might be made by act of Parliament, and for life; but has her Majesty to learn, that acts of Parliament can be *repealed*? And has she to learn that no settlement whatever can be made upon her to enable her to live out of the country, without strenuous opposition on the part of the people? Has her Majesty to learn, that great pains have been taken to ascertain whether a law cannot be passed to prevent Englishmen from expending even their own private incomes abroad; and has she need of any one to inform her that the people of this country will view, with indescribable indignation, the sending of fifty thousand pounds annually out of the country? fifty thousand pounds taken from the fruit of their labour, and deducted from their means of existing with comfort: has she to be informed that the people of this country will boil with rage at the thought of fifty thousand pounds a-year, raised in this way, being sent to Italy to be dissipated amongst foreigners; and that, too, observe, by a person against whom his Majesty's Ministers have preferred, and still prefer, most serious charges? Has her Majesty to learn these things? and has she to learn that, in taking away fifty thousand pounds a-year, she would take away the means of supporting *two thousand five hundred* labourers and their families, making altogether *twelve thousand persons*; and this at a time when universal distress prevails; and when, from the petitions before Parliament, it appears that hundreds of thousands of the people are upon the verge of starvation.

It must be clear, Mr. Alderman, as the sun at noon-day, that, under such circumstances, the people of this country would

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view this fifty thousand pounds a-year with constant grudging; and that those who are now ready to stun her Majesty with cheers, would be full as clamorous for the taking away of her allowance. And is it likely that there would be wanting specious grounds for such a proceeding? Let us see how this matter would be likely to shape its course. Her Majesty's Advisers, or, at least, one of them, has stated in Parliament, that the contents of the Green Bags had been collected, by the means of spies, from a set of perjured wretches. Indeed, we must take it for granted, that her Majesty asserts that the pretended evidence against her is false and groundless. Well, then, is it to be believed that she will, all at once, after her second migration, be secure against plots, conspiracy, and perjury? Certainly her Majesty will not believe this. The thing naturally to be expected, even during the next Session of Parliament, would be, fresh complaints, fresh accusations, new Green Bags, new Committees, reports from those Committees; and, then, without any open investigation at all, the Parliament might rescind the grant, and, in so doing they would do as popular a thing as they could possibly do.

I leave any man of common sense to say, whether this be not precisely that which is to be expected. It is not only a possible result; it is more than a probable result; it is one which every man will expect; for which every man will be prepared, and of which every man will approve. I have been a prophet hitherto with regard to the affairs of this unfortunate Lady; and, if she now go abroad, no matter on what terms, I rely, with perfect confidence, on the fulfilment of the present prophecy.

The negociators on the part of the Ministry, kindly offer her a yacht or a man of war wherein to take her departure, observing that the manner of her arrival must have given her great *pain*, and that they wished her to depart in a more *comfortable* manner. It is very true that she will be wholly relieved from the crowds of admiring spectators, and from the noisy acclamations, by whom, and with which, she was received. No female tears will be shed at her departure; no blessings on her will annoy her progress. She will pass quietly enough into the yacht, or the man of war. The people may be silent: but the shrugging of shoulders, the shaking of heads, and the pointing of fingers, will be the silent signals of her retreat.

And, thus, Mr. Alderman, will end the last part but one, of the VIIth Chapter of the Proverbs of "*absolute wisdom.*" I, however, am still inclined to hope that the negociators did not fully, and in all respects, speak the voice, and describe the wishes of her Majesty. They may have misunderstood her; she may have misunderstood them. They may have misinterpreted her wishes, and she may have well misinterpreted their

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words, of which, they themselves have thought subsequent interpretation necessary. Her Majesty has long been accustomed to use almost exclusively a foreign language. Perhaps she never made herself perfect enough in the English language to be able clearly to comprehend what constructions certain words and phrases would admit of. I am willing to hope that to causes of this kind, and not to any deliberate intention on the part of her Majesty, we are to ascribe the assent to a *residence abroad*. But, it is proper that I clearly state, once more, my decided opinion, that, *if her Majesty go out of the Kingdom, be the terms of her exile what they may, no tongue or pen can ever again be expected to move in her Majesty's defence.* She has now the attachment of the People, the public voice loudly expressed, a great mass of disinterested zeal and talent; she has now all these *for* her. The moment she consents to a migration from our shores, she will have all these, not only not for her, but decidedly against her.

If she stop at the point where she now is, (*Wednesday*), and cast from her the proceedings of the negociation as she would shake off a viper; if she do this, she is still safe. The whole nation is prepared to meet the contents of the Green Bags. Her Majesty will soon see that no falsehood, however dressed out, will avail aught against her; and she triumphs as certainly as she has an existence.

Her Majesty has, from the moment of her landing in this country, been under the advice of *Lawyers*; and I think them, in such a case, the very worst. If her Majesty had listened to nothing but the dictates of her own mind, she would, in pursuance of the path of right and of duty, *gone directly* to the dwelling of her Royal Husband. A great deal has been said of late, about irreligion; but, is not marriage a religious ceremony? And the law; has it refused to the wife of the Queen rights which it gives to every other married woman? Are we not punishable, by law, if we refuse to live with our wives? Are we not punishable, by law, if we refuse them the enjoyment of those rights of dwelling and of cohabitation, which they acquire at the time of their marriage, in return for the enormous sacrifices which they then make to us? Do they, at their marriage, surrender their all, surrender up their persons to our absolute government and controul; do they give up their liberty, their right of loco motion, and even their right to love and be loved; do they give up their right to govern, to advise, and even to see their own children? Yes, they do all this, and shall they be denied the right of living under the same roof with him to whom they make this enormous surrender; a surrender, too, made, in numerous instances, to creatures not endowed with a hundredth part of their understanding and not endowed with a millionth part of their sensibility, disinterestedness, and generosity?

The Queen had a right to go

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disinterestedness, and generosity?

The Queen had a right to go directly to the residence of her Royal Husband. There she should have remained; and, no step of any sort should have been taken by her, other than those necessary to the assertion of all her rights. The Green Bags, the messages, and every thing bearing the character of accusation, she should have left to take their course, and to be legally announced to her. Her messages, or whatever other papers she might have chosen to dictate, should have been confined to demands of those rights. She should have entered into no negociation of any sort, but have waited, until official communications had been made to her; and, if she had pursued this course, we should, at this day, have seen the subject set at rest, and the nation expressing its gratitude to both King and Queen for the restoration of harmony between them.

I know very well, that, as things now stand, her Majesty cannot *force* herself to be crowned; that she cannot force her name into the Liturgy; that she cannot force herself into a palace, as a place of separate residence. But this I know, that she has certain rights, privileges, and powers, given to her *by law*, and that she can exercise these, unless some new law be passed to take them away from her; and that such law never will be passed is a proposition on the truth of which I would stake my existence.

It is impossible for her Majesty to be in any danger while she remains in England, and it is impossible for her to be safe for one day, if she quits it. By remaining here, she secures every thing; by going away, she surrenders every thing. It is recorded of a French General, that, after a defeat of his army, he wrote home this laconic epistle: "*Tout est perdu hors l'honneur.*"* If her Majesty quits England, she will not have left this soothing and proud consolation.

What may happen before this paper comes from the press, it is impossible for me to say; but, at any rate, I shall have discharged my duty; and I shall, in the thought of that, console myself, let the consequences be what they may. In the course of this discussion, I have felt no temptation to hint at any thing wrong in the conduct of his Majesty or his Ministers. It remains to be seen whether the latter have acted wisely or unwisely, justly or unjustly; but I have no scruple in declaring, beforehand, that her Majesty's going from the country, no matter on what terms, ought to be considered as complete proof that they have, in this instance, been wise, firm, and faithful counsellors of the King.

I am,

Mr. Alderman,

Your most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

* All is lost but *honour*.

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COMMUNICATIONS

ON THE PART OF

THE QUEEN WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

LAID BEFORE BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, JUNE, 1820.

No. I.—*Communication from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool.*

The Queen commands Mr. Brougham to inform Lord Liverpool, that she has directed her most serious attention to the declared sense of Parliament, as to the propriety of some amicable adjustment of existing differences being attempted; and submitting to that high authority with the gratitude due to the protection she has always received from it, her Majesty no longer waits for a Communication from the Ministers of the Crown, but commands Mr. Brougham to announce her own readiness to consider any arrangement that can be suggested consistent with her dignity and honour.

One o'clock, Friday, June 9, 1820.

No. II.—*The Earl of Liverpool in answer to the communication from the Queen, on the same day.*

Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the Queen's communication of this day, and begs leave to acquaint her Majesty that a memorandum delivered by Lord Liverpool to Mr. Brougham on the 15th April last, contains the propositions which Lord Liverpool was commanded by the King to communicate through Mr. Brougham to her Majesty.

Her Majesty has not been advised to return any answer to those propositions, but Lord Liverpool assures her Majesty that the King's servants will still think it their duty, notwithstanding all that has passed, to receive for consideration any suggestions which her Majesty or her advisers may have to offer upon those propositions.

Fife-house, June 9, 1820.

No. III.—*Communication from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool.*

The Queen commands Mr. Brougham to inform Lord Liverpool, that she has received his letter, and that the memorandum of April 15th, 1820, which the proposition made through Lord Hutchinson had appeared to supercede, has also been now submitted to her Majesty for the first time.

Her Majesty does not consider the terms there specified as at all according with the condition upon which she informed Lord Liverpool yesterday that she would entertain a proposal, namely, that it should be consistent with her dignity and honour. At the same time she is willing to acquit those who made this proposal, of intending any thing offensive to her Majesty; and Lord Liverpool's letter indicates a disposition to receive any suggestions which she may offer.

Her Majesty retains the same desire which she commanded Mr. Brougham yesterday to express, of submitting her own wishes to the authority of Parliament, now so decisively interposed: Still acting upon the same principle, she now commands Mr. Brougham to add,

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that she feels it necessary, before making any further proposal, to have it understood that the recognition of her rank and privileges as Queen, must be the basis of any arrangement which can be made. The moment that basis is established, her Majesty will be ready to suggest a method by which she conceives all existing differences may be satisfactorily adjusted.

10th June, 1820.

No. IV.—*The Earl of Liverpool to another to the communication from the Queen of the* 10th *June*, 1820.

Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the Queen's communication, and cannot refrain from expressing the extreme surprise of the King's servants that the memorandum of April 15th, the only proposition to her Majesty, which ever was authorised by his Majesty, should not have been submitted to her Majesty until yesterday.

That memorandum contains so full a communication of the intentions and views of the King's Government with respect to the Queen, as to have entitled his Majesty's servants to an equal, frank, full, and candid explanation on the part of her Majesty's advisers.

The memorandum of the 15th April, while it proposed that her Majesty should abstain from the exercise of the rights and privileges of Queen with certain exceptions, did not call upon her Majesty to renounce any of them.

Whatever appertains to her Majesty by law, as Queen, must continue to appertain to her so long as it is not abrogated by law.

The King's servants, in expressing their readiness to receive the suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment which her Majesty's advisers promise, think it right, in order to save time, distinctly to state that any proposition which they could feel it to be consistent with their duty to recommend to his Majesty, must have for its basis her Majesty's residence abroad.

11th June, 1820.

No. V.—*Communication from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool.*

The Queen commands Mr. Brougham to acknowledge having received Lord Liverpool's note of last night, and to inform his Lordship that her Majesty takes it for granted that the memorandum of April 15, was not submitted to her before Saturday, only because her legal advisers had no opportunity of seeing her Majesty until Lord Hutchinson was on the spot, prepared to treat with her.

Her Majesty commands Mr. Brougham to state, that as the basis of her recognition as Queen is admitted by the King's Government, and as his Majesty's servants express their readiness to receive any suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment, her Majesty, still acting upon the same principles which have always guided her conduct, will now point out a method by which it appears to her that the object in contemplation may be attained.

Her Majesty's dignity and

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honour being secured, she regards all other matters as of comparatively little importance, and is willing to leave every thing to the decision of any person or persons, of high station and character, whom both parties may concur in naming, and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income, subject of course to the approbation of Parliament.

12th June, 1820.

No. VI.—*The Earl of Liverpool in answer to the communication from the Queen of the 12th of June, 1820.*

Lord Liverpool has received the communications made by the Queen's commands.

The King's servants feel it to be unnecessary to enter into any discussions on the early parts of this communication, except to repeat that the memorandum delivered to Mr. Brougham, of the 15th April, contained the only proposition to the Queen which the King authorized to be made to her Majesty.

The views and sentiments of the King's Government as to her Majesty's actual situation are sufficiently explained in Lord Liverpool's note of the 11th instant.

Lord Liverpool will proceed, therefore, to the proposal made on the part of her Majesty at the close of this communication, viz. "That she is willing to leave every thing to the decision of any person or persons of high station and character, whom both parties may concur in naming; and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income, subject of course to the approbation of Parliament."

The King's confidential servants cannot think it consistent with their constitutional responsibility to advise the King to submit to any arbitration a matter so deeply connected with the honour and dignity of his Crown, and with the most important public interests; but they are fully sensible of the advantages which may be derived from an unreserved personal discussion; and they are therefore prepared to advise his Majesty to appoint two of his Majesty's confidential servants, who, in concert with the like number of persons to be named by the Queen, may frame an arrangement, to be submitted to his Majesty, for settling, upon the basis of Lord Liverpool's Note of the 11th instant, the necessary particulars of her Majesty's future situation.

13th June, 1820.

No. VII.—*Note from the Earl of Liverpool to Mr. Brougham, accompanying his answer to the communication from the Queen of the 12th June, 1820.*

Lord Liverpool presents his compliments to Mr. Brougham, and requests that he will inform the Queen, that if the accompanying answer should not appear to require any reply, Lord Liverpool is prepared to name the two persons whom his Majesty will appoint for the purpose referred to in this note.

13th June, 1820.

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No. VIII.—*Mr. Brougham to the Earl of Liverpool, stating that he has received the Queen's commands to name two persons to meet the two who may be named on the part of his Majesty's Government for settling an arrangement.*

Mr. Brougham presents his compliments to Lord Liverpool, and begs leave to inform him, that he has received the Queen's commands to name two persons to meet the two whom his Lordship may name on the part of his Majesty's Government, for the purpose of settling an arrangement.—Mr. Brougham hopes to be favoured with Lord Liverpool's nomination this evening, in order that an early appointment for a meeting to-morrow may take place.

14th June, 1820.

APPENDIX.

Memorandum for a proposed arrangement with the Queen.

The act of the 54th Geo. III. cap. 160, recognized the separation of the Prince Regent from the Princess of Wales, and allotted a separate provision for the Princess. This provision was to continue during the life of his late Majesty, and to determine at his demise. In consequence of that event, it has altogether ceased, and no provision can be made for her until it shall please his Majesty to recommend to Parliament an arrangement for that purpose.

The King is willing to recommend to Parliament to enable his Majesty to settle an annuity of 50,000*l.* a year upon the Queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life, and in lieu of any claim in the nature of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title than that of Queen, and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of Queen, other than with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceedings in Courts of Justice.

The annuity to cease upon the violation of those engagements, viz. upon her coming into any part of the British dominions or her assuming the title of Queen, or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of Queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her.

Upon her consent to an engagement on the above conditions, Mr. Brougham is desired to obtain a declaration to this effect, signed by herself; and at the same time a full authority to conclude with such person as his Majesty may appoint, a formal engagement upon those principles.

April 15, 1820.

PROTOCOLS.

No. I.—*Protocol of the First Conference, held in St. James's Square, June 15, 1820.*

In pursuance of the notes of the 13th and 14th of June, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, on the part of the King, having met Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, her Majesty's Law Officers, in order to facilitate the proposed personal dis-

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cussions, it was suggested by the former:

1st, That the persons named to frame an arrangement, although representing different interests, should consider themselves in discharge of this duty, not as opposed to each other, but as acting in concert with a view to frame an arrangement in compliance with the understood wish of Parliament, which may avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two Houses.

2d, The arrangement to be made must be of such a nature, as to require from neither party any concession as to the result to which such inquiry, if proceeded on, might lead. The Queen must not be understood to *admit*, or the King to *retract* any thing.

3d, That in order the better to accomplish the above important object, it was proposed that whatever might pass in the first conference should pledge neither party to any opinion, that nothing should be recorded without previous communication, and, as far as possible, common consent; and that in order to facilitate explanation and to encourage unreserved discussion, the substance only of what passed should be reported.

These preliminary points being agreed to, the questions to be examined (as contained in Lord Liverpool's memorandum of the 15th April 1820, delivered to Mr. Brougham previous to his proceeding to St. Omers, and in Lord Liverpool's note of the 11th of June, and Mr. Brougham's note of the 12th of June, written by the Queen's commands) were:—

1st, The future residence of the Queen abroad.

2d, The title which her Majesty might think fit to assume when travelling on the Continent.

3d, The non-exercise of certain rights of patronage in England, which it might be desirable that her Majesty might desist from exercising should she reside abroad; and,

4th, The suitable income to be assigned for life to the Queen residing abroad.

Her Majesty's Law Officers, on the part of the Queen, desired, in the first instance, that the fourth point should be altogether laid aside in these conferences: her Majesty desired it might make no part of the conditions, nor be mixed with the present discussions. They then proceeded to state, that, under all the circumstances of her Majesty's position, they would not say that her Majesty had any insuperable objection to living abroad; on the contrary, if such foreign residence were deemed indispensable to the completion of an arrangement so much desired by Parliament, her Majesty might be prevailed upon to acquiesce; but then that certain steps must be taken to remove the possibility of any inference being drawn from such compliance, and from the inquiry not being proceeded in, unfavourable to her Majesty's honour, and inconsistent with that recognition which is the basis of these nego-

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ciations; and her Majesty's advisers suggested with this view the restoration of her name to the Liturgy. To this it was replied, that the King's Government would no doubt learn with great surprise that a question of this important nature had now been brought forward for the first time, without having been adverted to in any of the previous discussions, and without being included amongst the heads to be now treated of; that the Liturgy had been already regulated by his Majesty's formal Declaration in Council, and in the exercise of his Majesty's legal authority; that the King, in yielding his own feelings and views to the wishes of Parliament, could not be understood (in the absence of inquiry) to alter any of those impressions under which his Majesty had hitherto deliberately and advisedly acted, and that, as it was at the outset stated, that the King could not be expected to retract any thing, no hope could be held out that the King's Government would feel themselves justified in submitting such a proposition to his Majesty.

To this it was answered, that although the point of the Liturgy was certainly not included by name amongst the heads to be discussed, her Majesty's Law Officers felt themselves entitled to bring it forward in its connection with the question of her Majesty's residence abroad. It was further contended, that the alteration in the Liturgy was contrary to the plain sense and even letter of the statute, and that it was highly objectionable on constitutional grounds, being contrary to the whole policy of the law respecting the security of the succession, and liable to be repeated in cases where the succession itself might be endangered by it, and therefore it was said that a step so taken might well be retraced, without implying any unworthy concession. It was also urged that the omission having been plainly made in contemplation of legal or parliamentary proceedings against her Majesty, it followed when these proceedings were to be abandoned, that the omission should be supplied; and it followed for the same reason, that supplying it would imply no retraction.

It was replied, that his Majesty had decided that her Majesty's name should not be inserted in the Liturgy for several reasons not now necessary to discuss; that his Majesty had acted under legal advisers, and in conformity to the practice of his royal predecessors; and that the decision of his Majesty had not been taken solely with a view to intended proceedings in Parliament, or at Law. Independent of the inquiry instituted before Parliament, his Majesty had felt himself long since called upon to adopt certain measures to which his Majesty, as head of his family and in the exercise of his prerogative, was clearly competent. These acts, together with that now under consideration, however reluctantly adopted, and however painful to his Majesty's feelings, were taken upon

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grounds which the discontinuance of the inquiry before Parliament could not affect, and which his Majesty could not therefore be expected to rescind; the principle, fairly applied, would go in truth no further, than to replace the parties in the relative position in which they stood immediately before her Majesty's arrival, and before the King's Message was sent down to both Houses of Parliament.

After further discussion upon this point, it was agreed that the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh should report to the Cabinet what had passed, and come prepared with their determination to the next conference. Her Majesty's Law Officers then asked, whether in the event of the above proposition not being adopted, any other proceeding could be suggested on the part of his Majesty's Government, which might render her Majesty's residence abroad consistent with the recognition of her rights, and the vindication of her character; and they specially pointed at the official introduction of her Majesty to Foreign Courts by the King's Ministers abroad. Upon this it was observed, that this proposition appeared open to the same difficulty in point of principle: it was calling upon the King to retract the decision formally taken and avowed on the part of his Majesty, a decision already notified to Foreign Courts, and to render the position of his Majesty's representatives abroad, in relation to her Majesty, inconsistent with that of their Sovereign at home:—That the purpose for which this was sought by the Queen's advisers was inconsistent with the principle admitted at the commencement of the conference, and was one that could not be reasonably required to be accomplished by the Act of his Majesty, namely, to give to her Majesty's conduct that countenance which the state of the case, as at present before his Majesty, altogether precluded.

At the same time it was stated, that while his Majesty, consistently with the steps already adopted, could not authorise the public reception of the Queen, or the introduction of her Majesty at Foreign Courts by his Ministers abroad, there was nevertheless every disposition to see that branch of the orders already given faithfully and liberally executed, which enjoined the British Ministers on the Continent, to facilitate, within their respective missions, her Majesty's accommodation, and to contribute to her personal comfort and convenience:

Her Majesty's Law Officers gave the King's servants no reason whatever to hope that the Queen could be induced to depart from the propositions above stated, unless some others, founded on the same principles, were acceded to on the part of his Majesty's Government.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,
CASTLEREAGH,
H. BROUGHAM,
T. DENMAN.

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No. II.—*Protocol of the Second Conference, held at the Foreign Office, June 16th, 1820.*

The King's servants begun the conference by stating, that they had not failed to report with fidelity to the King's Government the proposition brought forward by her Majesty's Law Officers, that the Queen's name should be expressly included in the Liturgy, in order to protect her Majesty against any misconstruction of the grounds on which her Majesty might consent to reside abroad; that they were not deceived, for reasons already sufficiently explained, in anticipating the surprise of their colleagues at the production of this question for the first time on the part of her Majesty, more especially in the present advanced state of the proceedings.

That they were authorized distinctly to state, that the King's servants could on no account advise his Majesty to rescind the decision already taken and acted upon in this instance; and that, to prevent misconception, the King's Government had charged the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh to explain that they must equally decline to advise the King to depart from the principle already laid down by his Majesty for the direction of his representatives abroad, with regard to the public reception by the King's Ministers abroad and introduction of her Majesty at Foreign Courts; but that they were not only ready, but desirous, to guard in future, by renewed orders, against any possible want of attention to her Majesty's comfort or convenience by his Majesty's Ministers abroad; and that whereever her Majesty might think fit to establish her residence, every endeavour would be made to secure for her Majesty from that State the fullest protection, and the utmost personal comfort, attention, and convenience.

In explanation of the position in which the King actually stood upon this question in his foreign relations, the instructions under which the Ministers abroad now acted, were communicated to the Queen's Law Officers, and their attention was directed, as well to the principles therein laid down, and from which his Majesty could not be called upon to depart, as to that part of the instructions which was studiously framed to provide for the personal comfort and convenience of the Queen, when Princess of Wales.

The Queen's Law Officers then stated, that they must not be understood to suggest the giving of a general power to her Majesty, to establish her Court in any foreign country, and to be there received and presented by the English Minister, because reasons of State might render it inexpedient, that under certain circumstances, such an establishment should be made; but they wished that her Majesty should have the power of being so received and treated by the English Minister, where no such reasons of State interfered; and they inquired, whether the same objection would exist to the public introduction of her Majesty at some one Court, where

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she might fix her residence, if she waived the claim of introduction at Foreign Courts generally.

To this it was answered, that the principle was in fact the same, whether at one or more Courts, and that if the King could be consistently advised to meet the Queen's wishes in this instance at all, it would be more dignified for his Majesty to do so generally and avowedly, than to adopt any partial or covert proceeding. The Queen's Law Officers, referring to the decision of the Judges in George the First's reign, said it would be a much more unexceptionable exercise of the Royal Prerogative, were the King even to prescribe where her Majesty should reside, but to order her there to be treated as Queen by his Minister.

The King's servants, in consequence of what had passed at a former conference, then reverted to the mode in which the Queen had arrived in England, and the pain her Majesty must experience were she exposed to leave England in the like manner.

They acquainted her Majesty's Law Officers that they could venture to assure them that this difficulty would not occur.

The Queen arrived in England contrary to the King's wishes and representations, but, were her Majesty now to desire to pass to the Continent, whether to a port in the Channel, or if it should more accord with her Majesty's views, to proceed at once to the Mediterranean, a King's yacht in the one instance, or a ship of war in the other, might be ordered to convey her Majesty.

After receiving these explanations, the Queen's Law Officers recurred to the points before touched upon, viz. the inserting the Queen's name in the Liturgy, or the devising something in the nature of an equivalent, and intimated their conviction that her Majesty would feel it necessary to press one or both of those objects, or some other of a similar nature and tendency.

They then asked whether a residence in one of the Royal Palaces would be secured to her Majesty, while in this country; and observed that her Majesty had never been deprived of her apartments in Kensington Palace, until she voluntarily gave them up for the accommodation of the late Duke of Kent.

It was replied, that the King's servants had no instructions on this point. They however observed, that they believed the apartments which her Majesty formerly occupied, when Princess of Wales, were at present actually in the possession of the Duchess of Kent, and that they considered that this point had been already disposed of, by supplying to her Majesty the funds which were necessary to furnish her Majesty with a suitable residence.

Her Majesty's Law Officers then inquired whether, supposing an arrangement made, the mode of winding up the transactions, and withdrawing the information referred to Parliament, had been considered; and whether the King's servants saw any

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objection, in the present instance, to the Houses of Parliament expressing, by suitable Addresses both to the King and Queen, their grateful thanks for their Majesties having acquiesced in an arrangement, by which Parliament had been saved the painful duty of so delicate and difficult a proceeding.

The King's Servants acknowledged this point had not been considered, but reserved to themselves to report the observations made thereupon to their colleagues.

It was then agreed that, upon every view of duty and propriety, the final decision should not be protracted beyond Monday, to which day it should be proposed that the proceedings on the King's Message in the House of Commons should be adjourned, on a distinct explanation to this effect; and that a conference should take place to-morrow, in order to bring the business to a conclusion, and to arrange, by mutual consent, the protocols of conference.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,
CASTLEREAGH,
H. BROUGHAM,
T. DENMAN.

No. III.—*Protocol of the Third Conference, held at the Foreign Office, June 17, 1820.*

The conference was opened by her Majesty's Law Officers intimating, that, adverting to what had passed in the preceding conference, they had nothing to propose, but to proceed to the adjustment of the protocol.

The King's servants stated, that before they entered into this business of arranging the protocol, they thought it their duty to advert to the points discussed in the preceding conference, upon which no explicit opinion had been expressed by them on the part of his Majesty's Government; they then declared that they were authorized to inform the Queen's Law Officers, that in the event of her Majesty's going on the Continent, a yacht or ship of war would be provided for the conveyance of her Majesty, either to a port in the Channel, or a port in the Mediterranean, as her Majesty might prefer.

That every personal attention and respect would be paid by the King's servants abroad to her Majesty, and every endeavour made by them to protect her Majesty against any possible inconvenience, whether in her travels or residing on the continent—with the understood reserve, however, of public reception by the King's Ministers abroad, and introduction at foreign courts.

It was further stated by the King's Servants, that having weighed the suggestion communicated by the Queen's Law Officers in the preceding conference, they were now prepared to declare, that they saw no difficulty (if the terms in which the same were to be conveyed were properly guarded) to a proposition being made to both Houses, for expressing, by address to the Queen as well as to the King, their grateful acknowledgments for the facilities which their Majesties might have respectively afforded, to-

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wards the accomplishment of an arrangement by which Parliament had been saved the necessity of so painful a discussion.

These observations not appearing to make any material difference in the views taken by her Majesty's Law Officers of the result of the conferences, it was agreed to proceed in the arrangement of the protocols.

Before however the protocol was discussed, the King's servants desired distinctly to know from her Majesty's Law Officers, whether the introduction of the Queen's name in the Liturgy, and her Majesty's introduction at Foreign Courts, were either of them a condition *sine qua non* of an arrangement on the part of the Queen; to which it was replied, that either the introduction of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy, or an equivalent, which would have the effect of protecting her Majesty against the unfavourable inference to which her Majesty might be liable in leaving the country under the circumstances in which her Majesty was placed, was a *sine qua non*. The Queen could not be advised voluntarily to consent to any arrangement which was not satisfactory to her Majesty's own feelings, however her Majesty, with a view to meet the understood wishes of Parliament, had felt it her duty to propose to leave the whole question to an arbitration.

No proposition on the part of her Majesty, other than those already adverted to, was brought forward.

(Signed)
WELLINGTON, H. BROUGHAM,
CASTLEREAGH, T. DENMAN.

No. IV.—*Protocol of the Fourth Conference, held at St. James's-Square, 18th June*, 1820.

Before proceeding to finish the discussion of the protocols, it was suggested, on the part of the King's Servants, if possible to meet the Queen's wishes, and in order the better to assure to her Majesty every suitable respect and attention with a particular state in which she might think fit to establish her residence (the Milanese or the Roman States having been previously suggested by her Majesty's Law Officers, as the alternative within her Majesty's contemplation); that the King would cause official notification to be made of her Majesty's legal character as Queen, to the Government of such State. That consistently however with the reasons already stated, it must rest with the Sovereign of such State, what reception should be given to her Majesty *in that character*.

The King's Servants were particularly anxious to impress upon the Queen's Law Officers the *public* grounds upon which this principle rested.

The general rule of Foreign Courts is to receive only those who are received at home.

The King could not with propriety require any point of Foreign Governments, the refusal of which would not afford his Majesty just grounds of resentment or remonstrance.

It would be neither for the King's dignity nor for the Queen's comfort, that she should be made the subject of such a question.

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To this it was replied for the Queen, that with respect to this new proposition on the part of the King's servants, it should be taken into immediate consideration; but her Majesty's Law Officers observed, that her Majesty was not in the situation referred to in the above reasoning, having been habitually received at Court in this country for many years, and having only ceased to go there in 1814, out of regard to the peculiarly delicate situation in which the unfortunate differences in the Royal Family placed the late Queen.

The latter observation was met, on the part of the King's Servants, by a re-assertion of his Majesty's undoubted authority on this point, whether as King, or as Prince Regent in the exercise of the Royal authority; that the Court held by her late Majesty was in fact the Court of the Prince Regent, then acting in the name and on the behalf of his late Majesty, and that the present Queen, then Princess of Wales, was excluded from such Court.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,
CASTLEREAGH,
H. BROUGHAM,
T. DENMAN.

No. V.—*Protocol of the Fifth Conference, held at the Foreign Office, June 19, 1820.*

The protocols of the preceding conferences were read and agreed upon.

Her Majesty's Law Officers stated, that the proposition of yesterday had been submitted to her Majesty, and that it had not produced any alteration in her Majesty's sentiments.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the expression used on mentioning their belief that her Majesty might overcome her reluctance to go abroad, viz. "under all the circumstances of her position," they stated that they meant thereby, the unhappy domestic differences which created the difficulty of her Majesty holding a Court, and the understood sense of Parliament, that her Majesty's residence in this country might be attended with public inconvenience.

They also protested generally, in her Majesty's name, against being understood to propose or to desire any terms inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the King, or any which her own vindication did not seem to render absolutely necessary.

MEMORANDUM.—The 2d and 3d points, as enumerated for discussion in the protocol of the first conference, were not brought into deliberation, in consequence of no satisfactory understanding having taken place upon the points brought forward by her Majesty's Law Officers.

The five protocols were then respectively signed.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON,
CASTLEREAGH,
H. BROUGHAM,
T. DENMAN.

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IRISH PAPER BUBBLE.

The state of Ireland is very nearly approaching that of a state of *puff-out*. Banks at Cork and other parts of the *South* of Ireland broke about twenty days past. In *Dublin* and the *North* they are going now; and the natural effects of the Borough-Bank System appear to be developing themselves very fast in that miserable part of this miserable and "mighty empire!" In both Houses of Parliament the thing has been mentioned. Meetings have been held in London, in order to *talk* of schemes of relief. And, that venerable DONKEY of the London Press, Mr. PERRY, expresses his surprise, that the Bank of Ireland does not send hither *for gold* wherewith to furnish the "*Sister* Kingdom" with a circulating medium! When the venerable Donkey was tooting at this rate, he had not had, doubtless, time to inquire, *what* the Bank of Ireland was to *give for the gold*; where it was to find any thing but its own notes to give for the gold; and why (as its own notes would still pass in Ireland) it would not have been as well to print a fresh cart-load or two of these notes. Before the sage animal toot again upon such a subject, it may be as well for him to read "*Paper-against-Gold.*" The following articles from the Dublin and Waterford papers, dated 19th June, may serve a very useful purpose: that of giving us a *glimpse* (a mere glimpse) of *what is to come!*

"We are here in a truly deplorable situation, in consequence of the failure of the banks. Heretofore the Dublin banks were considered impregnable, and, notwithstanding all the ruin and dismay in the country, there was no run upon any of them. Things, however, are changed. Alexander's bank closed this morning—or, more properly speaking, did not open; and we can now, unfortunately, form some judgment, from experience, of the confusion and alarm which have been witnessed in the most agitated part of the South. This failure, it is thought, will do more injury than all the others put together. If any confidence had remained, it will destroy it. No one has courage now to keep any private banker's note. The character of Latouche's bank is well known. I had just now one of its notes, and want to get it changed. This was about an hour and a half after Alexander's failure was known, and I can pledge myself that

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"I could scarcely get near the "desk. Bank post-bills, that "were not due, as well as other "notes, were offered for pay- "ment, and paid off with alacri- "ty. My note was a post-bill, "that was not even accepted, "yet I asked and received for "it a national note. There "were numbers of people in "my situation, and all of their "demands were satisfied like "mine. From this you may "judge of our condition. I sup- "pose there will not, before "the end of this week, be a "private banker's note in circu- "lation in any part of Ireland; "and if three, out of all the "banks, are able to withstand "the storm, it is as much as "the most sanguine now calcu- "late upon. The connexions "of the Alexanders were chiefly "in the north. In that quarter "there has been as yet no "crash; but you may well con- "ceive what is now to be ex- "pected. The notes of the "firm, in circulation, are said to "amount to 500,000*l.* — Two "curious anecdotes, illustrative "of the distressed condition of "Ireland at the present mo- "ment, are mentioned in con- "versation:—1st, Lately a five- "pound private note was offered "in Cork for a leg of lamb, and "refused. 2d, In Limerick, a "man worth 1,500*l.* or 1,600*l.* "a year had asked a party to "dinner. As for credit, it was "out of the question; and if he "could not pay the butcher, the "poulterer, and pastry-cook in "cash, he could hope for no- "thing to lay before his friends. "He was not without money, "as he had a 10*l.* national note. "But who could give change "for so mighty a paper? His "butcher could not; neither "could his poulterer nor pastry- "cook. His only resource was "to write to his friends very "ingeniously describing to them "his situation, and begging "that they would defer their "visit until he could procure "either credit or change of a 10*l.* "note!!"—"*Assessed Taxes.* "—To this distressed district it "will afford consolation to find "that the commencement of the "payment of the assessed taxes "has been postponed to the "24th of July."

This is a pretty state of things! On Friday the 16th, there was a proposition made and sanctioned in the House of Commons to apply half a million of the Public Money in order to *afford relief!* Thus are the taxes, raised in one part of the kingdom, *lent* to relieve another part! That is to say, to prop up falling bankers! But, this money is not to be given to the poor foolish things who have taken the broken bankers' paper! *They* must put up with their loss. However, this is *nothing to what we shall see.* It is a mere incident in the Grand Drama, which goes regularly on towards its catastrophe, leaving such incidents to amuse and divert only weak minds. In the

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House of Commons a Mr. GRENFELL observed, that this was one of the evils of the *paper-system*; which was, *happily*, drawing towards its *close*. Amen! But how? How "draw-"ing to its *close*?" In the same way as the Irish Bank Paper, of course; for, as to its being put an end to by the promised *payments in cash*, there is no one in his senses who believes that. Therefore, as this Mr. GRENFELL is a Member of Parliament, whence we must conclude that he is in his senses, we ought to conclude that he expects the paper system to be put an end to in the *Irish way*. A very effectual way it is. It beats all other ways. There is no *ceremony* in it. Away the thing goes in a crack? Those who have neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, must fast for a while: that is all. *Truck* is a very good substitute for money. Half a dozen loaves for a pair of shoes; a leg of mutton for a pair of stockings; a pound of beef for a pot of beer; a peck of peas for a day's work, and then a loaf for the peck of peas again in a second truck! This is the thing for Castlereagh's "*mighty empire*"! We appear to be under a practical experiment for making a *great* country a *little* country; and, if the experiment do not succeed, the fault will not, at any rate, be in the operators.

THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

This is a curious affair! The King, on Thursday, the 15th instant, held a *Drawing Room* at the *Queen's House*, or Buckingham House, in celebration of his Birth-Day. This is, we believe, the first time that a King ever held a Drawing Room. Soldiers filled the Park and guarded all the avenues to it; and great numbers of the great and the rich attended the Drawing Room; but mark it well! There was at night, no *illumination!* There was, during the day, no *ringing of bells!* We heard no firing of cannon! And all these used to take place at the celebration of the late King's birth day. What can all this mean? Would not the people have illuminated as formerly? Or would there have been danger in attempting an illumination? Was it supposed, that the people would assemble in the streets and cry out "*God* "*save the Queen?*" Certain it is that, trifling as these things

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ace in themselves, they point to conclusions of very great importance. It was curious, too, that the King did not go from his own Palace to the Drawing Room *publickly and in state*; but went to Buckingham House *beforehand*, as the newspapers tell us, *to dress for the Drawing Room*. This is a circumstance well worthy of notice on the part of every one; and particularly *on the part of her Majesty the Queen!*

RIOTS IN SOMERSETSHIRE.

The following is taken from the Times Newspaper of the 19th instant. It is very interesting, and very important.

TUMULTS NEAR WELLINGTON.—"On account of the reduction of the wages of the colliers, great numbers in the neighbourhood of Wellington have, during the last and the present week, refused to engage in their employment, and a very serious riot has manifested itself among them. They have gone about in large bodies, cutting the ropes of the pits, and letting the water out of the large boilers. On Monday last a body of 500 or 600, armed with large sticks and pick-hafts, violently assaulted three gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who were on the canal, assailing them with stones, and letting down the draw-bridges while they were under, in order to sink them. Yesterday little business was transacted at Wellington, although it was market-day, as a visit was apprehended from the rioters. It appears, however, they have taken another direction, confining their exertions to stopping the forges and furnaces. All the colliers in the neighbourhood have discontinued their operations. The yeomanry have since been called out, and are gone to disperse a body of 4000 to 5000, who are now carrying on their depredations at Ironbridge and Snedshill works."

The ground here stated is the *reduction of wages*. It is not pretended, that the *Radicals* have been at work here. It is not the Radicals, who have reduced the wages. It is not the Radicals who have produced the state of things, which has disabled the Masters to pay the former wages.—This, then, is no work of the Radicals. That is all that I wish the public to bear in mind.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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A LETTER

TO

MR. WILBERFORCE,

On the deputation from the House of Commons to her most Gracious Majesty, the Queen.

London, June 30, 1820.

SIR,

It is now seventeen years since I first began to address myself to you. At that time you had done what I deemed to be greater mischief to this country than what had ever been done by any other one man, Pitt himself not excepted. You had taken a prominent part in the support of every measure, for many years previous to that, calculated to bring this once free and flourishing country into a state, and under a species of sway, which, as I even then foresaw and foretold, would lead to that ruin and beggary, in which we now live, and the final consequences of which, though they probably are at no great distance, it is impossible for any man to foresee. In every measure for curtailing the liberties of the people; in every measure levelled against the press; in every measure for suspending the laws which give protection to our persons against arbitrary arrests; in every measure for protecting the Bank, as well at the stoppage in 1797 as afterwards; in every measure of this description, you had been a conspicuous actor; and in every measure, since that period, of the same description, you have been an actor not less conspicuous.

You have, in short, been a constant supporter of the system of Pitt and his followers. The effects of that system are now before us, and may be described in a very few words: the ruin of the middle ranks of society and the misery and almost starvation of the labouring classes; a paper currency that would render a political convulsion the most terrific event that the world ever witnessed, that would make the rich call upon the hills to cover them; that would send forth penniless millions to prowl about in search of food; that would level all law to the

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earth, and would give predominance to physical force; that would produce scenes of desolation and devastation of misery and of anguish such as have never been anticipated except by him who has described the scenes which will happen on the day of judgment. And while such would inevitably be the consequences of a political convulsion, it is now acknowledged, even in parliament itself, that the system tends immediately to produce such a convulsion.

It is my most earnest desire to contribute my mite towards producing public tranquillity; towards putting an end, if possible, to that fearful agitation, which at present prevails, the prevalence of which every one clearly perceives; and which, if not put a stop to, will, in all human probability, lead to consequences such as no man with the feelings of common humanity about him, can view without apprehensions not easily to be described.

There were subjects enough of irritation before the arrival of her Majesty the Queen. It would have required, to quiet the public mind, even before this event, much more temper, much more wisdom, and a spirit much more conciliatory than I have ever yet seen to prevail amongst those who had, and who yet have, the management of the nation's affairs. To that irritation, arising out of circumstances, where reason had to act it's part, and as to which there was a difference of opinion amongst certain classes of the people; to that irritation is now added, irritation of a kind which swallows up all reasoning, and causes all differences of opinion as to other matters to be totally forgotten. Those who were before contented with the present state of things; or, at least, were afraid of the consequences of openly joining with the discontented, have now, as to this matter, most cordially joined with those who before expressed their discontent.

Thus, with the exception of a few courtiers, the whole nation are united in most ardent wishes in favour of Her Majesty the Queen. Observe, too, that this is a matter in which the *women* take, if possible, a still more lively interest than the men; and, it never has been known that their feelings urge them on to active interference without there being sufficient cause, and

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without that cause being finally crowned with success. Their decision, on great public questions, is always the right decision. They are less liable to be led astray by the vanity of argumentation; by party prejudices; by pledged opinions. The impressions which they receive are general. They are placed on their minds by something which prevades all ranks; they arise from an unprejudiced view of all the great points of a subject taken together as a whole. Their minds set sophistry, chicanery, and misrepresentation at defiance. Their opinions are imbibed in this way, which is like the way in which we acquire the knowledge of the existence of light and of darkness. What they believe in such a case *must be true;* and that which they say *ought* to be *done, must* be *done.*

This is a feature in the present great question, that ought by no means to be overlooked. If a case were to arise in which the whole of a man's circle of friends were of a particular opinion, as to any act which he had to perform, he would find it very difficult I believe to brace himself up to the resolution to set their combined opinions at nought; but what are the combined opinions of a man's circle of friends compared with the morning noon and night: the up-rising and down-lying, the every moment in the day influence of wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters; and that in a case, too, where a woman, an injured woman, and an injured Queen is a party in the dispute!

It is, however, notorious, that, from one end to the other of this populous kingdom, there is but one opinion as to this question, and that is, that her Majesty is innocent and injured: and one wish; and that is, that her Majesty should never more depart from this kingdom; and that she should here enjoy all and every one of her rights and privileges as Queen.

If there had existed any doubt in the public mind as to the innocence of her Majesty, and as to the falsehood of the charges against her, that doubt would have been removed at once, by the bare circumstance of those charges having been conveyed to the parliament in *Green Bags.* The people had not so soon forgotten the *Green Bags* of 1817. They had not so soon forgotten, that those Bags and their contents, formed the pretext for sending into dungeons a great number of men, who there lay for a long while enduring all the sufferings of imprisonment, separation from wives and children, loss of precious time while those wives and children were starving, loss of health, loss of reason in one instance producing suicide; and who were at last set at liberty, not only without ever being brought to trial; but, also without ever having had any charge exhibited against them in due form, and without knowing from first to last who had been their accuser! The people had not forgotten these things; they had not forgotten these consequences of the *Green Bags* of 1817; and, therefore, when they

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saw *Green Bags* presented against her Majesty the Queen, an association of ideas instantly took place in their minds, leading at once to a conviction that the charges against her Majesty were groundless, and that injustice and cruelty were the objects of her foes.

The House of Commons appears to have perceived that this course; that is to say, the course of 1817, would not do upon this occasion. It appears to have wished to get rid of the thing by some means or other; and, if possible, by a seemingly voluntary surrender of rights, and particularly by exile, on the part of her Majesty. This produced a suspension of the proceedings, and a negociation carried on between the ministers and her Majesty's lawyers. Upon that negociation I have, in my last number, fully offered my opinion. The main object of it was to *induce her Majesty to quit the kingdom*, the fatal consequences of which to herself I have fully stated in that number. I now perceive, (and with infinite delight I perceive it) that it is stated, apparently with authority, in the newspapers, that her Majesty never authorised her law officers to say that she would on any account be induced to quit the kingdom. But it appears to have been thought by the House of Commons, and by yourself in particular, that, if the House explicitly expressed its wish for her Majesty to *yield*, she would yield accordingly; and that there the matter would end. In pursuance of this opinion, the resolutions of Thursday, the 22d of June, were, upon your motion, agreed to by a very large majority of the House; and which resolutions, in order that I may not, by abridgment, misrepresent them, I here insert at full length.

"Resolved—That this House has "learned, with unfeigned and deep "regret, that the late endeavours to "frame an arrangement which might "avert the necessity of a public "inquiry into the information laid "before the two Houses of Parliament, have not led to that amicable adjustment of the existing difference in the Royal Family, which "was so anxiously desired by Parliament and the nation.—That this, "House, fully sensible of the objections which the Queen might justly "feel *to taking upon herself* the relinquishment of any points in which she "might have conceived her own dignity and honour to be involved, "yet feeling the inestimable importance of an amicable and final adjustment of the present unhappy "differences, cannot forbear declaring "its opinion, that when *such large advances have been made* towards "that object, her Majesty, by *yielding to the earnest solicitude of the "House of Commons*, and forbearing "to *press further* the adoption of "those propositions on which any material difference of opinion yet remains, would by *no means be understood to indicate any wish to "shrink from inquiry*, but would "only be deemed to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her "Majesty has been graciously pleased "to express to submit her own wishes "to the authority of Parliament; "thereby entitling herself to the "grateful acknowledgements of the "House of Commons, and sparing "this House the painful necessity of "those public discussions which, *whatever might be their ultimate result*, "could not but be distressing to her "Majesty's feelings—disappointing "to the hopes of Parliament—*derogatory from the dignity of the "Crown, and injurious to the best "interests of the empire*."—Ordered,

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that these resolutions be laid before her Majesty.—Ordered, That *Mr. Wilberforce*, *Mr. Stuart Wortley*, *Sir T. Ackland*, and *Mr. Bankes*, do attend her Majesty with the said resolutions.

These resolutions are, perhaps, taken altogether, as surprising a document as ever was penned by mortal man. The second resolution tells her Majesty that, though there may be objections to the Queen's *taking upon herself* to relinquish the assertion of rights which she thought necessary to her dignity and honour, she may safely yield those rights when the yielding is now *recommended by the House of Commons!* So that the House here becomes a Court *of Honour;* and of *female honour*, too! That which might have left suspicions, if done without the advice of the House, could have no suspicions at all attending it, if done in pursuance of that advice! We know, Sir, how famed the Honourable House is for wisdom, for integrity, for impartiality, for humanity, and, above all, for purity. We are pretty sensible, too, of its power; but, with all due deference to this far-famed body of men, I have yet to learn that it has ever before interfered in matters of *casuistry*. It seems to me, that this was a matter peculiarly affecting the personal feelings of her Majesty; and that it must be decided on according to her own notions of female delicacy and honour. It seems to me that, to have been capable of guiding her Majesty rightly as to a matter of this sort, something like a power of granting *dispensations* and *indulgencies* ought to have been possessed by the House. If I were accused of any crime, no matter what, should I feel at ease, think you, if the House of Commons were to declare *it's opinion*, that my getting rid of the charge by yielding some known right of mine; should I feel at ease, think you; should I, when I had yielded this right, feel perfectly at ease as to my character? Should I be satisfied, that the *opinion* of the House of Commons had white-washed me in the eyes of the world? There is no accounting for tastes: there may be many persons who would like to have that opinion to keep them in countenance in such a case; but for my part, so help me God, I would much rather that my acts should be performed without the sanction of that opinion!

If one might venture to put a question upon a resolution passed by the House of Commons, one might ask what those "*large advances*" were, which the resolution says had been made during the negociation? Look into the papers, and you will find that the ministers made no advances at all, except in the single instance of offering a *yacht*, or a *man of war, to carry her Majesty out of the country*. These were all the advances that were made; and I have no doubt, that, if her Majesty would have consented to depart, there would have been advances enough of every description.

In the making of bargains it is sometimes said, "price shall not part us;" and this is what

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her Majesty said upon the present occasion; but her adversaries were ready to say, price shall not keep us together. Fortunately for the honour of the country, and, indeed, for the honour of the Royal Family; fortunately for the House of Brunswick, her Majesty had no inclination to compound. She stood upon her innocence and her honour, and could clearly perceive, that, to yield her rights was to abandon her character.

We now come to consider the answer which her Majesty gave to the resolutions of which you and your brother deputies were the bearers; and which answer was in the following words:—

"I am bound to receive with gratitude any attempt on the part of the "House of Commons to interpose its "high mediation for the purpose of "healing those unhappy differences in "the Royal Family, which no person "has so much reason to deplore as "myself. And with perfect truth I "can declare, that an entire reconcilement of those differences, effected by "the authority of Parliament, on principles consistent with the honour "and dignity of all the parties, is still "the object dearest to my heart.—I "cannot refrain from expressing my "deep sense of the affectionate language of these resolutions; it shows "the House of Commons to be the "faithful representative of that generous people, to whom I owe a debt "of gratitude that can never be repaid.—I am sensible, too, that I expose myself to the risk of displeasing those who may soon be the "judges of my conduct; but I trust to "their candour, and their sense of "honour, confident that they will enter "into the *feelings which alone influence my determination*.—It would "ill become me to question the power "of Parliament, or the mode in which "it may at any time be exercised: "but, however strongly I may feel the "necessity of submitting to its authority, the question whether I will "make *myself a party to any measure proposed must be decided by my "own feelings and conscience, and "by them alone*. As a subject of the "state, I shall bow with deference—if "possible, without a murmur, to every "act of the sovereign authority: but, "as an accused and injured Queen, I "owe it to the King, myself, and all "my fellow-subjects, *not to consent "to the sacrifice of any essential privilege*, or withdraw my appeal to "those principles of public justice, "which are alike the safeguard of the "highest and the humblest individual."

In this answer the advice of the House of Commons is rejected, but in as gentle terms as it was possible for a rejection to be conveyed. The *public* (who must not be left out of sight in this case) had rejected the advice, on behalf of her Majesty, long before the resolutions reached her. This subject is of such great importance; of such deep and general interest, and will become so conspicuous in the history of these eventful times, that every circumstance connected with it is worthy of notice; and, therefore, I shall mention here what has been stated in different public prints, respecting the transactions in Portman Street, on Saturday the 24th of June, when you and your brother deputies went to present the resolutions to her Majesty. It is stated that you and Mr. Stewart Wortley went in one carriage; that Sir Thomas Ackland followed in another; and that Mr. Bankes in a third brought up the rear: that you were most graciously received by her Majesty, and were permitted to kneel and kiss her hand, upon which I congratulate you with all my heart, and I here

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perceive the only enjoyment of yours that I ever could be induced to envy. This happiness was, however, it appears, not without alloy; for the public prints say, that, all the while you were in the house, the people in the street kept crying, "*turn them out*;" and making use of other expressions very little flattering to the deputation. It is further said by these prints that, when the first carriage drew up in order to prepare for your return, a most dreadful rush, accompanied with expressions which I do not choose to put upon paper, was made by the people towards the door of the first carriage, into which you all four jumped with great agility! It is stated that her Majesty's law officers conducted you and saw you safely into the carriage; and that Mr. Brougham, after having left you, returned to the door of the carriage and *shook hands* with some of you, for the purpose, as the Morning Chronicle says, "of *convincing the people that you ought to be treated with respect!*" Good God! Pray, Sir, excuse this exclamation! Is it really come to this? Was it necessary for the Queen's law officers to give, in this way, a sort of certificate, or passport to a deputation from the Great House of Commons; the Omnipotent House of Commons; telling the people that that deputation, chosen from the bosom of the House, *ought to be treated with respect.* There is, you know Sir, a law to *banish* us; not only to fine and imprison us; but to banish us, if we write or publish any thing *tending* to bring the House into *contempt*. Alas! Sir; and, alas! again I say. This memorable visit to her Majesty the Queen seems to have done a great deal more than fifty writers would have been able to do in the whole course of their lives.

It seems, however, from what we read in the papers, that Mr. Brougham's friendly efforts were wholly unavailing; for that your ears were assailed, till beyond hearing the voices of the people, with sounds little gratifying to you; and that, swift as was the motion of your carriage, your *Court dresses* received from the mouths of the unmannerly and "rabid animals" a considerable portion of that matter which Mr. Brougham, in his speech of the 7th of June, was pleased to represent as more dangerous than the bite!

It is truly painful to contemplate this scene! To behold four of the *elect* treated in this manner; and the only consolation is, that, in all human probability, you will never again be exposed to the risk of so rude and so unsavory a reception. This reception, whatever else might belong to it, was well calculated to give your minds a new turn. It was well calculated to convince you, that the people were not precisely of the same way of thinking as the House of Commons upon this subject; and that, in spite of the *six acts*, there are still left means of expressing the opinions of the people in a very significant manner.

As to the answer which her Majesty gave to the Resolution

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of the House; all that the people could have wished it to contain *more* than it did contain, was, a distinct expression of her Majesty's resolution *not to quit this kingdom*. There can be no doubt that the object of the Resolution was to induce her Majesty to consent *to leave the country*; and this is, in my opinion, the only thing which could be ruinous to that illustrious and persecuted personage. Those who prevailed upon her to quit the country before, were the bitterest enemies she ever had. It must have been clear to those persons that her steps would be dogged; that spies would be continually placed around her; that the same means would be made use of upon the Continent that had been made use of against her in England; only a thousand times greater in degree and with tools infinitely better suited to the purpose. I have proved, in my last number; I have proved as clear as day-light, that, if her Majesty were to turn her back upon England now, she would turn her back, not only upon character and upon peace of mind, but that she would turn her back even upon the means of purchasing food and raiment. I have shown what an outrageous act it would be to send a sum of money, raised upon the fruits of English labour, to be spent out of the country, and that, too, by a person who was thought unworthy to be suffered to live in the country.

I am of opinion that the public think with me upon this subject; and yet, the resolutions presented to her Majesty, had manifestly in view the object of inducing her to take this fatal step. If her Majesty had listened to the advice contained in that resolution; if she had implicitly submitted to the wish of the House upon this occasion, there is no doubt in my mind, that other resolutions would have followed; and that, little by little, she would have been resolved out of all her rights and privileges, and finally, out of England itself. Her Majesty put a stop, at once, to this mode of proceeding; and, in so doing, she has given infinite satisfaction to the country. Let us now turn to the Parliament and observe what has taken place, in consequence of this untractableness on the part of her Majesty.

The Ministers had laid the Green Bags upon the tables. They had suspended their operations with regard to these bags, in consequence of wishes indicated by the House of Commons, that negociations should be entered into with her Majesty. These negociations fail. The Ministers then come, and, with a Majority at their back, tender an opinion to her Majesty in the name of the House of Commons, that she may, without injury to her character, accept of the terms which had been offered her; that is to say, to go abroad and live abroad, and have a maintenance sent from this country. The Queen objects to the adopting of this opinion; and then, the ministers proceed with the bags; or, at least, with one of them. If

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the Queen had consented to go abroad, the bags were not to be opened; but since she would not consent to that, they were to be opened! This speaks volumes to the nation. It, at once clearly shews what was the great object of the threat at St. Omers and of the bags in London. It is impossible to remove from the public mind the impression which this is calculated to imprint on it, and which it has imprinted on it. We are told that the bags contain most horrible accusations; yet, all these were to be sunk for ever, and we, out of our labour, were to give a princely income to the person against whom these accusations were preferred, if that person would but consent to go and live out of the country!

This, which is the greatest point of all, *the opposers of the Ministers* do not seem to have paid any attention to. This is the great matter in which the people feel concern. This is a matter of extreme importance; and yet no one, with the sole exception of Sir Francis Burdett, has taken any notice of it. A great deal has been said about the danger to the morals of the nation. A great deal about the delicate feelings of wives and daughters; and these are well worthy of attention; but, is not a great sum of money to be spent annually, raised from the labour of an almost starving people; is not this a matter worthy of attention? Yet, as far as I can perceive, those who are aiming at place, as well as those who are in place, think very little about this matter, provided the residence abroad could be accomplished.

The resolution conveyed to her Majesty, contained this declaration of the House of Commons; namely, that an investigation of the contents of the bags, *let what would be the result of that investigation, must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the nation.* In this resolution the Ministers concurred; for this resolution, the Ministers voted; and, in this resolution they said, we have laid some bags upon the tables; we have moved for an investigation of the contents of those bags; we know that that investigation must, of necessity, be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown and injurious to the best interests of the nation; and, therefore, we know that we have done that which is calculated to injure our master and the nation. And yet, after all this, these same ministers have a majority to support them in the House of Commons; amongst those very same men, to whom they have made this explicit declaration, and in which declaration these same men have concurred!

But, as if all this were not enough, they have still a Majority, amongst these same men, when they afterwards declare, that they will go on with the investigation. After so having passed the resolution upon which I have been observing, they come and declare that they will proceed with the inquiry; and, upon their making that declaration, the very same men,

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who had joined them in solemnly declaring, that the inquiry, let what would be the result of it, *must be injurious to the best interests of the nation*; these very same men, upon the ministers declaring that they will go into the investigation, still stick to them, and still give them their thumping majority!

Well then, sir, surely her Majesty may be excused for taking the liberty to believe that the House of Commons does not possess the quality of *absolute infallibility*; and that her Majesty may hope to be pardoned by the rest of mankind for not having totally surrendered up her understanding and her sense of female honour upon the mere expression of the opinion of that House.

The debate of Monday the 26th of June, upon her Majesty's answer given to you and to the other three worthy deputies of the House, will be remembered as long as that House shall have an existence. I have inserted, in the way of appendix to this letter, the speeches of Lord Castlereagh and of Mr. Brougham, delivered that day, and of Sir Francis Burdett delivered on the 28d. It is impossible to say precisely what Lord Castlereagh meant further than that he meant that there should be a proceeding in the investigation. Sir Francis Burdett took the straight view of the matter. This speech has produced great impression; and that impression will remain during the whole of these discussions. In the mean while, proceedings have, it seems, been commenced in the House of Lords. The Green Bag has there been opened; and, in due time, we may expect to see the report. Her Majesty has, at every stage, protested against this secret mode of proceeding. Upon every occasion her protests have been treated with silent contempt; and there are not a few persons who think that her Majesty ought to have given *no answer at all* to the resolutions sent to her from the House of Commons; and that, if she had deigned to give an answer, it ought to have been simply to observe, with surprize, that, though her Majesty might by any persons of common feeling, be thought an object of condolence in consequence of the great losses she had sustained; though she had recently become Queen; though she had recently returned to the kingdom; though she had still more recently sent a message to the House, complaining of injuries and insults; yet, she had never heard a word from the House, upon any subject whatever, till it thought proper, very kindly to come and voluntarily offer her its opinion that she might safely surrender her rights! This is the sort of answer, which I would have advised her Majesty to give; and I am very certain, that, as it would have been impossible for any just man to find fault with it; so it would have given infinite satisfaction to the public.

The proceedings upon the Green Bag may now take their course. My sincere opinion is,

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that her Majesty ought to feel no interest with regard to them. The contents of the bag have been characterised by Mr. Brougham; but the public did not stand in need even of that. The charges being *in a Bag*: that was enough for the public. Their being submitted to a committee selected by the ministers; and that committee being a secret one; these circumstances were not necessary to enable the public to make up their minds as to the contents of the Bag. The bare circumstance of the charges having been brought in a bag, together with her Majesty's frank and heroic conduct, was quite enough to make the public come to a conclusion upon the matter.

The public recollect the history of the former investigation. There was then a *secret* commission; and even that commission could find nothing to criminate her Majesty. Crafty advisers obtained her Majesty's consent, to suppress the publication of the evidence laid before that commission. At last, however, it came out, and all the world declared her accusers to be perfidious and perjured; and the Attorney-General apologized for not prosecuting the perjured parties, saying, that there were difficulties in the way interposed by forms of law. He said, in his place in the House of Commons, that there had been perjury committed; but that, technical difficulties prevented him from reaching it!

The public remember these things, and remembering them, remembering too, how weak, how destitute of power and of pecuniary resources the Queen's enemies of that day were, compared with her enemies of this day; leaving in mind, too, what a wretched, what a rascally, what a vagabond people it is, amongst whom the witnesses, upon the present occasion, must have been found; recollecting that the SAVOYARDS are notoriously the lowest and basest part of the population of Europe, recollecting that *Savoyard* and *Chimney-sweep*, are synonimous terms, in French, in Spanish, and in German; recollecting, further, that a Savoyard priest may always be at hand to quiet the soul of a Savoyard perjurer, a score of whom may, probably, at any time, be purchased with double the number of dollars: the public, bearing all these things in mind, are fully prepared for any thing and for every thing that can come forth from sources which have been so amply described in the speeches in Parliament, and in the public papers of the day. Sir Francis Burdett said that, if the contents of the Bag covered her Majesty with stains; she would be in the eyes of the people, as white as snow. With the public, therefore, the contents of the bags are not at all a subject of interest; and it would, in my opinion, be most becoming in the Queen to treat this sort of proceeding against her with silent disdain; unless, indeed, her Majesty chose to go, in *person*, to the House of Lords and protest, once for all, against such proceedings.

It is impossible for us to know

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what course the proceedings may take; how long, or how short, may be their duration. But, in the meanwhile, it is evident that her Majesty ought to pursue the most vigorous measures for obtaining her legal rights. Her Majesty has been told by the Ministers, that, indeed, which she knew well before, and that which it was really an insult to tell her, namely, that her rights and privileges as Queen were given her by law, and, that she must keep them until they were abrogated by law; and that they would give her some money if she would refrain from exercising them and go abroad. Her Majesty will not go abroad; and I trust that she will *not refrain from exercising her rights and privileges.*

It is perfectly monstrous to suppose that her Majesty's rights and privileges, or any particle of them, ought to be withheld, even for a day, merely because the ministers have chosen to fill a bag with what they call charges against her Majesty. If, upon a pretext like this, the Queen's rights and privileges are to be *suspended in their exercise,* why may her Majesty not, at once, bid an everlasting farewell to those rights and privileges? The trial of Mr. Hastings lasted more than seven years; and who will say that the Savoyard Budget might not, with very little difficulty, be kept replenished for seven times seven years? This may be Savoyard law, but it is not yet English law. The law of England proceeds in a manner directly the opposite of this. It demands *proof of guilt first,* and then proceeds to inflict punishment. It does not first inflict punishment, by withholding rights and privileges, and then proceed to demand proof of guilt. The existence of charges, therefore, is no ground whatever for suspending, for one single moment, the enjoyment of even the smallest portion of her Majesty's rights and privileges; to enter upon the full possession, and to the full exercise of which, ought, it seems to me, to be the first object of her Majesty's efforts.

As to the species of support that her Majesty has to rely upon, it is now very evident that the political opponents of the ministers do not mean to attempt any thing for her Majesty, except just as far as it may serve their own selfish and ambitious views. It is equally evident that her Majesty's reliance must be on the good sense, the virtue, the justice and the loyalty of his Majesty's subjects at large. Here her Majesty has support, which is able to carry her through every persecution; and it would be monstrous to suppose that the wishes of a whole people should not, in the cause of an injured and innocent Queen, and in the cause of his Majesty himself, finally prevail.

The conduct of her Majesty has been such as greatly to endear her to the people; who feel alarmed at every step which would seem to say that she is disposed to yield any portion of her rights. This alarm

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in the minds of the people, arises, not from any doubts which they entertain, with regard either to her Majesty's innocence or courage; but from their fears that selfish and crafty persons, by the like of whom her Majesty has been so often deceived, and has been made the stepping-stone to riches, power and honours, may yet contrive to obtain from her generosity, concessions which they have been unable to obtain from her fears.

Such selfish and crafty persons may endeavour to persuade her Majesty, that she ought to keep herself in *retirement*; that she ought *to shun the people*; that it is *beneath* her even to shew herself to the people; that it is to *lower her own dignity* to appear to be grateful to the people. Her Majesty's sad experience; her long endurance of injury in silence; these will, it is hoped, be quite sufficient to prove to her Majesty the folly or the insincerity of advice of this description. There can be no loss of dignity in being beloved and admired by a just and sensible people; nor in showing to such a people that her Majesty is fully sensible of all the marks she receives of that love and admiration.

The persons who would, by their advice, keep her Majesty at a distance from the people, are, in my opinion, the *only enemies* that her Majesty has to dread. Such counsellors wish to see her Majesty have no support from the people, in order that they themselves may become her pretended supporters, and may raise themselves, in the end, upon her Majesty's ruin.

The zeal, the ardour, the anxiety, which the people feel in her Majesty's cause, are wholly without a parallel. Persons entirely dependent upon the government have, upon this occasion, lost sight of their own interests, and even of their own safety, for the sake of her Majesty. Every brave man in the kingdom has a heart devoted to her cause. And, under such circumstances, her Majesty can never be too forward to prove that she is not insensible to attachment so great and so rare.

It is very clear that the enemies of her Majesty hope that they shall gain by delay; by first putting forth serious accusations; by giving them something like *legal form*; and then leaving as much as possible to be done by *whispers*, by rumours, and by all that train of proceeding which we call *underhand dealings*. They think that, after long agitation, the public mind will become *weary*; that the public spirit will evaporate, and that the people will be weaned from her Majesty's cause by degrees. All these things occur to her Majesty's enemies, who are by no means destitute in point of cunning, and who will lay wait for her, and will take some sudden and decisive step against her, when her Majesty may be off her guard, and when her friends have been lulled to repose.

Therefore, it is my opinion that her Majesty should lose very little time, before she take some open

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and decisive step in the assertion of her rights and privileges; and not wait patiently till the good pleasure of her enemies shall permit her to do so. If her Majesty look back and cast her eye over the history of her tribulations she will find that, as those tribulations has succeeded each other, each successive one has grown out of the preceding one; and that, in every case, she has suffered, not for her pertinacity in adhering to her rights, but for her facility in listening to selfish advisers who prevailed upon her to yield them; and which advisers regularly profited from the very things which were injurious to her Majesty. She first yielded to the importunities of those who prevailed upon her to suppress the exposure of the infamous acts, committed against her in, and previous to, 1806. She was then told not to insist upon the exposure; because it would be painful to the feelings of the Royal Family in general, and especially of the late King. She generously yielded; but the reward of such unexampled generosity was a series of underhand endeavours to defame and to ruin her. In 1812, she gave up her right of holding Drawing Rooms, though the right so clearly belonged to her. This the public would never have endured if the exposure of her enemies had taken place in 1806. Having abstained from exercising this right in 1812, the late Queen held Drawing Rooms in 1814, and from them her present Majesty was excluded. Her Majesty, might, if she had chosen, have gone to the Drawing Rooms in 1814; and to those Drawing Rooms she ought to have gone. She was advised to desist from going, in order not to give pain to the feelings of the late Queen. Whether the late Queen ever discovered a similar tenderness for the feelings of her present Majesty, I am unable to state; but, it is clear that this was a most generous act on the part of her present Majesty; and for this act her reward has been that which we have seen.

Mr. CANNING speaks of the *unsuspecting nature* of her Majesty. Well he may! For who would not have suspected the adviser, that counselled her to keep from those Drawing Rooms; and that soon afterwards counselled her to quit that country which was the only place in the whole world, where her character, or even her life, could be in safety? Surely, after all this experience, her Majesty, in spite of her unsuspecting nature, must regard those as her enemies, who would *counsel her to yield to further concessions*; and especially after those brutal, those ferocious enemies, have uniformly ascribed every concession of her Majesty to consciousness of guilt. To concede further, under such circumstances, would argue not only a want of a sense of dignity; a want of any portion of that resolution for which her Majesty has recently so distinguished herself, but a total want of common understanding.

Therefore, Sir, notwithstanding the opinion so kindly communicated to her Majesty by the

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House of Commons; be you well assured that her Majesty will make no further concessions; that her Majesty will do her best to enter upon the exercise of her rights and privileges; and that, in so doing, she will give pleasure to every man and woman who has a regard for honour and justice.

It is your opinion, as expressed in your speech of the 28th of June, that her Majesty may *travel* very comfortably without her name being put in the Liturgy. Her Majesty, I dare say, thanks you as much as if she were going to travel; but, to our great delight, we find that her Majesty does not mean to travel beyond the confines of this kingdom, where she is so ardently beloved; and where, as Mr. CANNING truly observed, she is calculated to be the *life and the ornament of society*. Her Majesty does not mean to rob us of this life and ornament. She means to live at home and participate with us in the lot that Providence has in store for us; and be you well assured, Sir, notwithstanding all that has been said, and so unjustly said in certain places about *disaffection* and *disloyalty*, there can arise no circumstances; there can come no event; there can happen nothing; neither distress, misery, or any other cause of disturbance or commotion can ever make one single Englishman, Scotchman or Irishman, indisposed to venture his own life for the protection of this long injured and insulted Queen. The only subject of great anxiety and fear with the people has been that her Majesty would, from the unsuspiciousness of her character, be persuaded to withdraw herself from beyond the reach of that protection. It is the firm conviction of the whole body of the people, that, if she were out of this kingdom, her very life would not be safe for a month. And why should they think otherwise? A spy; a base subborned wretch has hands as well as eyes and tongue. He can use a dagger, as well as a pen. The people of this country have seen with what haste she fled from St. Omers, not to Calais, but through Calais, down the Pier, through the mud, and into an English Packet Boat. Nay, so much was she in dread of the effects of Bourbon Hospitality, that she had formed the resolution of crossing the channel in an *open boat*, rather than run the risk of remaining another twelve hours within the reach of a Bourbon battery. The people have observed all this, and they have contracted the firm conviction, that for her Majesty to go out of England, would be to go directly to the grave.

I must confess that there is one thing, which has given great pain to the public; namely, the answer given in her Majesty's name to the *Nottingham address*. This answer I never can believe to have been dictated by her Majesty. Whoever advised it, be he who he may, *is one of the greatest enemies that she has*. Nothing that can be imagined could have done her cause more injury, if the people could possibly believe

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that it *came from herself*. But my real opinion is, and I think I have *good grounds* for that opinion, that her Majesty never *saw that answer*; and that she never entertained the thought which it expresses. To be sure, it would be very imprudent in her Majesty to suffer any thing to come from her that should meddle at all with subjects of *political dispute*. Those who address her must either be very foolish, or something worse, to drag political subjects into their addresses; but if they should happen to do it, her Majesty should *pass it over in silence*; and surely none but her bitterest enemies will advise her to give her cordial and disinterested friends that species of *rebuke* which her advisers have never counselled her to bestow upon her enemies. I repeat, that whoever advised the answer to the Nottingham address, was a crafty and subtle enemy of the Queen and of the people; and I venture to predict, with perfect confidence, that, if her Majesty continue to listen to such advisers, her cause is completely ruined, and that she will speedily be left wholly destitute of support.—However, her Majesty will soon see the tendency of this pernicious advice, and will discard it accordingly.

In conclusion, I will not stop to ask you how you could reconcile it to any principles of morality, or even of humanity, to wish to see her Majesty again driven from our shores; but, I cannot put an end to this letter without observing on the conduct of the dotard faction, which has now, for the fiftieth time, perhaps, catched hold of a something, which they seem to think will get them into those places, for which they have grown old and shrivelled, and gouty heeled in waiting; but which they will never fill, no not even now, when the Ministers stand convicted in their own words of having actually done that, which must necessarily *injure the best interests of the country*; not even now will that dotard faction be able to wriggle itself into place; for, hostile as the Ministers are to the Queen, the part which they have taken against her is less insincere, and, if possible, less ungenerous than the part taken by the hungry and dotard faction to which I have alluded. Her Majesty will be upon her guard, I trust, against the eves-droppings, the traps, the under-hand dealings of that faction; who, while they endeavour, while they anxiously labour to embarrass, to annoy and to supplant the Ministers, take special care not to let drop one word favourable to her Majesty's cause; and also take special care to say as much as prudence will let them say, in order to create in a certain quarter, an opinion that they (clever gentlemen!) would have *managed the thing better!* They could not have managed the thing better, unless they had let it altogether alone. And, if they were now to take the matter in hand, they would soon find, that the detestation they would bring upon them, would find but a poor compensation in

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the emoluments and honours that they might gain. Her Majesty, I repeat it, has had but one speech made for her, and that was the speech of Sir Francis Burdett, who attacked the Ministers for their conduct; who apologized for feelings which sycophants might have engendered in the bosom of the King; who defended the Queen upon broad, fair, and honest grounds, and who awarded to the Green Bags detestation in the mind of every man untainted by selfish or other unworthy motives.

There has been brought forward by the faction to which I have alluded, the doctrine of *non-recrimination!* This is very curious. It is a large voluntary offering. According to this doctrine, her Majesty is to bring no proof to shew that her accusers *are criminal themselves!* This is a thing well worthy of notice; but I notice it at present only as an offering tendered by the faction, and, in order to illustrate what the faction's views are with regard to the cause of the Queen. Her Majesty should keep this offering steadily in her eye; and if she do that, she will be in no danger of being misled by the agents, whether foolish or knavish, belonging to that faction. If her Majesty will observe a little narrowly, the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, she will easily perceive what that superannuated faction would be at. She will perceive that that paper, while it makes use of her Majesty's cause wherewith to endeavour to annoy and discredit the Ministers, does, at the same time, very broadly hint that the Ministers are unworthy of their places, only because they have not taken care to do the job in such a way as to hood-wink the people. This newspaper, which is a most faithful representative of the faction which it serves; a literary dotard, selfish, conceited, empty and superlatively dull; hypocritical, canting, cowardly, cruel, and endeavouring, at all times, to skulk out of responsibility for oppressions, which, in fact, it encourages, and does all that it can to perpetuate: this newspaper will, if her Majesty attend to it, make her, shun, as she would shun the pestilence, the advice of that battered faction of which I have been speaking, and in which no description of his Majesty's sub-

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jects has the smallest degree of confidence.

There were persons, and persons to whom I myself was willing to listen, who thought that there were men belonging to this faction; some few men, at any rate; who would take a gallant part in this interesting question, a question which calls forth good feelings from every man whose nature admits of such feelings. I have waited with great patience, to see if such gallant man would make his appearance. I have waited in vain, however; and I am quite satisfied that the faction are not in the smallest degree less enemies of her Majesty than are her accusers themselves.

I now conclude, Sir, with observing, that the part you have taken, with regard to her Majesty, will have done what I deem an infinite service to the country. That which I have never been able completely to accomplish with regard to you, you have now accomplished yourself. The people whom you saw at Portman-street, gave you a fair specimen of the feelings of this whole nation. It was not a meeting of Radicals; it was not a Church and King mob; it was not a crowd of people called together by hunger, and declaring war upon bakers and butchers; it was not one of those meetings called together by publicspirited men who have been denominated "*Demagogues*;" it was not a crowd collected by "*evil-minded* and *designing individuals*," so often designated and calumniated of late years: it was a promiscuous assemblage of the people of the metropolis, called together and tutored solely by their own feelings, who had come to witness a Deputation from the House of Commons waiting upon the Queen with advice. It is calumny; it is audacious impudence; it is the foulest and most poisonous slander to insinuate that this was not a *loyal* assemblage; and from this loyal assemblage you heard what the people of England thought of the Deputation and of its object. All that I have to wish, is, that you may have clearly understood what you then heard, and that you may have reason to remember that day to the last moment of your life.

WM. COBBETT.

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DEBATE

In the House of Commons upon the Queen's rejection of their advice.

June 26, 1820.

THE QUEEN.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose. In calling the attention of the House to the condition in which it stood, after the proceedings which were had at the close of the last week, and particularly after what had occurred at the last meeting of the House, and considering that the order of the day relative to his Majesty's message stood for discussion this night, he must fairly own to the House what was his opinion upon the situation in which it now stood. After all the efforts which had been made, and to which, he trusted, the House would consider that his Majesty's government had lent itself with the utmost readiness and anxiety, he thought that the House would now feel that every hope which could have entered into his mind at any time, and in whatever degree he might have ventured to entertain that hope (although he had always expressed himself with the utmost caution as to the final result), he thought that the House must now consider that every effort which had been made on the part of his Majesty's government, and, what was more, upon the part of parliament itself, had been at length exhausted, and that they could look to the termination of this painful subject in no other light than as a judicial proceeding. He thought they would feel that it now only remained for them to put both parties, with as little delay as possible, in that situation which they must occupy, pending the course of a judicial inquiry. Any thing which he should now say would be offered upon this principle, and he should feel it his duty to mention every thing which he conceived it necessary to suggest, in order to enable the House to come to its decision. He wished therefore very shortly to call their attention to what had been the mode of proceeding up to the present time; and to state what was now the precise and actual condition in which the proceeding before the House stood. When he should have briefly submitted these two points to the House, it would better understand the course to be pursued. From the moment that his Majesty's government felt that it would be their duty, in the event of her Majesty's returning to this country, to communicate that information to the House which now laid upon its table, they framed the line of their proceeding upon what they considered the most parliamentary course, and the one most consonant to the principles of justice. If his Majesty's government indeed had asked the House to adopt the measures which had been recently proposed by the honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. Wilberforce), it was from no disposition on their part to shrink from any other form of proceeding, or to evade the examination of these charges, if the House should decide that examination was the course to

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be ultimately pursued. The mode of proceeding adopted by his Majesty's government did in fact proceed upon what he conceived to be the soundest principles of parliamentary practice. They acted under this feeling—that although they would be far from disposed to shrink from such an examination of the charges they had presented to the House, or from any measure which should bring those charges, at present upon the table, in a distinct and intelligible shape before them, supported by such evidence as they were in possession of; yet government did conceive, that parliament would not think itself warranted (as it had never been its habit to do so) to receive charges of this nature, and more especially when they concerned a party of such illustrious rank as the Queen of these realms, unless parliament was in possession of some evidence which should satisfy it that there was sufficient to found a *prima facie* case for inquiry or examination. It did appear to his Majesty's government that it was an act of too serious and responsible a nature to receive from any individual charges of this character, in order to bring them under the notice of parliament, unless they first of all enabled parliament to ascertain whether there were *prima facie* grounds for entertaining such charges. And, with the same caution which parliament had always exercised, that House had always required of government, by some means, and, if necessary, by other means than a committee,) to put it in possession, as far as possible, of all the facts out of which the charges grew; and the practice was, that no such measure as a measure of inquiry, or any other to which he had alluded, should be gone into, until such information had been given to the House. The object in proposing the appointment of a secret committee was to bring the whole case in detail before the House; it was not to be considered as a judicial proceeding complete in itself; but merely as that species of *ex parte* inquiry which parliament might require before it received a grave charge against a personage so illustrious. He had no hesitation in avowing that a motive, and a powerful motive with the ministers in suggesting a secret committee, was with a view to the possibility of averting a more extended and public investigation. They conceived that, as long as the subject was in a course of examination before both Houses of Parliament, satisfactory arrangement would be more within reach than if the first step on the part of the Crown had been more decisive and direct. But during the late discussions the case had undergone an important alteration. The first adjournment had been proposed and agreed to, that an effort might be made to prevent the necessity of any proceeding at all, by some compromise of a nature satisfactory to the feelings and wishes of all parties. It was perfectly true, that in the earlier stages her Majesty had been advised to protest against what

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had been called a secret inquiry; and in her first communication to the House, in the form of a message, she called upon it to take measures that her conduct might be examined directly and openly, and that she should be informed of the nature of the charges against her, as well as of the evidence by which they were supported. Very recently, also, in answer to the application of the House, to which he should afterwards again advert, her Majesty had renewed her appeal to the justice of Parliament, and more peremptorily, or at least in more solemn terms, had called herself "an accused and injured Queen." It would not be forgotten, that on the first night of the discussion the subject was adjourned, in the hope of an amicable termination of existing differences; and although it failed in the first instance, the object of the intermediate postponements had been, if possible, to render needless any inquiry, whether secret or open. The opinion of the House had been carried up to her Majesty, and no doubt many hon. gentlemen had persuaded themselves of a more favourable conclusion: without attempting to cast blame upon any quarter, he might say, that something was fairly anticipated from the disposition professed by the Queen to yield to the judgment of Parliament. It had been thought, that from the moment her legal character and dignity as Queen were satisfactorily recognized—from the moment her rank and honour had ceased to be implicated—that all other matters would be secondary and subordinate, and that she would be willing to submit to the arbitration of one or more respectable individuals, regarding the questions of reception, patronage, and income. In favour of this supposition the House had given its solemn judgment; and if it were not confirmed by an unanimous vote, its opinion was expressed certainly in as authoritative a manner (authoritative he meant, as marking the strong sense of the great majority of the House upon the subject) as it had perhaps ever been evidenced towards any branch of the illustrious family to which the Queen belonged. It was not, he believed, saying too much to state, that the records of the country might be searched in vain for any approach by the House to a member of that illustrious family, or to any individual connected with the throne, more calculated to conciliate the feelings. The House, by its resolutions of Thursday last, had taken upon itself the task of deciding on public grounds, and had professed its readiness, on behalf of the character and reputation of her Majesty, to be responsible to posterity. He did not mean to allude to her Majesty's refusal in a tone of reproach; but the House would feel, that if on public considerations it had thought fit to claim from the Crown any concession of the views it had been advised by its responsible servants to entertain, with a regard to national interests, as important as those referred to by his hon. friend (Mr. Wilber-

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force) on the previous night, the Crown could scarcely have hesitated as to the course it must pursue. If the King had been recommended to disregard the opinion of the House, so decisively expressed, would it not have demanded who was the minister that had suggested a course so opposite to the wishes of Parliament, and so injurious to the dignity of the Crown, and to the best interests of the country? (*Cheers.*) It was, however, one among the many occasions on which the excellency and beauty of our constitution might be held up to admiration, that while the Crown could not act in a manner so directly in the face of the House of Commons, her Majesty, under the responsible character belonging to her advisers, was competent to reject the appeal of Parliament. (*Hear, hear.*) That the Queen had been unfortunately ill-advised (*hear*)——that she might repent, for the sake of the country as well as for herself, the advice she had followed ——was a question he should be sorry to be understood to pronounce upon. (*Hear, hear, from the Opposition Benches.*) Certain it was, that the most serious and solemn appeal ever made to a member of the Brunswick family had in this instance proved unavailing; and the House must feel that it had exhausted every thing in the way of the exertion of its influence and authority; and that the only course, consistent with its dignity and the principles on which it had acted, was now to consider how it could put in a train of judicial investigation those charges, an inquiry into which it had made one of the greatest efforts in the history of parliament to avert. He felt that her Majesty, by her answer, had renewed her claim upon the House for a complete investigation of the case: the question was therefore materially altered; and it became the ministers of the Crown, if Parliament would receive from them a direct proposition for exhibiting these charges in a shape in which her Majesty could no longer doubt as to their nature, or the evidence sustaining them, as far as possible to comply with her Majesty's appeal to British justice. It became the imperative duty of ministers, or at least of those to whom the appeal of the Queen had been addressed, to make themselves the instruments of that direct proceeding which her Majesty had claimed, as most likely, under the view she took of the subject, to accomplish the ends of justice. Having thus stated the grounds of the original proceeding, and the actual situation in which the House was placed, he should endeavour to explain what course, in the view of ministers, would best meet her Majesty's wishes. The House would, no doubt, have remarked one expression in her Majesty's answer, which supposed the possibility that the decision to which she had come might produce a feeling of dissatisfaction, if not of resentment. But he was sure, that so far from there being any disposition in the House of Commons, on that account, to pursue a course

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unacceptable to her, or not calculated to give the Queen the fullest benefit of the principles of eternal justice, it would, on that very account, be most anxious, by its actions, to guard against the remotest suspicions of the kind. He was prepared on the present occasion to give notice of a motion, which he should found upon her Majesty's answer to the resolutions of Thursday last, although he was sure that the House could not expect him to enter into a description of its precise nature and object: it would have this distinct character—that it would be calculated to put her Majesty, the House, and the country, in possession of the charges involved in the information upon the table. If it should please the House to entertain such a proceeding, without going through the preliminary form of ascertaining whether a *prima facie* case existed, his motion would have this characteristic of the proceeding which her Majesty called for, viz. that it would be a proceeding completely open in its character, and it would be, necessarily, the duty of those submitting such a case to follow it up by producing the evidence to support it. The only circumstance which would govern his proposition, with respect to the day on which it was to be brought forward, was one which, from the very outset, had influenced the conduct of ministers, and would have influenced it if the measures had taken their original shape. He must so far advert to what had already passed, as to mention that government had felt, in the first instance, that a reference of the subject to the consideration of the two Chambers of Parliament, who might possibly come to contradictory decisions, might introduce a considerable awkwardness; or, if the two committees agreed in the proposition that a *prima facie* case existed, a doubt might still remain as to the question from which branch of the legislature any ulterior proceeding should take its rise. Nothing could be more open to objection, nothing more embarrassing and prejudicial to the best interests of justice, than that two proceedings of a judicial character should be conducted at the same time. (*Hear, from the Opposition benches.*) Of course he did not mean to confound a *prima facie* inquiry with an investigation into merits; and he felt some pity for the intellects of those who did confound them. He thought that there could not be two opinions regarding two contemporaneous inquiries; and he hoped to have some of the cheerers on his side, when he said that nothing could be more absurd than to have a judicial proceeding conducted in both Houses at the same time. (*Hear, hear.*) If, then, both reports had concurred that ulterior measures were indispensable, the question would necessarily have arisen, where those measures were to originate? He hoped the House would not suppose, that, in what he was about to say, he was inclined to undervalue its capacity to discharge any of those

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judicial functions which at times formed most important branches of its duty: but he had no hesitation in stating, as far as his judgment and that of government could have influenced the decision, that he should have recommended the House of Commons, after making its report, to wait a reasonable time, to ascertain what steps might be adopted in the other House of Parliament. If those steps appeared calculated to satisfy the ends of justice, they would originate with many advantages elsewhere, and upon no grounds more than that the House of Lords was a body in more judicial habits than the House of Commons; it would have been their function, also, to investigate the subject with more solemnity, and to submit all the evidence to the test of an oath. Government felt that it was a case of the most important nature: any charge affecting the Queen of these realms was too important to be submitted exclusively to one chamber only: for this reason, the communication had been made, in the first instance, to both; and the mode in which the proceeding would ultimately reconcile itself was, that, after the previous and preliminary investigation, it would be more advantageous that the House of Commons should wait for such a proceeding as the Lords might think it right to institute. He, therefore, wished it to be understood, that in fixing a day for his intended motion, he should name one sufficiently distant to enable that House to ascertain what proceeding should originate with the other branch of the legislature—sufficiently distant at least to give the House of Lords an opportunity of forming an opinion upon this most grave question. On the other hand, he should be reluctant to appoint a period which should appear to postpone the case beyond the time justice and necessity required; or needlessly to defer her Majesty's appeal, contained in the first instance in her message, and reiterated in her answer. Weighing these two considerations, he should propose Thursday se'nnight, when he should be prepared to offer a motion to the House, founded upon the answer of her Majesty to the resolutions of Thursday last; from that motion he should desist, if in the mean time the House of Lords commenced any judicial proceeding, which in its character must necessarily come under the view of the House of Commons. Having waited until the day he had mentioned, after all that had passed, after the broad avowal that the communication on the table contained matters of grave charge against the conduct and character of her Majesty, even if it should turn out to be the decision of the House of Lords not to adopt any ulterior measure, he should owe it, as a debt of justice to the Queen, to endeavour, as far as possible, to put these charges and the evidence in such a shape as would best tend to her Majesty's complete vindication. (Cheers.) He had now nothing further to submit, than to state what he conceived

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the beginning course to be pursued on this occasion; and, under the new circumstances, to which he now already referred, he did not feel it at all incumbent upon him to adhere to the recommendation he had first suggested, on laying the King's message on the table. At her Majesty's call, he was prepared to take a course more persistent with her wishes.—Whatever difficulty the House might have felt in the first instance, (and he thought the House ought not, without great reluctance, to have permitted any minister to put so illustrious a personage under charge, without the production of *prima facie* evidence,) it was in a great measure, he should hope, entirely relieved from it, by the repeated claims for open justice on the part of the Queen; and consistently with every principle of right, at the instigation of the individual chiefly concerned, it might permit that, which could not otherwise be allowed, without a preliminary inquiry. The course he intended to suggest was this—that the debate on the King's message (the substance of which, in truth, was, that the House should proceed to decide on the manner in which it would investigate the matters on the table) should be further adjourned until the day immediately subsequent to that on which he proposed to bring forward his motion. The effect of such an arrangement would be this—that if the House concurred in his proposition, supposing the other branch of the legislature to have taken a direct proceeding in the mean time, it would supersede the necessity of instituting any inquiry here, either preliminary or direct. After a single other remark on the format course of proceeding not distinctly audible in the gallery, his lordship adverted to the answer which he expected his proposition might receive from the other side of the House. He perceived that the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Tierney) was communicating with his learned friend on the subject; perhaps something had previously passed between them. (*Hear, hear.*) Certainly he had heard that objections were to be made; but he had never conceived that it was within the scope of the right hon. gentleman's mind to bring forward such an objection as that to which he now alluded. He had heard it insinuated that the House, in the mode in which it had approached her Majesty, and in the wording of its resolutions, had determined that the transactions, *ipso facto*, were buried in oblivion, and that no future steps, whether direct or preliminary, could be taken regarding the charges on the table. He alluded to the words at the close of the last resolution, that such an inquiry was "derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country." True it was, that the House, by a majority of 391 to 124, had decided, that such an investigation was, if possible, to be avoided: but it had not determined that it ought not to be permit-

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ted at all. The course of his hon. friend's (Mr. Wilberforce) speech was, that his motion was the last means of conciliation: and that, if it did not succeed, there was no alternative but inquiry. He wished to carry the resolutions to the illustrious personage concerned, as the last resort to avert an investigation painful and detrimental; but not for the purpose of extinguishing all inquiry. He (Lord Castlereagh) begged leave to say, that he drew exactly an opposite inference from the words he had quoted. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen on the other side did not seem to acknowledge that this argument was well founded: but he was prepared to contend, that these words were not only highly proper in themselves, but that they formed the justification of the reserve displayed by all parties; and particularly explained and illustrated the whole conduct of government, both prior and subsequent to the return of the Queen. Ministers were satisfied in their minds and consciences that their most sacred duty to their sovereign, and their country, was never to bring this subject before Parliament, if by any management or effort on their part, consistent with honour and propriety, they could avoid it. An individual of the illustrious rank of Queen of these realms could not be placed in a situation of charge, without injury to the dignity of the crown, and the best interests of the country, whatever might be the result. Every exertion of a prudential kind had, therefore, been employed to prevent the communication to Parliament at all; but ministers were left without a choice, by the precipitate return of the Queen, to claim the full advantages of her rank. Every effort thus failed; every delicacy they had shown to supersede the necessity of disclosure, and to throw a veil over the transactions referred to in the papers on the table, had been disappointed. Even after the return of her Majesty, when Parliament was told that she was disposed to listen to their authoritative voice, (and it was not too much for her Majesty to consider the voice of Parliament authoritative, and its exertions as likely to protect her honour and character as the arbitration of any private individual,) his Majesty's government had shown every disposition to accommodate. If, after all these endeavours, her Majesty were still determined to drive the question to a public inquiry, he trusted that neither in reason, nor in common sense, would any man attribute to his hon. friend, who served his country so usefully, disinterestedly, and ably, so extravagant and untenable a proposition, as that the resolutions he had proposed should at once put a stop to all future proceedings. His lordship trusted, therefore, that no more would be heard of such quibbling reasoning. He was confident that the manly mind of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Tierney) disavowed it. He trusted that the House was acquainted both with its situation and its duties: and that, however reluctantly the subject

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might be forced upon it, it would be determined to see the ends of justice accomplished.---The calamity, indeed, had fallen upon the country---no honourable exertion had been able to avert it; and he hoped that Parliament would now resume its ancient character for dignity and moderation, and that, in the course of the distressing examinations which now appeared inevitable, the voice of party would sleep, and the efforts of faction be suspended. The House, as the great council of the nation, ought to be divested of all angry passions, and free from the influence of all personal interests. Most of all, he hoped that that tone of feeling would be absent, which, though it might belong to politics, could not belong to justice. (*Cheers.*) Upon all these grounds, he felt it his duty to give notice, that on Thursday se'nnight he would charge himself with bringing forward a specific motion, founded on her Majesty's message, if, in the mean time, a proceeding of a judicial character should not have been commenced in the other House of Parliament.---With a view not to embarrass the counsels of the House, on the question whether preliminary inquiry should or should not be undertaken, he intended to postpone his proposition on that subject until Friday se'nnight. His lordship concluded by stating, that in what he had suggested he had been influenced only by a desire to meet her Majesty's claim for justice.—The question was then put, that the further debate on the King's message be adjourned to Friday se'nnight.

Mr. BROUGHAM said, it was with the utmost sincerity, and from the bottom of his heart, that he joined in the appeal made by the noble lord. He implored all sides of the House, from that day thenceforth, during the whole course of that investigation which was now inevitable, to let the voice of party sleep. He conjured them to suffer no feeling of a political nature, no shadow, to cross their path towards the ends of substantial justice. (*Hear, hear.*) On the part of her Majesty he had to express his infinite satisfaction ---a satisfaction which was but the reflected image of her own ---that at length justice was to be administered according to law, and on the principles of the constitution; that they were to hear no more of the dark, inquisitorial, unjust, and, as he should say, illegal proceedings, which in the first instance they had been invited to adopt. (*Hear, hear.*) There was at length an end of that species of inquiry which it was the tendency of the message, and of the bag, to cause to be instituted against the illustrious person to whom their contents applied. Her claim from the first had been for open investigation—her protest against an invisible tribunal. For the course which was now to be pursued he had not to express any gratitude to the noble lord, but he had to felicitate himself, and to thank parliament and the country for their unanimous desire, that the former mode of proceeding

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should be abandoned. He must now be permitted to make a few observations on what had fallen from the noble lord on this occasion. Often as it had been his lot to admire the talents of the noble lord, he had never before known his abilities, his subtilty or his dexterity displayed to greater advantage. The course to be taken was not, it appeared, rendered necessary by the message, or as a mode of dealing with the bag; it did not even arise out of the claims of justice, and was founded on no plea of state necessity. The House was now called upon to go into an inquiry, because her Majesty had on Saturday last said that she defied all public investigation, that she dreaded only secret proceedings, and threw herself with confidence on parliament and the country for a trial according to the principles of the constitution. Had the noble lord forgotten that she had said as much before, and that precisely similar sentiments were contained in the message which he had had the honour to bring down from her? In that message were the following words:—"It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were brought forward against her Majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a privilege not denied to the humblest subject of the realm." Did not the noble lord hear, then, a fortnight ago, of the existence of this disposition on her Majesty's part? She had defied, courted, challenged, he might say demanded, a public scrutiny. Something, however, had recently occurred, and had removed all the difficulties of the noble lord in acceding to these applications. It was now discovered not to be quite right to proceed to the trial of a Queen by a secret tribunal—that it was in fact, a violation of justice, at the outset, to commence proceedings in that form. But every thing was now represented to be easy and regular, because the Queen had courted inquiry, and the gallantry and politeness of the noble lord could no longer withhold it. He must repeat, that of all the specimens of the noble lord's merits, as a tactician, either in debate or with respect to measures, the present seemed to be the most signal. With the change, however, which had taken place, her Majesty was perfectly satisfied, and fearlessly prepared to stand or fall by the consequences. Whatever the noble lord might have heard from his right hon. friend (Mr. Tierney), he could assure the House, it had not been communicated to himself. It was not often indeed that, upon points arising out of this subject, he and his right honourable friend held any conversation. All that had passed between them in relation to it might be compressed into three sentences, and these neither important nor confiden-

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tial. The noble lord had chalked out the line which they were to follow in no very distinct manner; but as the proceeding was to be left dependent on what might take place elsewhere, some degree of vagueness was perhaps unavoidable. It had been said that her Majesty was the first Brunswick who had turned a deaf ear to the addresses of Parliament, and it was added, that the late vote might be called almost unanimous. Doubtless it was a vote in which 391 of the members had concurred, and if to them were joined those, amongst the minority of 124, who voted with it merely from peculiar opinions respecting the question of the Liturgy, the whole number of members anxious to avert inquiry was considerably more. The desire to avert inquiry was built on the declared belief, that whichever way it might terminate, it must be "disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the nation." These words the noble lord had endeavoured to explain away, and to shew that a new and painful necessity had been imposed upon them by the Queen's answer to their address. Her Majesty certainly had no objection to this inference; but the House ought to pause a moment, and examine the true force of such expressions. They had pronounced their opinion, that an inquiry---whether needless or necessary, was not then the question---must be injurious, if not fatal. It had excited his astonishment that the noble lord should be the first to concur with this resolution. One day the noble lord brought down a sealed bag; and upon another, instead of withdrawing it, lent his support to another motion, the object of which was to dismiss it. (*Hear.*) It was not for him to consider whether the House was prepared or not to acquiesce in the necessity stated by the noble lord to arise out of the circumstances which had occurred. If the necessity did exist, it might be traced to one single act---that of her Majesty's arrival in England. On no other ground could it be placed, and they could not forget that they were asked to declare that to be necessary, which only a few days ago they had declared must be all but ruinous to the country. With regard to the failure of their address, whether her Majesty's answer was wise or unwise, he should not stop to inquire. He could safely and conscientiously give his solemn assurance—and he gave it not for the purpose of exculpating where no charge was brought, or of shrinking from a responsibility which he would rather court, but for the Queen's character and honour---that her legal advisers had laid before her all their views of the whole question; that, before she returned an answer to the address, they had submitted every consideration which a knowledge of what had passed in parliament, and during the negociations, suggested to their minds; that every fact and every circumstance had been minutely

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stated, and a conviction expressed, that a refusal to comply with the wishes of the House must lead to a full investigation of the case. With all this information and these suggestions before her, her Majesty, with a fearlessness, which, in the history of human action, nothing but conscious innocence ever inspired, expressed her deliberate, her unbiassed, and resolute determination to abide by the consequences of the step which she was taking. He hoped the House would not be disposed to judge hastily or harshly because compliance had been refused with their request. If her Majesty was the first Brunswick who had so refused, she was the first Brunswick and the first Queen in this country, or in Christendom, who had been placed in so peculiar a situation. (*Hear, hear.*) How different were the votes and addresses of the House to former Queens! Even when not complimentary, or expressing something else than congratulations or condolence—as when they solicited some change of council, or the dismissal of some favourite servant—how different in their effect. Her Majesty felt that she was asked to dismiss a regard for her own honour. The honour of a man ought not to be made matter of negociation, but still less could female honour be subjected to truck and barter. He made these remarks in extenuation, if they could not be received as a complete vindication by those who heard him. They had been in a manner repulsed by her Majesty, and were in the situation of offended persons. They were, nevertheless, in a few days to become the judges of her conduct. If he had implored them before to lay aside all partial feelings, with equal reason might he now make suit to them to dismiss from their minds even yet more peremptorily every feeling of offence. (*Hear, hear.*) It seemed that the noble lord was about to introduce some legislative measure on this subject; whether of this description or not, it must lead necessarily to an investigation. In whatever way it should be proposed to conduct this delicate proceeding, he must put in his claim to some delay on the part of her Majesty. In mentioning the word "delay," he knew how open it was to misconstruction. The Queen was in fact anxious to proceed, and deprecated all unnecessary loss of time. But justice required that some interval should be allowed. It was 3 weeks' journey to her Majesty's place of residence in Italy, and to the same time for returning must be added the time requisite for collecting evidence. He put it to the honour and justice of the House to consider that, if they proceeded on Thursday se'nnight, either by motion or by bill, to go into evidence and open the bag, there was no security that such evidence would be kept secret. The public would either know the whole, or, what was perhaps worse, hear only fragments of the case against her Majesty. How would any man like to have the honour of his female relatives placed in the keeping of

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36 gentlemen, who had wives and daughters filled with a natural solicitude to learn a little of what was going forward? Something would certainly creep out through the many orifices which would be open on this occasion, (*a laugh*) and circulate, especially the venom of it, more or less extensively. Let any man then suppose himself in her Majesty's situation, or in that of her Majesty's friends, and he would easily imagine the fatal effects to character which might thus ensue. The claim then, which he put in, was a claim of paramount justice; it was simply to enable her Majesty to place immediately in position with the case against her the evidence for her acquittal. It was to guard against the prejudices which might arise from the long impression of a charge heard *ex parte*, and against the probability of its being divulged, that he made this application on her part. The House would observe that it would not delay the intimate result; judgment would be pronounced just as soon; and all he asked was, that the two parts of the trial should go together. In considering this appeal he trusted that every gentleman would lay it to his heart, being convinced that the more it was considered, the deeper would be its impression. The honourable and learned gentleman concluded by again congratulating the House and the country that the open inquiry which her Majesty had never feared, but anxiously sought, was about to be instituted.

Speech of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, *on Thursday, June 22, 1820.*

Sir F. BURDETT said, it was not his intention to go over any of those topics which had already been urged by other honourable members with much greater ability than he possessed. It was his wish to approach this question with an unprejudiced mind, and whilst he claimed justice for that party that stood most in need of justice, he should carefully avoid saying any thing that might be construed into a want of respect to the Crown on this very painful occasion. He conceived that the honourable member for Bramber had taken a very erroneous view of the present question, and he begged leave, in the most unequivocal manner, to dissent from the dilemma in which the hon. gent. considered the House to be placed, viz. that they must either agree to his proposition or some other mode of conciliation, or they must go into an inquiry respecting the contents of the green bag. (*Hear.*) To this proposition he could not agree; nay, so far were they from being placed in such dilemma, that he thought it was not possible for the House, if they consulted at all their own character—if they consulted the dignity of the Crown—if they consulted the interests of the family on the throne, or those of the public, to consent that this green bag should be opened. (*Hear.*)—Much had been said about omitting her Majesty's name in the Liturgy; but whether that act

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was legal or not, seemed to be a matter of inferior importance; for at one time to-night they had been told that the omission was not intended as an insult, and a sort of apology had been made for it by the noble lord, as not implying any degradation; but, soon after, the noble lord had contradicted that statement by saying, that it was impossible not to omit her Majesty's name, (*hear,*) as it was intended to bring certain charges against her on this evidence—evidence to which no man of honour could attach the smallest importance. It appeared that ministers had held out a threat to their Queen in one hand, and a bribe in the other. (*Hear.*)—They have denounced a threat which she must have supposed to affect her life, for she could not be supposed to have been acquainted with those technicalities of law of which ministers were well aware, and by which she could not be prosecuted as a principal in treason; and, on the other hand, they offered a bribe, to be paid at the expense of the public. She, however, had adopted a course of conduct so magnanimous, as to raise her in all men's minds, and which afforded such presumption of her innocence (to use the expression of the hon. member below him), as rendered it as doubtless as the valour of the Duke of Wellington; she had been told, that the moment she set foot on English ground, this evidence would be brought forward: yet the first step she took on receiving this notification was to hasten to this country, and face her accusers. Immediately on her arrival the king's ministers sent down a green bag to Parliament. If they advised the king to that act, they were bound to go on with the investigation without any pause whatever; for, if there remained an alternative, they were not justified in the course they had adopted. (*Hear.*) Let the House look at the treatment which this illustrious lady had experienced from her first arrival in this country—cut off from the protection of those whose duty it was to protect her—deprived of that contact which she had a right to exercise—allowed no intercourse with her family or with her child; and if, under such circumstances, when goaded by insult, and driven almost to madness, she had acted improperly, no man who harboured a principle of honour in his breast but would shed a tear for her misfortunes—but he would not at the same time pursue her with the arm of vengeance, under the mask of mercy. (*Loud cheers.*) But who could tell by what tales the Royal ear has been poisoned? Who could tell what had been the conduct of her's go between augmenting every vile story, collected from sources as vile and impure as themselves? Who could tell what degree of irritation had been excited in the Royal mind by base persons of that description? Filled with prejudice as his Majesty's mind had doubtless been by such agents, and with a feeling of anger, he must say, unworthily

set up in his breast against a woman, but basely pandered to by those who should have given different advice, some excuse was to be found for the conduct of his Majesty. But ministers had no such apology; there was nothing to deprive them of calmness of mind, and discretion of judgment; and therefore if they saw that officious and worthless persons were poisoning the King's mind with respect to his wife, and not endeavour to prevent or counteract the evil; but more especially if they had, on this occasion, yielded any thing to the passion of the King (*hear, hear*), then had they been to him the worst of traitors. (*Loud cheers.*) That they had not given him proper advice, was evident from their own conduct. When they advised this message, and the green bag that accompanied it, to be brought down to Parliament, it ought to have made no difference in their minds, whether the Queen remained abroad or not; they were bound by their duty to the King, and to the country, to pursue a steady course, without any alteration of their views in consequence of her presence or her absence. But, on the contrary, they told her, that if she continued to live abroad, she might with impunity act in such a manner as to bring disgrace on the King and country; but if she came to England to trouble them, then it would be imperative on the noble lord, as an honest man, to bring down a green bag. (*Hear, hear, hear*). He was sure it was the general feeling of the House that this bag should never be opened, whatever insinuations ministers might throw out respecting its contents; for as soon as they admitted that the matter was negotiable, that moment there was an end of their whole case, as far as concerned the public. The honourable member who had opened the debate---he did not know whether the honourable gentleman was in the secret of the ministry (*hear*)---had said, that the contents of the bag were so horrible that they would pollute the whole country; that, if it was opened, no modest family could venture to look at a public paper; that such a deluge of filth would be poured from it, as would stifle the morality of the nation (*hear*). He did not think that this was a likely way of giving a high notion of the royal dignity, or of supporting the character of the King or of the Queen, whatever might be the opinion of the honourable member for Corfe-Castle, who had so strenuously urged the necessity of supporting the royal dignity at the present moment. On the contrary, he thought that any person desirous of bringing disgrace on the King and the country, could not take a more effectual mode of accomplishing that object. He believed, however, that the green bag was as false as it was filthy (*a laugh*); but, whether false or true, it did not signify one straw, (*hear*). He maintained that, whether true or false, it could not be gone into, for there was no public interest concerned in it; or, if there

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had been, any ministers had shown themselves very willing to sacrifice it, (*hear*). He had a right to assume from their conduct, that the whole filth which now lay on their table had been collected for the purpose of being exhibited *in terrorem* against the Queen, and therefore he protested against the opening of this Pandora's box. An honest minister would have thrown a veil over such statements as this bag was said to contain, and would have deprecated their promulgation; but the resolution of the present ministers was, that all this poison, which would prevent any modest female from looking into a public paper, was to be diffused over the country, if the Queen came to England. Ministers were willing to grant her money, if she would stay away; but, having rejected their offer with contempt, having come to this country in defiance of their denunciations, and having asserted that alone which she came hither to defend—her own honour—she would leave the kingdom with the same acclamations with which her arrival had been hailed. He believed the noble lord, when he said that he had never done any thing more painful than the bringing forward of this bag; but if ministers had, like statesmen, and like the honest men of whom the noble lord talked so much, advised the King, from a sense of duty, to adopt this course of proceeding, they would have persevered in it with inflexible resolution. The course on which the ministers had entered should have been like the gates of hell:—

"Who enters here, leaves hope behind."

The ministry having screwed his courage up to such a proceeding, should have pursued it with undeviating constancy, even if he should have lost his head in consequence. (*Hear.*) Notwithstanding the sounding phrases which had been uttered about honour and principle, it appeared that public honour and public principle were to be given up, if the Queen would only relieve ministers from the embarrassment of her presence. But he (Sir F. Burdett) felt some parliamentary difficulty in the extraordinary mode of proceeding which was proposed. They were called on to address the Queen; and if she was to be treated with that respect, it was not, surely, too much to ask ministers to withdraw the stigma which they had cast upon her character; let either the green bag or the present motion be withdrawn. How any man could hold the bag in one hand, and vote for this motion with the other, he was at a loss to conceive. (*Hear, hear.*) But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) had not told them what they were to do after the passing of this resolution, which by-the-by, implied guilt, and at the same time declared that there was no guilt. (*Hear, hear.*) The hon. gentleman perhaps had not yet made up his mind on this point, (*a laugh*) and he would not press him to explain his intentions at too early a period. Suppose the Address voted,

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he did not know whether it was intended to be carried up by his Majesty's ministers. (*A laugh.*) It was at all events an admission of her title to respect; and was *pro tanto* evidence against the green bag. But there was another consideration affecting the dignity of that House: what, if her Majesty should not choose to receive the Address; and, in fact, should not comply with it? (*Loud cheers.*) She had always been anxious to do what was wished by the House of Commons: she had thrown her life and her honour on them; and therefore there could be no doubt of her confidence in the integrity of the House, or of the deference which she was disposed to pay to its opinions. But, he would say for her in the words of the poet—

"To the liege lord of my dear native land,
"I owe a subject's homage; yet even him,
"And his high arbitration, I do reject.
"Within my bosom reigns another lord,
"——Honor, sole judge and umpire of my conduct."

This point she could not concede; especially, when the House asked it to get ministers out of a scrape——to enable them to sneak away with their green bag (*a laugh*); though he did not know whether they would carry it, for he believed no place was fit for a thing so nasty. The hon. bart. then proceeded to state, that if he supported the present motion, it was not by any means on the ground that the House was placed in that dilemma which the honourable member had described. He protested against the proposed inquiry, from respect to the character of the Royal Family, and from a desire of seeing justice done to the Queen, and to the country. He saw nothing but disgrace and degradation attaching to the persons who brought this charge, and who stood convicted of attempting to compound a crime. To compound a felony was, by the statute law, the next offence to felony itself; but ministers were here compounding high treason, or something very like it. They had been acting like those wretches who extort money from honourable men, by charging them with crimes; and well might her Majesty have shrank from the contents of that filthy, and horrid bag, if she had not possessed ten times the nerve of the King's ministers. (*Hear.*) How durst ministers say that they would degrade their Queen? The question might perhaps by and by take a different turn, and the House might inquire how they had done their duty as privy councillors to the Crown and to the country? (*Hear,*) If understrappers in diplomacy had not thought that it was a merit to insult her, and if every indignity had not been studiously heaped upon her, she would not have troubled the King or the country. But supposing all the rumours which had been circulated to be true, where was the propriety of sending a herd of wretched spies and picklocks to bring over the evidence of them to this country? The first error

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of ministers on this subject was their base compliance with the wishes of the King, which it was their duty to controul; and the next was, their coming down to the House of Commons to get rid of the responsibility which they had incurred (*hear*): they took a step which they could not re-tread, and then, having become alarmed at their own conduct, they stopped short, and threw the responsibility on Parliament. One half of the administration pursued the Queen for her vices and bad qualities; and the other half, the noble lord (Castlereagh) and his right honourable friend (Mr. Canning), who sat cheek-by-jowl, wished to punish her for her virtues and good qualities. The right honourable gentleman had expatiated in the most exaggerated terms on her amiable disposition and fascinating manners, and had declared the affection he entertained for her (*hear*), though he gave rather a strange proof of his affection. (*Hear*). The right honourable gentleman represented her as likely to become the grace, life, and ornament of every circle of society in which she moved; and therefore he did not wish her to remain in England, lest she should be made the tool of faction. This declaration was strange enough, when it was remembered that the only faction which ever made her an instrument was that to which the right honourable gentleman himself belonged. It was by that faction that the dissentions between the King and the Queen had first been occasioned, and by which she had been deserted after it had accomplished its base purpose. (*Hear.*) But whatever might be the nature of the measures taken against the Queen, the mode which had been resorted to of sending her out of the country by means of the filth and dirt of a green bag, was certainly far below a person holding the dignified situation of the right honourable gentleman. After some farther observations, the honourable baronet concluded by declaring his belief, that, were her Majesty crimson dyed in guilt, as the green bag represented her, the people out of doors had such abhorrence to green bag information, that they would believe her pure and spotless as the snow. (*Loud cheers.*)

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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A LETTER
TO
MR. CANNING,

On the cruel Treatment of the Queen.—On the Bill of Divorce.—On the necessity of her partaking in the Coronation.

London, July 5, 1820.

SIR,

It is impossible to say what may take place before this Register shall come from the press; but, enough has already taken place to call for something from me to you, who so lately sputtered forth your frothy soul in addresses and pamphlets, intended, as you professed, to keep alive in us *love* and *veneration* for *Royal Persons* and for the *Royal Authority*.

It is my intention to address you on the subject of the cruelty and villainy, which has long been practised against her Majesty, the Queen; and, also, on those tricks and intrigues, which have been carried on, which are now carrying on, and which, I think, will yet be carried on in order to sink, for ever, if not totally to destroy, in life, as well as character, this unsuspecting, betrayed and persecuted lady.

In speaking of the cruelty and villainy practised against her Majesty I might go back to almost the first hour of her landing in this country; but a retrospect so full and complete must be reserved for another occasion, when it shall become necessary to give a clear account of this series of atrocious persecutions: for, vain are the imaginations of those who think to shut out *what they call recrimination*, *Justice* will here set the quibbles of lawyers at defiance. In the trial of those public spirited men who had the good luck to escape with their lives from the Yeomanry sabres at Manchester, no evidence was allowed to be given of the deeds of the Magistrates and the Yeomanry upon that occasion; but evidence was allowed to be given of things done by the accused parties even in London, and long before the Manchester Meeting took place! As far as the proceedings go, somewhat

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the same sort of line may be pursued now, especially as the *gallant* Whigs have made a volunteer offering of the doctrine; but, Sir, this doctrine will not be adopted by the public in the case of her Majesty, the Queen. We know well that, even where guilt is clearly proved, in cases of the kind under contemplation, the parties, though criminal, as to the act *in itself*, are allowed to give evidence, and to take the benefit of evidence, calculated to throw the inducements to the criminal transaction upon the accusers themselves. In her Majesty's case, there is no guilt, in the firm and unalterable opinion of this whole nation; but she is entitled, upon the bare ground of her being accused, to bring forth every thing tending to illustrate the character, the motives, and the past conduct of her persecutors. Therefore, the ingenious device of the Whigs, for closing the lips of her Majesty and for wriggling themselves into power and profit, will fail; but, as I have just observed, this complete retrospect of the cruelties and villainies exercised towards her Majesty, from her first landing in the country, up to this day, must be reserved for a future and more suitable occasion; and, at present, I shall confine myself to things now passing under our eyes.

You, the Ministers, have solemnly declared over and over again, that nothing unfair should be done with regard to her Majesty's case. Nay, you have as solemnly declared *that you wish her to come out of the ordeal pure as the mountain snow!* With what degree of sincerity you have made these solemn declarations; whether, in making them, you had deeply impressed on your minds, that lively attachment to *morals* and *religion*, and that abhorrence of immorality and blasphemy, which you so frequently, so strenuously, and so bombastically put forward in your speeches and pamphlets at Liverpool. How this question, as to your sincerity and piety and friendship for the Queen will stand in the opinions of a sincere and discerning public, it is not for me to say: but, this I know, that, at the very moment when those professions and declarations were proceeding from your lips, the dependent, degenerate, debauched, thi gs at the West-End of the Town; "those flies "with gilded wings;" those

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corrupt things, which, at one and the same time, "glitter and "buz, stink and sting;" those things, first hatched in corruption, next puffed into animation for the purposes of the corruptors; and now employed in uttering their poisonous breath in order to destroy her whose affability, benignity, courage and integrity are so hateful in their eyes: at the very time that professions of kind wishes towards the Queen were proceeding from your lips, with all that solemnity which I have before described, the whole of this swarm of glittering, buzzing, stinking, and stinging things were covering the West-End of the Town, skipping from door to door, from Ball-room to Ball-room, from Rout to Rout, from Masquerade to Masquerade, pouring into every ear that was open to their putrid exhalations, the vilest, the foulest, the most loathsome tales as to the conduct of her whose manner of living, and the appearance of whose very person give the lie direct to the whole of the insinuations and assertions of this debauched, this profligate, this most putrid and degenerate race of beings, amongst the whole of whom, there is scarcely a sweet breath or a pound of sound and solid flesh. A race they are, whom the nation well know how to judge of; and this is the race, who, while you were professing the kindest of feelings and intentions towards her Majesty, were unremittingly engaged in endeavours to destroy her.

But, not to *chuchutments*; not to whispers; not to *des menées sourdes*; not to dark and underhand dealings; were the efforts of this race confined. They resorted to the use of the *press*. You, Sir, read us a long lecture from Liverpool upon the necessity of curbing the press, and of making it banishment, to write or to publish, any thing, having a tendency to bring the Crown or either House of Parliament into contempt. You read us a long lecture on the necessity of punishing with severity the persons guilty of such offences. You represented to us the necessity of upholding the dignity of the Throne; you congratulated us upon the passing of the banishment law. Now, then, let me put your doctrine to the test; and, more especially, let me make an appeal to your sincerity. You declare your personal attachment to her Majesty; you extol her personal ex-

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cellencies; you declare even, that you feel towards her the "*most ardent affection*;" an expression not too strong, supposing you to be sincere, and an expression which, if sincere, would do you great honour. You and all your colleagues express your anxious desire that her Majesty may come out of the ordeal clear of all crime and of all suspicion. Well, then, just at this very time; just at the time when you were making these solemn declarations, the "MORNING POST" publishes the following paragraph:

"England ought not to be "involved in misery from an "ALIEN and UNWORTHY "OBJECT; we mean for a "cause not essential to our Na- "tional Interest, and not of suf- "ficient importance to call for a "domestic division upon it, to "the ruin of our happiness and "repose; and, as *the Queen alone* "*stands in the way* of arrange- "ment, we say she ought to "yield to the Universal Good, "*we care not* whether as a "MARTYR or a CRIMINAL!"

Now, Sir, I need not characterize this paper. I need not say what it is. I need not describe its supporters. All the world knows; or, at least, all the people of this Kingdom well know the *source* whence this paragraph proceeded. The Morning Post is also called the *Fashionable World*. It is not a *Radical* newspaper; it is not a *Two-Penny Trash*; it is not a print that circulates amongst those to put a stop to whose reading the Banishment Act and the rest of the *Six Acts* were intended. It is not a paper sent forth by those who are called *seditious and disaffected*; it is not a paper read by those who are called the *deluded people*: it is a paper exclusively devoted to those against whom and whose proceedings, the people of this country have long been petitioning to the King, as well as to the Parliament: it is the "MORNING POST AND "FASHIONABLE WORLD."

As to the *object* of this Paragraph, it is as plain as the highway on which we walk. It first points out the Queen as an Alien, as an unworthy object; says that she is not essential to the national interest; says that she is not of sufficient importance to call for domestic division to the ruin of our happiness and repose, which he assumes must be the consequence of her rights being recognized;

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and then he comes to this conclusion, that, as the Queen alone stands in the way of arrangement she ought to yield to the universal good, (which latter he also assumes) and that he cares not whether, in this yielding, she be a MARTYR or a CRIMINAL! If words are now to have the meaning that have always been ascribed to them, here is a direct and unequivocal instigation to Murder the Queen! I defy any man to give any other meaning to these words. And I know that the publishing of these words, is, according to the law, as it now stands, High Treason. The Queen has been so long an object of abuse with the vile, glittering, corrupt wretches at the West End of the Town, that the base writers who depend upon those wretches for support seem to regard her as being wholly *out of the protection of the law*; and this writer appears to think, that to recommend the murdering of her is no more a crime than it would be to recommend the killing of a cat. Some of those, who have so little sense of honour and of decency as to be the abettors of this writer, must know, or, at least, they ought to know, that Treason, and High Treason too, may be committed against her Majesty the Queen, as well as against her Royal Consort. BLACKSTONE, in the 4th chapter of his first book, says, "though "the Queen is, in all respects, "a subject, yet, in point of the "security of her life and person, "she is put on the *same footing* "*with the King*. It is equally "Treason, by the statute, 25th "Edward III. to *compass*, or "*imagine*, the death of our "Lady, the King's Companion; "*as of the King himself*." This is the law of the land; and, in order to know whether this act of the Morning Post come within the scope and meaning of this law, we have only to ask whether, if such a Paragraph had been published *with regard to his Majesty the King*, the writer and publisher of that paragraph would not have been prosecuted for High Treason? Do I, or does any man, dare say (God forbid we should have the inclination to say it,) that the King stands in the way of our happiness, and that he ought to yield to the universal good, and that we care not whether it be as a MARTYR or a CRIMINAL! God forbid, I say, that we should have any desire to make use of

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words like these with regard to his Majesty; but, if we were to do it, should we escape a charge of High Treason? Should we remain unpunished altogether? And yet we have just as much right in law to say these words of the King, as this writer had to say them of the Queen: for, and I beg you to observe it well, that, in every thing concerning the security of her *life and person*, the Queen is upon a level with the King; and that, as far as relates to her life and person, all the whole of the law of High Treason applies to her Majesty *in exactly the same way that it applies to the King himself*.

This thing, then, against the Queen is clear, as to its object and character. We cannot positively *swear*, indeed, whether the audacious writer imagined the act himself, or whether he be the mere tool of others. This fact may come out in the sequel, if legal proceedings be adopted against him; and, if such proceedings BE NOT ADOPTED, we must remain satisfied with such *guesses, surmises*, and *suspicions* as the nature of the case may suggest to our minds. His *impunity* will not render us wholly blind; nor will it at all tend to render more credible, the monstrous tales which the glittering, corrupt and degenerate race are circulating with regard to her Majesty. If I could venture to presume to advise her Majesty in this case, it would be to beseech her not to prosecute the offender; not to call for his prosecution; not to take any step in that direction; but to leave the matter to the Attorney-General, and to those whose business it is to watch over offenders of this kind, and whose vigilance, *in all other cases*, has been so exemplary and unremitted. You, Sir, who have so anxious a desire to promote her Majesty's peace, and to protect her; you, who long, as the thirsting pilgrim longs for the brook, to see her Majesty come out of the ordeal unscorched and untouched; you, who breathe such an "*ardent affection*" for her; you, who were in such haste to snatch her away lest *factions* should entangle her; you, I dare say, will step forward to protect her against the direct tendency of paragraphs like that above quoted; or, if *you do not*, what shall we think? What shall we say? And what will you, after all your profes-

sions, protestations, and solemn declarations, be able to say of yourself!

In this atrocious paragraph, her Majesty is called an ALIEN. The phrase does, indeed, admit of a different interpretation; but such interpretation would hardly be fair; while no one can deny, that, to the general comprehension, her Majesty is here pointed out as an Alien. It has been very well observed by Mr. Wooler, that, if the being an Alien be an objection to the Queen, the objection might easily be stretched to *a very dangerous extent*. But what is the fact? In the first place, her Majesty is, by *birth*, half a native, being born of an English woman; for the law says that children of *English Parents*, though born out of his Majesty's dominions, are natural born subjects of the King. In the next place, her Majesty is a native by law, because any foreign woman who marries an Englishman, does, by that act, become, to all intents and purposes, possessed of all the rights, privileges and immunities of a natural born subject of the King. How dares then, this audacious wretch to represent her Majesty as an Alien? How dares he make use of words that carry in them that import? But, as I said before, her Majesty has so long been calumniated with *impunity* by the glittering and corrupt wretches who carry on the whispering and rumouring part of the attack, and who abet bolder villainy, that this writer appears to have thought that he might assail her with as much security as a vermin killer assails polecats and weazles.

Not only in the aforementioned close, interesting and sacred relationships does her Majesty stand with regard to this nation. She is amongst those, who, in the course of events may wield the sceptre and wear the Crown of this Realm. She is a niece of his late Majesty. There stand, indeed, between her and the Crown, thirteen or fourteen persons; but how often do we see mortality, with unsparing hand, deal with whole families? A considerable portion of those, who stand between her Majesty and the Crown, exceed her in age. It is well known, that women, at her Majesty's age, live longer than men, who arrive at the same age. The reasons for this are by no means obscure. Women, from their very habits, are calculated

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when they arrive at this age, to outlive men at the same age. They require less exercise of the body; and, therefore, are exposed to less danger from being confined to the house from temporary ailments. Their spirits are more volatile; and, which is a great point, they have, *in all ailments, a hundred times more courage than men.* A woman, especially if she has been a mother, is never *killed by conceit*, which is amongst the most ruthless destroyers of men. From the dangers of excess in drinking, eating, and from many other causes to which men expose themselves, women are wholly free. And thus it is, that, when we see them in perfect health, at the age of fifty, straight, sound in voice, sane in mind, nimble on foot, light in person, fresh in colour, cheerful in countenance and bright in eye; all which we see in the person of her Majesty; when we behold all these in a woman of fifty, her life is worth more than that of the average of men at the age of thirty, and more than that of children of from one to fifteen. Add to all this, that her Majesty rises early, dines early, retires to rest early, sleeps before the clock strikes twelve at night, so rare in a person of her Majesty's rank in life. These are a security for long life, possessed by very few persons; and who shall say, then, that she is not destined to see *thirty years* yet to come; and who is there; how many persons are there who do not wish, that she may see those thirty years? At the least, is it not fairly within the compass of probability that her Majesty may be called upon to exercise the power of Regent, in case of her outliving her Royal Consort and his brothers and sisters? And, therefore, what audacity is it, in any one to speak of her Majesty in the manner in which she has been spoken of by the writer of this atrocious paragraph?

Nor is it this writer alone, who has assailed her Majesty with his venom. The Courier has been, though not equally Treasonable in his language, full as scurillous and as base, as aproof of which, take the following paragraph:

"Her Majesty has resolved to "bring her condition to a crisis; "and, rather than live *shunned* "*and despised*, to make a last "effort for fame, with the alter- "native before her of having

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"that made certain which was "surmise, and that *proved* which "was *suspected*. After all, this "is not so desperate a plunge "as has been contended; nor is "it a proof of innocence. The "Queen's state was so *deplor-"ably ignominious*, that reality "could little aggravate its na-"ture. *She was received no-"where*, visited by no person of "respectability, a wanderer "without honoured reception, "and the centre of *degraded "association*."

This is the language made use of by the very print that published, re-published, and *re-re-published* your venomous attacks upon the People, and your calling upon the Liverpool drunkards to take their side against those whom you accused of immorality, irreligion, and disloyalty! How happens it, Sir, that this print takes such a course at this moment? You are professing the best wishes for the Queen. You are professing an anxious desire that she may come white as snow out of the inquiry. You are describing and extolling her Majesty's numerous excellent qualities. You are expressing your "*ardent "affection*" for her. And just at that very time, while you are doing this, this favourite Courier, this Courier which has been the Channel of your attacks upon the people, is loading her Majesty with every species of calumny; and that, too, in language which, if used towards any of the glittering, corrupt, and degenerate crew, at the West end of the Town, would send him to beg his bread or to rot in a jail. How are we to account for this, Sir; help us to account for it, will you? If you do not, we must be left to ourselves; and the premises are too plain to make it difficult for us speedily to arrive at a just conclusion. In the two Houses, how many times have you and your colleagues earnestly besought gentlemen to keep their minds *free from prejudice!* How earnestly have you pressed upon them the necessity of anticipating nothing; of forming no opinion as to the merits of the case; of keeping their minds, with regard to the subject, *like blank sheets of paper?* But, all the while, the Courier and the Morning Post, are by no means sending forth blank sheets of paper! They are sending forth accusations the most foul and infamous, denunciations the most horrid and instigations far

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surpassing those which were made use of by the execrable spies, who produced the Cato-street assemblage; the object of which assemblage, even as it existed in the mind of Ings himself, prepared as he was, with his two haversacks and his butcher's knife, was not more Treasonable, if, indeed, it was as much Treasonable, as the act, to commit which the Morning Post contains a direct instigation: for, to conspire to compel the King to change his ministers or measures (which act is certainly included in a conspiracy to kill his ministers) is Treason by the new Treason-law only; but to compass, or imagine, the death of the Queen is High Treason, according to the law, which has existed from the days of Edward III.

Are these men, then, are the writers of these papers carrying on the work of abstaining from anticipation? Are their paragraphs calculated to prevent pre-judgment? Do they discover a disposition to give her Majesty fair play? Are we, from these paragraphs, to form an opinion of the impartiality, the candour, the justice, and the patient consideration and investigation that will exist elsewhere? Are we, from these two prints, which we know to be constantly praising the acts of the ministers, through thick and thin; are we, from the present conduct of these two prints, to conclude, that nothing foul, nothing base, nothing perfidious, nothing false, nothing horribly cruel will be attempted against her Majesty by any persons except the editors of these two prints?

Verily, Sir, this conduct on the part of these two writers has not gone far towards quieting those apprehensions which the public had already conceived. The public have been uncommonly watchful upon this occasion. The Green Bags alarmed us. We remembered the Reports and the Bills that grew out of the Bags in 1817; we remembered the melancholy fate of RILEY; and we had not forgotten your mirthful appellation of the oppressed and martyred QUEEN. Yes, Sir, the moment we heard of Green Bags against the Queen they called to our minds your *jest* upon that occasion; and the language of the Morning Post and Courier has not tended to remove the jest from our recollection; especially when we considered

that the jester was now, as well as then, amongst those who advised the production of the Green Bags. You may make what distinctions you please; you may say what you will; you may profess and protest and declare as long as you like; you may say that a secretly made charge, and a secret examination of papers is *no trial*, and that the trial, the *open trial, is to come afterwards*. You may say all this as long as you please; and, after you have said it all, the people will say that, in 1817, Green Bags were brought down; their contents were secretly investigated; a report was made upon that secret investigation; a law was passed upon that report; many men were apprehended upon the passing of that law; those men were shut up in prison for nearly a twelvemonth; many of them were totally ruined by that imprisonment; one of them, driven to madness, committed suicide while in prison; they were all told that heavy charges were made against them; and yet they were finally discharged, without ever being informed what the charge was, and without ever being told who had been their accuser; and, after all, a Bill was passed to indemnify and secure and protect all those who might have surpassed the powers even of this terrible law! This is what the People will say, and what they do say, in answer to every thing that is promised about trial, about fair trial, about open trial. To all this, the people answer, and say, "fair trial, open trial, does not "require sealed bags and secret "committees." The people say, in short, in the language of her Majesty to the Inhabitants of Southwark, that, "to the Laws "and Constitution, evidence col-"lected in the dark, charges "brought forward under seal, "selected and secret tribunals, "are wholly unknown."

The very existence of any inquiry at all, previous to trial, or without a full knowledge of the charge and evidence being made known to the party, is abhorrent from every principle of English law. In the very beginning of accusation, the charge is made known to the accused. Not only the nature of the charge, but its extent and all the particulars of it. The evidence is also made known to the accused; and the witnesses are brought and confronted with the accused; and the accused is heard in his de-

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fence, even before Courts of Justice will take cognizance of the matter, in order to bring the accused to trial. But, in this case, we gather, from the Debates in Parliament, that the inquiry, into the nature and extent of the charge, and of the evidence, is to be carried on in secret, and that a report is to be made and a mode of punishment pointed out by Bill before the Queen should have an opportunity of knowing what the charge is or who are the witnesses. Nay, since I wrote this last sentence, I find, that the secret inquiry has taken place, and that the report has actually been made!

I have now (6th July, in the morning) the *famous Report* and also the *Bill of Pains and Penalties*, both before me! And you, Sir, have been one of the Ministers all this time! You, who have such an "*ardent affection*" for her Majesty the Queen. Here is a pretty proceeding; or, rather, series of proceedings! Such, I will venture to say, as the world never before saw. But, Sir, bold as you are; or, rather, as you fain would appear to be, you will not so easily get through this affair as you did through the Green Bag affair of 1817. You will not wind up this affair with a sneer and unfeeling jest upon her Majesty, the Queen, as you did the affair of 1817, with a jest upon the afflicted and cruelly treated QUEEN.

Let us now look at the progress which has terminated with a Bill of Pains and Penalties. *First*, her Majesty, being abroad, is offered fifty thousand pounds a year to be paid her out of the taxes raised upon us, if she will consent *to remain abroad*, and, of course, to spend the fifty thousand a year amongst foreigners.—*Second*, she is threatened that she shall be persecuted, if she dare to set her foot on English ground.—*Third*, the moment her Majesty arrives in England, Green Bags, sealed up, are sent down to the House of Lords and House of Commons, and are asserted by Ministers to contain heavy charges against her Majesty, and motions are made to refer those Bags to *Secret* Committees.—*Fourth*, the Houses pause for the express purpose of giving time for negociation with the Queen; and the Ministers cordially join in assenting to the pause for this purpose.—*Fifth*, the Ministers negociate with the Queen, and offer her, upon condition that she will go abroad and live there, to give

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her the fifty thousand pounds a year; *to announce her officially as Queen of England* to any Court in the dominions of which she may chuse to fix her residence; and, to give her a Royal Yacht, or a ship of war to go abroad in.—*Sixth*, the Queen having refused to go abroad, the proceedings are resumed; the Lords' Committee meet; a report is made, and a Bill is brought in, without the Queen having been made acquainted with the nature of the charge; without her knowing any thing of the nature and extent of the evidence; without her being suffered to be confronted with the witnesses; without her being suffered to know even the names of the witnesses; without any of these things; a Bill is brought in, in consequence of a Report from a SECRET Committee, which Bill deprives her Majesty of her title as Queen, of all her rights, privileges, and prerogatives; and dissolves her marriage with the King; undoes that which the laws of God, as well as the laws of man have done!

Such has been the progress of these transactions; and now, before I proceed further, let me insert, first, the Report of the SECRET Committee, and then the Bill of Pains and Penalties.

"REPORT OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

"The Earl of HARROWBY "begged leave to lay on the "table the Report of the Se- "cret Committee, to whom the "papers connected with his "Majesty's message had been "referred, and moved that the "same be now read.

"The Clerk read the Report, "which was as follows:—

"By the Lords' Committees, ap- "pointed a Secret Committee to exa- "mine the papers laid before the "House of Lords on Tuesday the 6th "of June last, in two sealed bags, "by his Majesty's command, and to "report thereupon, as they shall see "fit, and to whom have been since re- "ferred several additional papers, in "two sealed bags, relative to the sub- "ject matter of his Majesty's most "gracious message of the 6th of June "last.—Ordered to report,

"That the Committee have examined, "with all the attention due to so im- "portant a subject, the documents "which have been laid before them, "and they find that those documents "contain allegations, supported by "the concurrent testimony of a great "number of persons in various si- "tuations of life, and residing in "different parts of Europe, which "deeply affect the honour of the "Queen, charging her Majesty with "an adulterous connexion with a fo-

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"foreigner, originally in her service in "a menial capacity; and attributing "to her Majesty a continued series of "conduct highly unbecoming her Ma"jesty's rank and station, and of the "most licentious character.

"These charges appear to the Com"mittee so deeply to affect not only "the honour of the Queen, but also "the dignity of the Crown and the mo"ral feelings and honour of the coun"try, that, in their opinion, it is in"dispensable that they should become "the subject of a solemn inquiry; "which, it appears to the Committee, "may be best effected in the course of "a legislative proceeding, the neces"sity of which they cannot but most "deeply deplore."

THE BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES.

"Whereas, in the year 1814, her "Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, "then Princess of Wales, and now "Queen Consort of this realm, being "at Milan, in Italy, engaged in her "service, in a menial situation, one "Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bar"tolomo Bergami, a foreigner of low "station, who had before served in a "similar capacity:

"And whereas, after the said Bar"tolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolo"mo Bergami, had so entered the ser"vice of her Royal Highness the said "Princess of Wales, a most unbecom"ing and disgusting intimacy com"menced between her Royal Highness "and the said Bartolomo Pergami, "otherwise Bartolomo Bergami:

"And whereas her Royal Highness "not only advanced the said Bartolo"mo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo "Bergami, to a high situation in her "Royal Highness's household, and "received him into her service, and "that in high and confidential situa"tions about her Royal Highness's "person, but bestowed upon him other "great and extraordinary marks of "favour and distinction, obtained for "him orders of knighthood and titles "of honour, and conferred upon him "a pretended order of knighthood, "which her Royal Highness had taken "upon herself to institute, without "any just or lawful authority.

"And whereas her said Royal "Highness, whilst the said Barto"lomo Pergami, otherwise Barto"lomo Bergami, was in her said "service, further unmindful of her "exalted rank and station, and of "her duty to your Majesty, and "wholly regardless of her own honour "and character, conducted herself to"wards the said Bartolomo Pergami, "otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, and "in other respects, both in public and "private, in the various places and "countries which her Royal Highness "visited, with indecent and offensive "familiarity and freedom, and car"ried on a licentious, disgraceful, "and adulterous intercourse with the "said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise "Bartolomo Bergami, which conti"nued for a long period of time dur"ing her Royal Highness's residence "abroad, by which conduct of her "said Royal Highness, great scandal "and dishonour have been brought "upon your Majesty's family and this "kingdom. Therefore, to manifest "our deep sense of such scandalous, "disgraceful, and vicious conduct on

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"the part of her said Majesty, by "which she has violated the duty she "owed to your Majesty, and has rendered herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of Queen Consort of this realm, and to evince our "just regard for the dignity of the "Crown and the honour of this nation, we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons "in Parliament assembled, do hereby "intreat your Majesty that it may be "enacted, and be it enacted by the "King's most excellent Majesty, by "and with the advice and consent of "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal "and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that her said Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, "from and after the passing of this "Act, shall be and is hereby deprived "of the title of Queen, and of all the "prerogatives, rights, privileges and "exemptions appertaining to her as "Queen Consort of this realm; and "that her said Majesty shall, from "and after the passing of this Act, for "ever be disabled and rendered incapable of using, exercising and enjoying the same, or any of them; "and, moreover, that the marriage "between his Majesty and the said "Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, be, and "the same is hereby from henceforth for ever wholly dissolved, annulled and made void, to all intents, "constructions and purposes whatsoever."

In remarking upon these documents, which will do all which seems to be left undone in order to open the eyes of those who were still blind, with regard to the nature of the System under which we live, I shall begin with the very pretty circumstance that these two documents are sent forth to the world by those who have been continually calling upon the Parliament and upon the people, *not to prejudge* the question; to keep their minds quite clear of *prejudice*; not to *anticipate* any thing; not by any means to form an *opinion* upon the merits of the case; to keep their minds, with regard to this matter clear as *sheets of blank paper!* Yet, kind Sir, you who have such an "*ardent affection*" for her Majesty, the Queen; you and your pious colleagues, you and your tender hearted and compassionate colleagues; you and your colleagues, who are so fond of fair play, and have so much tenderness for every creature; will you say that those are sheets of blank paper, upon which this Report and this Bill are printed and sent forth all over the Civilized World; and that, too, be it remembered, before you have suffered the accused party to know any thing of the nature and extent of the evidence; to be confronted with any of the witnesses; or to know even the names of any of those witnesses! These are very pretty sheets of blank paper; and as pretty an instance of fair-play it is altogether, as ever any human being set his eyes on.

These publications (for publications they are) are now to lay before the eyes of the world, without the Queen having it in

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her power to enter upon a refutation of them; and this is what I anticipated from the beginning. However, there is this advantage attending the publications having been made; that is to say, it gives us, who have the inclination to endeavour to protect her Majesty, an opportunity of remarking upon the publications themselves, and of shewing that they ought not to induce any human being to give the slightest degree of credit to any thing contained against her Majesty; that is to say, in this Report, and in the preamble to this Bill.

The enemies of the Queen (and most bitter and industrious enemies she has) and particularly the corrupt and wicked part of the press, which is at the command of those enemies; these men have said that it is not to be believed that facts, *wholly destitute of foundation*, should be boldly stated, and put upon paper. In vulgar parlance, that, there cannot be so much smoke without *some* fire. Now, then, to compare small things with great, what could be more distinctly, or more positively asserted, and what could be more generally believed, than the assertion, made first by the COURIER, in the month of June 1618, that I, WILLIAM COBBETT, *had been prosecuted by the American Government, and had been fined* 7000 *dollars*? What could be more distinctly and positively asserted and generally believed than this? Yet it was a sheer lie; a pure unmixed lie; a lie having neither peg nor loop to hang by; for I never had been and never have been prosecuted by the American Government, or by any State Government in America; and, of course, I never had and never have, been *fined*, in that country in the whole course of my life. Well, then, here was a great deal of smoke without any fire. Here were bold assertions; and those assertions were circulated throughout the whole of this kingdom, not only in newspapers, but also in *Hand-Bills* and *Placards*. I could refer to many other instances, in which falshoods as complete as this has been as boldly put forth, and as industriously circulated. The truth is, that, when CORRUPTION, when base, malignant, perfidious, hellish CORRUPTION, thinks it her interest to destroy either man or woman; when she sees either man or woman that she wishes to *get rid of*, there is no lie that her tools will not hatch; there is no lie that those tools will not boldly propagate; nor is there any lie that some of her tools are not ready to *swear to*.

Thus, then, my mind, and the public mind, with all our experience before us, are prepared to resist the belief of any thing, however *boldly asserted*, until, by indubitable evidence, it be proved to be true; and we feel this disposition with peculiar force in the case of her Majesty, the Queen. We see clearly enough what efforts have been made to get her out of the way. We are well acquainted with all the parties and all the motives; and we carry those along in our recollection, while

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we are examining the charges against her Majesty.

In the Preamble to this Bill, her Majesty is boldly charged with an *adulterous intercourse*. This is a heavy charge, and it is boldly made. But is it heavier, and is it more boldly made, than was the charge against her in 1806? She was then accused, not only of having committed adultery, but, further, with having been *pregnant*, and of having actually *born a male child*, in the year 1802. These facts of pregnancy and of child-bearing were actually *sworn to*: they were attested in the most solemn manner. They were laid before the late King. They were submitted by him, to a commission, consisting of Lord GRENVILLE, the then Prime Minister; Lord SPENCER, the then Secretary of State for the Home Department; the then Lord Chancellor, ERSKINE; and the then Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, Lord ELLENBOROUGH. And these four lords unanimously agreed, that the charges thus boldly made and positively sworn to, were *wholly destitute of foundation!*

Well, then, why are we to believe, for one single moment, the present charge of adulterous intercourse? A charge which, compared to the former one, is of a vague and uncertain character; the sort of proof, upon which it rests, must be poor and insignificant, compared with that which was offered and given on the former occasion. And, it is well worthy of remark, that there is brought forward, in company with this charge, circumstances of *complaint* intended, seemingly, to bolster up the charge; to give a colour of reason for it, or, rather, for believing it; namely, that COUNT BERGAMI, with whom the adultery is said to have been committed, has been, in a very extraordinary manner *elevated* and *promoted* by her Majesty, the Queen; and that this elevation and promotion has arisen from a criminal affection that her Majesty had for this gentleman. Now, Sir, this appears to me to be a monstrously strained and miserable ground of presumption. There were many reasons, which might actuate her Majesty in the promotion of this gentleman, not only consistent with perfect innocence, but consistent with a just regard to her own dignity even, as well as to her domestic convenience and interest. It would be a pretty principle, indeed, to establish, to look upon it that men are taken from low and placed in high situations from bad motives in those who promote them. If this principle were applied to the persons promoted by his Majesty, the King, where would the consequences of it end? There is the *Right Honourable William Huskisson*, whom you remember a *garçon apothecaire* at Paris, and who used to stand with his hat off in Mr. NEPEAN's Hall, waiting for answers to billets that he used to carry to him. There is the *Right Honourable Sir Evan Nepean* himself, who once served out slops and rum, in the capacity of a purser in the Navy. There was the *Right Honourable*

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George Rose, who was once a slop-sucker too, but who was thought worthy of being visited at his own house, by the late king and Queen. I see some persons whose wives are now giving most splendid and sumptuous entertainments, and who are visited by whole troops of the nobility; I see some persons of this description, who were not many years ago carrying orange baskets and pencil-boxes about the streets, and who have grown up out of the paper money system as toad stools arise round the trunk of an old rotten tree. I see one lady cutting a grand figure in this entertaining way, surrounded by whole bevys of Dukes and Duchesses, which lady's father-in-law once swept out a counting house, while her own father was a *prize master to an American privateer*, and, in that capacity, very lawfully plucked the bobs from some English lady's ears, and made prize of the gold watches in their pockets.

Was COUNT BERGAMI'S origin *lower* than this? If it were, if it could be, it was scarcely lower than that of the son of a *play-actress*, and of a play-actress, too, that had to resort to a pension from the public, after she left the stage. COUNT BERGAMI'S origin was scarcely lower than this; and yet, Sir, we have seen a man of this origin, not only cut a great figure, but take upon himself to speak most contemptuously of what he has been impudent enough to call the lower orders of the people.

Are we not low enough yet? Let us, then, go into his Majesty's household; and there we find, that, there was lately residing, the *Right Honourable Sir John M'Mahon*, who was not only once a "*menial*" servant; who was not only a person of "*low station*;" but who actually was a *footboy*, and doubtless, occasionally a shoe-black. Every one knows, for how long a time this gentleman was in close personal attendance upon his then Royal Highness, who is now our King. We are to suppose that the King found him worthy of his confidence; that he found him faithful to his interests; and, instead of blaming the King, for the great emoluments and high honours, which he bestowed upon Mr. M'MAHON; instead of blaming him for placing this man of lowest origin at the same Council Board with Earls and Dukes and with Royalty itself, I am to presume, that he merited the confidence of the King, and that his Majesty had not only a right to elevate him, but that he acted laudably in so doing. But, if I judge in this way of the actions of a King, what is to prevent me from judging in the same way of the actions of a Queen? Why is not her Majesty to reward faithful services by elevating the faithful person, as well as the King. Is there any thing more unseemly in her raising Mr. BERGAMI than there was in the King's raising Mr. M'MAHON? She must have somebody to confide in; and what so natural as to confide in the person who had shewn the

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most zeal and fidelity in her service; and what so just as to reward and honour that person. Ask the *present Lord Chancellor*, why a coal *merchant's* son should be the first person in the kingdom next to the Royal Family; and he will tell you that the why is to be found in his industry, diligence, legal knowledge, scrupulousness of conscience, and fidelity to his King and Country. These are very good reasons; but probably not a bit better in themselves, and not a bit more founded in truth, than the pretensions of Count BERGAMI with regard to her Majesty, the Queen. Sir WILLIAM FAWCET, who was a long time Adjutant General in this country, and a great favourite and companion of the late King, was, at first, a private soldier, and, what is more, remained a good while a private soldier; and it is very well known that Lord COLLINGWOOD was once, before the mast, though he was created a Peer, and the Title lives in his family.

Away, then, with all this nonsense about a "*menial servant*," a "*person in a low situation*." It is from this situation that all the great virtues and all the great talents have come. A very few fingers will serve for the numbering of the *great deeds* performed by high-born men. Kings would be reduced to a miserable situation, indeed, if you were to take from them the power of raising to favour and to power, men proceeding from the humble walks of life: and what, I should be glad to know, is to prevent a Queen from exercising her power in this respect, as well as a King. Besides, as to the honours and decorations bestowed upon Mr. BERGAMI, it became necessary to bestow on him those decorations when she found it proper to make him the chief officer of her household. We know very well that in Germany and Italy especially, every thing above a shop-keeper or a butler is a Chamberlain, a Count, a Knight of some Order or other; or a something in the way of title or distinction. It was, therefore, necessary for her Majesty to *Count* this gentleman, or *Marquis* him, or something. She knew better than to call him an M. P. In short, she had a right to do what she did; and as to her creating a *new Order of Knighthood*, she had a much better right to do it than most of those have who create such *Orders*; and, for my part, I think the Order of Queen Caroline not only as honourable, but much more honourable than some other ridiculous and rubbishy Orders that I could mention.

What, then, becomes of the charge, if it be even in the smallest degree to rest upon a presumption, founded on the QUEEN'S confidence in this gentleman; on his having the constant attendance upon her person, and on her having bestowed on him all the rewards and honours that she was able to bestow? As to his being a foreigner, how unreasonable to claim others than foreigners to attend her! For an Englishman

to attend her was to make himself a marked man, unless he were in a very low state of life; and then to have elevated him, would, of course, have exposed her to a charge similar to that which is now made against her. She is first marked out by the Government as a person to be shunned. It is first made a sort of crime for any of the King's subjects to follow her fortunes. And then it is to be imputed to her as a crime, because she takes foreigners into her service.—Never was there heard of in this world, persecutions so implacable as that which has pursued this amiable, this unsuspecting, this unoffending, this excellent lady! She has been pursued by a spirit of persecution of the lowest and yet the most malignant description. A nasty, envious, jealous, grudging, bitter, venomous, grovelling, hate-engendered, sole-degrading spirit, seems to have hunted her footsteps as the dark and deadly-minded polecat pursues the traces of the pheasant or the hare. It was not enough, it seems, to shut her out of courts; to exclude her from all circles of splendour; to drive her away from beyond the cheers of an affectionate people, and of the embraces of her only child: bereft of father, mother, brother, child and country, she was still, it appears, thought to be enjoying too much happiness. She was thought to be too happy in the enjoyment of that gratitude and those feelings of affection which it was well known that she would elicit from those by whom she might be surrounded in any part of the world. It was known that, as long as she had life, she would always be in the midst of grateful and affectionate beings; and this, even this, was too much for her persecutors to endure.

This is the spirit by which her Majesty has been pursued. A generous foe would have said, let her enjoy herself, let her live and be happy. She is gone. *We have advised her to go.* As long as she is absent, our duty does not call upon us to take cognizance of her doings; but, on the contrary, though there were family differences here, there are none while she is absent: let her, for the honour of the Crown, and for the honour of the nation, be treated by Foreign Courts, agreeably to the dignity of her station: this is what generous minded advisers would have recommended to the King; and especially if those advisers had been the very persons who urged her, in the strongest manner, to absent herself for a while for the sake of harmony and peace. As the thing now stands, who can help believing, that she was advised to go upon the Continent for the very purpose of effecting that which it is now the obvious intention to effect, in case of failure in that object, to compel her to remain out of the kingdom for life, and to lay her bones in some unknown spot, that even her very ashes might not have an honourable resting place?

You are, sir, however, very much deceived if you think that her Majesty is to be easily over-

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come. Her conduct, since her return to this kingdom; the circumstances under which she came; the spirit which her coming has excited; the feelings which she has awakened; all these ought to tell you and your colleagues, that you have now taken in hand, that which you will not easily accomplish. Her Majesty has *shown herself to the people*. Her gracious deportment; that dignity which does not sink itself by mixing with the greatest affability and kindness; that rare quality of being familiar without creating a disposition to contempt; that rare and excellent quality is possessed by her Majesty in the highest degree. Any vulgar thing; any stupid being can avoid exciting contempt by wrapping itself up in distance and silence, and surrounding itself with the ensigns of wealth and of power; but to talk, smile, shake hands, and still to be respected, highly and cheerfully and implicitly obeyed, is a gift which GOD has been pleased to give to but very few of his creatures. But this gift he has been pleased to give to her Majesty, the Queen.

Therefore, the railing against her Majesty, contained in the COURIER and MORNING POST, on account of her appearance amongst the people, and on account of what they call her gross familiarities, arise as much from the ignorance of these men as from their malignity. They do not perceive the difference between the character of her Majesty, and that of others who think that the best way of preserving respect is to keep out of sight. Stupid as these writers are, however, they clearly perceive the impression that has been made upon the people by her Majesty's truly gracious demeanour. There is something, even in her Majesty's *person*, which makes much in her favour. Philosophers overshot the mark, when they treat endowments of this sort with contempt. They may reason as long as they please about the superexcellence of virtue and wisdom. But, after all, virtue and wisdom in a hunch-back, or in a bloated and unwieldy carcase, will never be looked upon as so valuable as virtue and wisdom in a person like that of the Queen. A little stumpy pug-nosed thing may be perfectly virtuous, according to the common use of that word, and yet receive and even merit very little praise for that virtue. Her person is, in fact, her protection. Constant, as a Turtle Dove, we commend her constancy; but we cannot refrain from pitying her mate. Yes, Sir, philosophers may prate as long as they please; but take my word for it, there are no philosophers in England who are under seventy years of age, who do not see a great deal of merit in the elegance of the Queen's person as well as in the graciousness of her Manners; and I would advise the philosophers *in-doors* as well as "*out-of-doors*" to take this into account when they are making an estimate of the means for accomplishing the projects now on foot against the Queen.

I cannot conclude this letter

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without noticing two or three things that have *peeped out* in Parliament, without producing any effect: as daises peep out during the transient warmths of the Spring; and then roll up again at the approach of the frosty and cutting winds. Of this description was the *talk*, or *notice*, or whatever else you call it, of General FERGUSON about the Milan Commission. He asked who was to *pay* the pretty lawyer, the Honourable Agent, the learned friend, the worthy associate of the Brethren of the Bar, who opened his Court at Milan for the purpose of hearing *Sayward* depositions against her Majesty the Queen. He received no answer. He asked who *employed* the right worthy lawyer; and to whom he made his report. He received no answer, still. He said he would make a *motion*. But I have not observed that he *made* it.* His undertaking rolled up in the manner of the little daisey; but I hope that there will be yet warmth of zeal enough to force it into open bloom.

It must be confessed that this is a point that is worthy of attention. The learned gentleman would hardly act *voluntarily*. He would hardly set off and open his Court without due authority. He would hardly go in chase of the Queen as a self-hunting dog goes in pursuit of rabbits and hares. Above all, he would not forget the *payment*. He would not forget the *fee*. A Lawyer, in point of etiquette, must take care of the fee. For a Lawyer not to take his fee would be a thing that the honour of the profession would never endure. Now, as this learned personage must, first or last, come upon his oath, it will doubtless be fished out of him, how he came to go, who sent him, what were his instructions, and what was to be his pay, and out of what fund he supposed the pay was to come. It will be also worth while to ask him, who were his associates; who he had under him for agents; and especially, whether he had with him or about him any of these very worthy personages who have been employed of late years in the laudable discovery and exposure of disaffected persons at home. It will be curious enough if it should turn out that the public money had been expended; that is to say, that the people had been taxed for this hunting and dogging, and spying after the Queen. However, a short time will bring this matter to light; and if it be not fully explained, the public will know very well what opinion to form of it.

Another little thing that has peeped out in Parliament, another half-opened and soon-closed daisey; was the notice which Lord NUGENT took of the infamous Paragraph in the MORNING POST. No answer was given upon the subject by the Minis-

* Since writing the above, I perceive that General FERGUSON has made his motion; and I sincerely wish that every man in the Kingdom, whether he be a friend or an enemy of her Majesty, may read the excellent and manly speeches of General FERGUSON and Mr. CREEVEY upon this occasion.

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tors. No remark was made even by you, Sir, though so ardent an admirer of the Queen. This was very strange. The Attorney-General sat mute as a mouse. Messieurs, the Whigs, were equally silent, though, if one of their own faction had been touched, though with the point of a feather, they would have been all in a buz and all ready to sting the caitiff offender; like wasps whereon some hostile hand attempts to approach the deposit of the swarm. I have been surprised that Mr. LAMBTON has not discovered any inclination to show forth upon the present occasion; an occasion of far greater importance than his grand occasion of *moderate Reform*. It is very strange; but it is not more strange than true, that *low* in *birth* and *high* in *sentiment*, is, at this time, a much truer maxim than the reverse of it ever was, even in the days of villainage. For my part, I have long seen, and long said this; and now I think it must be evident to every man that is not totally blinded by his stupid and base adoration of aristocracy.

Another thing which has peeped out in Parliament, and which, coming from Lord HOLLAND, will not, I hope, close up again without producing effect, is, an alteration of, or addition to, the *Alien Bill*, if the Alien Bill be again passed at all. His lordship presented to the House of Lords, on the 5th of July, a Petition signed by certain inhabitants of the *City and liberties of Westminster*, relative to the *Alien Act*, which is now before the House of Commons. I will here insert what his Lordship is stated to have said; and then, I will subjoin some remarks upon the subject, which, at this time, is a very important one.

"Lord HOLLAND said, he had a petition to present relative to an act "of Parliament, which, having now "ceased, he might without scruple describe as most unconstitutional. The "petition came from persons totally "unknown to him. It had been his "intention, however, if the bill, which "he knew from the votes of the "House of Commons was in progress, "should unfortunately come before "their lordships, to have opposed it; "but he should not, until then, have "taken notice of the subject, had it not "been for the petition which he had "now to present. There were, however, points contained in this petition "to which he wished to direct their "lordships' most serious attention. "Besides stating broad constitutional "grounds against the measure, the petitioners urged particular reasons for "not passing the act at the present "moment—reasons which showed how "often it happens, that when Governments deviate from the strict line of "constitutional principle, they were "very apt to involve themselves in "embarrassment and difficulty. He "therefore trusted that their lordships "would not pass the bill at all if it "came before them; but that, if they "did proceed with it, they would take "care to introduce a clause to secure "against its operation all persons "called as witnesses on either side in "the important proceeding upon which "they were about to enter. This he "should think would be but just and "fair at any time or in any case; but "how much more so when, the proceedings in which their lordships "were about to be engaged were of "a judicial nature, and had for their "object acts alleged to have been committed abroad? The petitioners stated, that the act, if passed, would put "it in the power of his Majesty's ministers to send out of the kingdom "all foreigners who might be able to "give evidence, or whom they might "suppose to be able to give evidence, "in favour of her Majesty, and to give "protection to all who might now be

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"disposed to give evidence against her, or hereafter be brought forward for that purpose. He thought the particular objection highly important, and the constitutional ground on which the petitioners prayed that the bill might pass would surely obtain their lordships' most anxious consideration. It was necessary that all ground of suspicion of partiality should be removed. Hostile as he was to the act, he was most desirous that it should be rejected; but if it were entertained by their lordships, he thought it would not be possible for them to pass it without introducing some clause to protect the witnesses alluded to in the petition from any authority which might otherwise have the power of molesting them. The petition, which was from certain inhabitants of the liberties of Westminster, was then read, and laid on the table."

This, Sir, is what you negociating gentlemen call a *sine qua non*: that is to say, this is a thing not to be dispensed with on the part of the Queen. There was a similar Petition presented to the House of Commons; but it was presented in a very different manner from that in which this Petition was presented in the House of Lords. That Petition was presented by Mr. BENNET, whose Philanthropy is too wide in its swing; it embraces the whole generation of pick-pockets, burglars, and thieves, of all descriptions too completely; it sweeps over such multitudes of penitents, who are imprisoned for their sins, that the danger to the peace, honour, and even life of a single innocent woman, are too trifling a concern to engage that honourable gentleman's particular attention even for one single moment. Therefore, the Petition attracted no attention in the House of Commons; though it certainly had as good a claim to attention there as it now has in the House of Lords.

I beg you to observe, Sir, who are the Petitioners here, too; they are *certain individuals of the city and liberties of Westminster*, who felt an interest in the affairs of her Majesty; and this little circumstance may teach you and your colleagues to perceive, that the people have their eye upon you at this time; that they watch you; that they see what you are at; and that though the *Cerberus*, who never barks except to try to open the door to place and power; though that false *Cerberus* may sleep as to the affairs of the Queen, the people will not sleep; the industrious and public spirited people, who espouse the cause of the Queen for the sake of justice and humanity, will not sleep. This *Alien Bill*, if it pass in its usual form, will be neither more nor less than a power, put into the hands of the Ministers, to take from the Queen, or withhold from the Queen, any witnesses who are foreigners, that they may chuse so to take or withhold. A Trial, with such a power in the hands of the prosecutors, would be the most shocking insult to every form and principle of law and justice; and, if I were an adviser of her Majesty, I would never enter upon a trial; I would protest against any trial that could be begun, during the existence of this law in its present shape. Count BERGAMI, for instance, *ought to come here without delay*. I

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most earnestly exhort her Majesty to send for him. Why should he not come; and he doubtless would have been brought had not her Majesty known that he was liable to be driven back like an enemy as the Countess de MONTHELON and her child had been. Whatever her Majesty might have thought of the matter before, it is my decided opinion that no time should be lost in bringing that gentleman hither *now*, since his name has been rendered so conspicuous and connected, as it is, with the only charge on which has been founded a measure, the object of which is to strip her Majesty of all her rights, and to leave her destitute of character and even of the means of existence. Come he ought, immediately. He will be of the greatest assistance to the Queen; and, having been her faithful protector, he will have the good wishes of every good man in the country. By all means he should come; there is no one reason against it; and the reasons for it are as many and as strong, as those which brought her Majesty herself to our shores. The People have too much sense to give way to prejudices about foreigners in such a case as this; besides, are not all the families of all the Royal family furnished with foreigners? And, then, this Gentleman is an *accused party*. He ought to come to assist in defending the character of his Royal Mistress. But, if the *Alien Bill* pass in its usual form, there is, of course, no security for him. He may be seized at any moment; packed into a coach, carried to the sea side, and sent off to any spot whither the Ministers may chuse to send him; therefore, until the question be decided as to that law, he ought to disdain to set his foot on the shores of this country. If he has security, which I trust will be the case, I hope to see him here with all possible speed; for who in all this world can be so useful to the Queen as he can, in case an investigation should take place, which it must, lest the Bill be thrown aside.

And now, Sir, it only remains for me to say a word about the *Coronation*, and the part which her Majesty the Queen ought to act with regard to that ceremony. My opinion is, that she should lose no time in demanding that due preparations be made for her Coronation. She ought to pay no more attention to the Bill of Pains and Penalties than many persons pay to any charge that is brought against them in any other manner. If I am accused of any crime, the proof of the truth of which would disqualify me for being a member of Parliament, for instance, am I, as soon as the charge shows its face, to give up my seat? Oh, no! Members of Parliament do not act in this way. The charge is made against them, and roundly made, too; but though they know the charge to be true, as well as the Queen knows the

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charge against her to be false, they speak and vote and help to make laws, 'till the charge be proved. Therefore, to suppose that her Majesty will be jostled out of her place at the Coronation by the story of Count BERGAMI being hoisted up upon the tautological stilts of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, would be monstrous, indeed. Oh, no, no! the Bill must be passed before the Coronation, or her Majesty will doubtless partake in that Coronation; and, I will say more upon this occasion, I will say that I am sure the King is too just, too generous, too gallant, that his Majesty has too much regard for the feelings of the women of this Kingdom, to wish to shut out *their* Representative from her part in this splendid ceremony. What would a Coronation be without a Queen; and how would a reign begin without the exhilirating countenance, and soul-inspiring benedictions of the women!

I never can believe, till I actually see it with my own eyes, that a Coronation will ever take place without the QUEEN being crowned. Every heart wishes it. Every feeling is alive towards it. It is the *grand point*; and if you and your colleagues should unhappily take, and abide by, the resolution of shutting her Majesty out from this great, signal, royal and popular ceremonial, all that I can say is, be the consequences on your heads, and the Lord deliver his Majesty from such advisers!

I have now, Sir, indulged myself in a pretty long parley with you. If I could entertain pity for you, I should do it at this moment. As I cannot bring myself to entertain such a feeling, I must e'en conclude with begging you to accept of a hearty expression of my pleasure at perceiving that you have brought yourself into a situation which cannot be envied, by even the raggedest of those ragged Radicals, against whom your unmanly enmity has so long been unremittingly directed. It would be putting conscience to too severe a test to say that I am your humble servant; and, therefore, I say, as in the case of GEORGE ROSE, to whose level you are now come down, that, with such feelings as a man like me ought to entertain towards a man like you, I remain,

WM. COBBETT.

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DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN.

QUEEN'S *Letter to Lord* LIVERPOOL—*from Rome.*

The following is the letter written by her Majesty the Queen, on her seeing in the newspapers that her name was omitted in the Liturgy. The composition proves that it proceeded from her own feelings, and was not the result of legal advice.

"*Rome, March* 16, 1820.

"The Queen wishes to be informed, through the medium of Lord Liverpool, first Minister to the King, for what reason or motive the Queen's name is left out of the General Prayers in England, with a view to prevent all her subjects from paying her such respect as is due to her. And it is an equally great omission towards the King, that his Consort Queen should be obliged to submit to such great neglect, as if the Archbishop was in perfect ignorance of the real existence of the Queen Caroline of England. The Queen is desirous that Lord Liverpool should communicate this letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Liverpool will with difficulty believe how much the Queen was surprised at this first act of cruel tyranny towards her; since she had been informed, through the newspapers of the 22d of February, that, in the course of the debates in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh, one of his best friends, assured the Queen's Attorney-General, that the King's servants would not use towards the Queen any inattention or harshness. And after that speech of Lord Castlereagh, the Queen is surprised to find her name left out of the Liturgy, as if she no longer existed in this world. The Queen trusts, before she arrives in England, these matters will be corrected, and that she will receive a satisfactory answer from Lord Liverpool.

"CAROLINE, Queen."

QUEEN'S *Petition to the House of Lords.*

"TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

"CAROLINE, R.

"The Queen having been informed that proceedings are about to be instituted against her in the House of Lords, feels it necessary to approach your lordships as a petitioner and a fellow-subject. She is advised that, according to the forms of your Lordships' House, no other mode of communication is permitted.

"Now, as at all times, she declares her perfect readiness to meet every charge affecting her honour; and she challenges the most complete investigation of her conduct: but she protests, in the first place, against any secret inquiry: and if the House of Lords should, notwithstanding, persist in a proceeding so contrary to every principle of justice and of law, she must, in the next place, declare, that even from such an unconstitutional course she can have no

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thing to apprehend, unless it be instituted before the arrival of those witnesses whom she will summon immediately, to expose the whole of the machinations against her. She is anxious that there should now be no delay whatever in finishing the inquiry; and none shall be occasioned by her Majesty. But the Queen cannot suppose that the House of Lords will commit so crying an injustice as to authorize a secret examination of her conduct, in the absence of herself and her counsel, while her defence must obviously rest upon evidence which for some weeks cannot reach this country. The instant that it arrives she will entreat the House of Lords to proceed in any way they may think consistent with the ends of justice; but, in the mean time, and before the first step is taken, her Majesty desires to be heard by her counsel at your Lordships' bar, this day, upon the subject matter of this petition."

City of York Address and Answer.

"TO HER MAJESTY CAROLINE, QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"MADAM,

"We, the Lord Mayor and inhabitants of the City of York and its vicinity, beg leave to approach your Majesty with our serious condolence on the deaths of your illustrious Daughter and our late Sovereign, and with our congratulations and assurances of duty on your accession to the throne, and on your safe return to this kingdom. We view with sentiments of strong reprobation the conduct of ministers towards your Majesty. In their insults to you, they insult the Royal Family, at whose head, conjointly with the King, you are placed; the laws and institutions of the country, and the sacred principles of justice; whilst the noble firmness of your Majesty's demeanour, so worthy your exalted state, has attracted our warmest admiration; and your Majesty may be assured not only of the best wishes of a free and loyal people, but that, in opposition to their sense of right, no insidious machinations can prevail against you.

"May the clouds which now obscure your Majesty's peace and happiness be quickly dispelled; and may you, in a long and prosperous life, forget the calamities of your earlier years, and, as Queen of this united kingdom, enjoy the blessings and honours of your illustrious rank.

"As chairman of the meeting, and for and on behalf of the said inhabitants,

"GEO. PEACOCK, Mayor.

"*Guildhall, York, June 28.*"

"TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR AND INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF YORK.

"I thank you for your loyal congratulations on my accession to the throne, and on my return to England, as well as for your expressions of condolence on the severe losses, which, in common with the whole nation, I have sustained in the death of

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my dear and illustrious relatives. Had it pleased Providence to preserve their lives, I should not have now been exposed to the persecutions that await me, nor the country to the fatal consequences that must always follow a departure from the sacred principles of public justice. In the unequal contest against those secret advisers, who are alike the enemies of my Royal Consort and myself, I rely with confidence on the sympathy and support of every generous bosom, and feel secure that the vindication of my honour will be again complete."

Southwark Address.

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The dutiful and loyal Address of the Inhabitant Householders of the ancient Town and Borough of Southwark, in Town-Hall assembled.

"*May it please your Majesty,*

"We his Majesty's faithful subjects, the Inhabitant Householders of the ancient Town and Borough of Southwark, in Town Hall assembled, beg leave to offer to your Majesty, our most sincere and fervent congratulations on your Majesty's accession to your royal title; and on your Majesty's safe return to the Empire in which it has been ordained by Providence that your Majesty should hold so exalted a station.

"In offering these congratulations to your Majesty, it is incumbent upon us to add the expressions of our condolence on the loss your Majesty has sustained by the death of our late gracious Sovereign, your Majesty's steadfast friend, King George the Third; and still more, on the irreparable loss your Majesty has suffered by the death of your amiable and incomparable daughter, the Princess Charlotte; on whom the hopes of the country were fixed; and in whose virtues were combined the surest safeguards for the loyalty, and the liberty, of a people born to freedom; and who have never abused the blessings of freedom, when fairly and constitutionally dispensed to them.

"We would on no account offend, by intruding, unnecessarily, into the personal concerns of your Majesty. Your Majesty's interests, however, have become the interests of the public. We trust, then, we shall be excused, as well as believed, when we take the liberty of assuring your Majesty, that we have long beheld the afflictions by which your Majesty has been so peculiarly oppressed, with the most genuine emotions of sympathy and grief.

"In these feelings, common, with some few unimportant exceptions, to the great bulk of his Majesty's subjects, we have been, in some degree, consoled, by the conviction that your Majesty must have seen, and known, that the sufferings to which you have been exposed, and the indignities to which you have been doomed, have been in no way attributable to any want of affection, or dutiful consideration, towards your Majes-

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ty, on the part of the British Nation.

"But, of all the consolations which, under such circumstances, we could have received, one of the greatest has been afforded to us, by the courage, the fortitude, and the magnanimity, with which your Majesty has opposed yourself, in person, to measures which threatened, if not the destruction of your Majesty's life, the destruction, at least, of your Majesty's privileges and reputation. The extraordinary vigour of your Majesty's conduct has not only commanded the respect, the admiration, and the confidence, of every liberal and enlightened mind; but it has raised, we trust, an invincible barrier against the enemies of your Majesty's peace and honour; and has secured the transmission of your Majesty's name to futurity, unsullied by the defilements which malevolence and servility might have attempted to attach to it.

"That the advantages your Majesty has acquired by this wise and dignified course of proceeding, may not be impaired by needless, or insidious, negociations; that your Majesty's character and rights may be established on the plain and common-sense grounds, which are evidently those of your Majesty's choice: and not be frittered away by verbal subtleties, and refinements, beyond the scope of popular comprehension;—that your Majesty, by continuing to dwell among us, may not only long reign in our hearts, but be an eye-witness, and a personal partaker, of the joys, with which, (as it has been confessed even by one of the King's Ministers) your Majesty's presence is calculated to inspire us;—that your Majesty, in few words, may possess, during the remainder of your valuable life, such securities for happiness, as may, in some measure, atone for the unmerited ills of days gone by; these, may it please your Majesty, are the objects earnestly wished, and devoutly prayed for, by the millions of friends and of advocates, by whom your Majesty is at this moment surrounded; and by no part of the British community more ardently, than by the Inhabitants of that large and respectable district of the Metropolis, who now presume to lay at your Majesty's feet, this humble testimony of their fidelity, their regard, and their veneration."

Answer to the Borough of Southwark.

The following is the answer of her Majesty to the address of the borough of Southwark:—

"I cordially thank the inhabitants of the ancient town and borough of Southwark for this loyal and affectionate expression of their congratulations and condolence; for their anxious solicitude for my comfort, tranquillity, and safety; for the lively interest they feel in every thing affecting my honour and dignity; for their generous avowal; that in my cause is involved that of themselves; and of that constitution under which royalty and popular freedom, entwined, have flourished for so

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many ages, and to which constitutes evidence collected in the dark, charges brought forward under seal, selected and secret tribunals, are wholly unknown.

"The rights of a Queen of this kingdom stand upon the immutable basis of the laws; and the inhabitants of Southwark may be assured, that no proceeding, whether insidious or menacing, should induce me to abandon those rights, the maintenance of which is a duty which I owe to a people, whose attachment to me will ever remain engraven on my heart, and who can know neither joy nor sorrow in which I shall not fully participate."

City of London Address to the Queen.

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY. THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND LIVERY OF THE CITY OF LONDON, IN COMMON HALL ASSEMBLED.

"*May it please your Majesty,*

"We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, humbly approach your Majesty with our warmest congratulations upon your Majesty's safe return to this kingdom.

"We sincerely condole with your Majesty upon the loss of so many illustrious personages of your Royal House, particularly that of your Majesty's guardian and protector, our late revered Sovereign, and your amiable and beloved daughter, the Princess Charlotte, upon whom the hopes of the nation had fondly rested.

"We have beheld with grief the numerous insults and indignities which have been offered to your Majesty, both at home and abroad, and lament that any persons should be found with such unchristian feelings as to advise the omission of your Majesty's name in the solemn services of the Church.

"As we have before congratulated your Majesty upon your complete triumph over a foul conspiracy against your life and honour, we have never ceased to feel the most anxious solicitude for every thing connected with your peace and happiness, and sincerely trust your Majesty will prove equally triumphant over the renewed attempts to vilify your character.

"We have felt, in common with all his Majesty's subjects, the highest indignation at the insulting and degrading proposals which were made to your Majesty previous to your arrival in this country.

"We admire the prompt refusal of your Majesty to compromise your honour for a pecuniary consideration; nor can we forbear expressing equal admiration at the magnanimous and decisive conduct your Majesty has displayed, by your unhesitating confidence in the loyalty and honour of the British nation, as well as the courage you have evinced in boldly meeting your accusers, protesting against all secret investigations, and demanding an open and constitutional tribunal.

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"We felt disgust at the proposal made to your Majesty to become an exile from this land, which might afford your Majesty's enemies fresh opportunity for the calumnies which probably they never would have dared to attempt, if your Majesty had remained in England.

"We sincerely hope that your Majesty will be established in the full possession of all your just rights, and reside amongst a people zealously attached to the House of Brunswick, and who feel deeply interested in every thing connected with the honour of that House, and with the welfare and happiness of your Majesty."

QUEEN'S *Answer to the City of London Address.*

Her Majesty then read herself the following answer.

"It is with peculiar satisfaction and with most cordial thanks, that I receive this loyal and affectionate Address from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Livery of the city of London, whose manly support of my cause, upon a former occasion, has never ceased to live in my grateful remembrance.

"No words can give utterance to the agonies of my heart, occasioned by those losses, on which you offer me your kind condolence, and which admit of no reparation on this side the grave; but, in the many and deep sorrows and afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived unspeakable consolation from the zealous and constant attachment of this warm-hearted, just and generous people, to live at home with, and to cherish whom, will be the chief happiness of the remainder of my days.

"The indignation, which a long series of persecutions, plots and conspiracies, carried on against my peace, honour, and life, is so well calculated to excite, it shall be my endeavour to suppress; and while I steadily pursue the means necessary to the full possession of all my rights, privileges and dignities, I would fain bury past injuries and insults in total oblivion.

"Conscious of my innocence, disdaining the threats intended to awe me, knowing that it was to Britain I was coming, it required no extraordinary degree of courage to place me in the face of my accusers. To have acted upon this, or upon any other occasion, a pusillanimous part, would ill become a daughter of the House of Brunswick and the Queen of a nation famed for its valour in all ages, and whose gallant sailors and soldiers have so recently been crowned with laurels in every part of the globe."

The QUEEN'S *(or, rather,* MR. BROUGHAM'S) *Answer to the Preston Address.*

On Saturday, at one o'clock, Mr. Brougham had an audience of her Majesty, to present an Address from the inhabitants of Preston. Her Majesty returned the following answer:—"I thank the good people of Preston for this mark of their regard. The object of my com-

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ing home, has been the vindication of my honour; and, I shall perform the sacred duty, which I owe alike to the country and to myself, without making myself a party to the political divisions that at present exist. But I never can forget the gratitude I owe to the English nation, or cease to feel the liveliest interest in its prosperity."

Nottingham Address and Answer.

The following is the Address from the inhabitants of Nottingham, and the answer to it:—

"THE HUMBLE AND DUTIFUL ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF NOTTINGHAM AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD, TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN CAROLINE, OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND."

"*May it please your most gracious Majesty,*

"That, ever sensible of your Majesty's virtues, we, the inhabitants of this ancient town and neighbourhood, most humbly presume to offer, as a testimony of love and attachment to your most sacred person, our unfeigned congratulations, and to hail your return to those realms over which the all-wise Disposer of events has been pleased to call you and your Royal Consort to reign in justice, mercy, and love. We have long sympathized in your exile and woes, and we should be proud to draw the veil over those calamities, insults, and persecutions, you have sustained for a series of years, could we behold in your Royal Consort disgust turned into streams of love and unity. The nation might then anticipate an end to its wrongs; England might hope for better and happier days; but cloudy, obscure, and portentous as these our times appear, we regard your return to the shores of Albion as the omen of a brighter day, when your benevolent hand may be stretched forth to succour and to aid a drooping, insulted, and injured people. Our attachment to your illustrious house, our veneration for the constitution, the just principles of our forefathers, remain firm and unshaken; and we shall never bend the knee to an oppressive administration, who have deceived both the King and the people, and deluged this our happy land in misery and woe; whose deeds every honest man, boasting the name of Briton, has reason to deplore. We lament to say, that the most bitter cup of life has been filled during your absence, and thousands been made to drink deep of its deadly potion;—in this land, too, boasting of freedom and professing Christianity; (where the trial by jury is supposed to be, as it were, the keystone to the arch of purity, and, according to that best of principles, the accused is deemed innocent until found guilty;) where Industry once reared her honest front; where Independence smiled, and sorrow was unknown! But, now, alas! pale misery, want, and disease, infest the poor man's dwelling, and whose cheek glows no more with the bloom of health. The nation mourns, not only on account of your persecutions, but

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the manifold grievances under which it labours from a cruel misrule; but we had reason to hope that mourning might have been turned into joy had you not been cruelly exiled from the bosom of your Royal Consort and the smiling congratulations of your people, who now hail with heartfelt satisfaction the arrival of their Queen, whose right it is, no doubt, to wear the crown and bear a sceptre; which may your most gracious Majesty do until it may please the Almighty to call you to another and a better world—there to inherit a crown of eternal glory in the bosom of thy God."

QUEEN'S *Answer*.

"I receive with cordial gratitude the affectionate sentiments expressed in this address.

"Sincerely as I must ever deplore the distresses that may fall on any of my fellow-subjects, I must decline to speculate on their probable causes, or to cast reproaches on their supposed authors. Having come to this country for my own vindication, I cannot mix political animosities with my just cause.

"My fervent prayers will be constantly offered to the Throne of Mercy for the happiness and prosperity of the whole English people; and there is no portion of them for whom I feel a livelier interest than the inhabitants of the ancient town and neighbourhood of Nottingham."

The petition was signed by upwards of 7,000 persons.

Westminster Address to the Queen—July 4, 1820.

"*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"THE DUTIFUL ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANT HOUSEHOLDERS OF THE CITY AND LIBERTY OF WESTMINSTER, IN PUBLIC MEETING LEGALLY ASSEMBLED, THIS 4TH DAY OF JULY, 1820.

"We, his Majesty's subjects, the inhabitant householders of the city and liberty of Westminster, beg leave to offer your Majesty our heartfelt congratulations on your Majesty's safe return to your and our country. We have never ceased to feel regret for the unrelenting persecutions and indignities your Majesty experienced, while Princess of Wales, from some of the highest authorities in this country, especially at the time when your most amiable, dutiful, and affectionate daughter, whose loss must be long and equally deplored by your Majesty and by all the loyal people of this realm, stood most in need of the consolatory attentions of a revered parent.

"We come before your Majesty with no servility, and will not offend your Majesty with unmeaning words of adulation, as unbecoming a Queen of England to hear as of Englishmen to utter; but we come before your Majesty with a sincerity in which we will give place to none.

"We assure your Majesty that in all our public proceedings we have constantly maintained the just prerogative of the crown, and the rights and liberties of the people. We have always

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supported the three estates which compose our free form of government, anxiously desirous that each should preserve its powers without encroaching on either of the others: and in this our undeviating course of pure loyalty we have been steadily opposed to the domination of an Oligarchy, which, although it is neither of those estates, endeavours to usurp the powers of the whole; to trample upon the rights of the people; to destroy all real responsibility of ministers: and has at length not only dared publicly to insult your Majesty, but to propose a measure, as truly as magnanimously declared by your Majesty to be 'unknown to the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice.'

"We heard with indignation, but without surprise, of intentions being entertained to condemn and to outlaw your Majesty, by a process which, if once adopted, might hereafter be used as a precedent for placing the life of every person in the realm, from the highest to the lowest, at the mercy of a few individuals; to the utter subversion of the just prerogatives of the crown, and the fundamental liberties of the people.

"We are well assured that, in expressing our unfeigned detestation at the treatment your Majesty has received, as well as of the further proceedings professedly intended to be taken against your Majesty, we not only express the sentiments of the whole Commons of these realms, but that in our most earnest wish, thus publicly expressed, that your Majesty may triumph over all your enemies, and long reside amongst us, 'the grace, the life, and ornament of society,' we shall be joined by our fellow-subjects from one extremity of the nation to the other."

NEWS FROM THE HORSE-GUARDS.

The following curious document I shall insert without comment. It has made me laugh most heartily, and I am very willing that my readers should laugh, as well as myself.

The following General Order has been issued by his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, relative to the late occurrences in the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment of Guards:—

GENERAL ORDER.

Horse Guards, 24th June, 1820.

It had been the intention of the Commander-in-Chief to await the issue of an investigation into the circumstances attending the recent occurrences in the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment of Guards, before his Royal Highness should circulate to the army any observations which the nature of these occurrences, and his sense of duty to the service, might suggest; but the *exaggerated rumours which have agitated the public mind* upon this occasion being calculated to weaken the confidence which the army and the nation in general have ever reposed in the British Guards, his Royal Highness feels it incumbent upon him to take this method of declaring, *that the King*

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places the most firm reliance upon the loyal attachment, good order and discipline, which have always distinguished and rendered the different corps of his Majesty's Guards an object of just pride and boast to the country; and that his Majesty could never permit himself to believe, that a casual departure from the principles of discipline in any one battalion, *the instigators* of which will be *reprobated* and *punished* as they may be found to deserve, could afford any just grounds for entertaining a suspicion calculated to sully the reputation earned, in the face of the world, by the gallant services of all the regiments composing this distinguished body of troops.

Highly, therefore, as the Commander-in-Chief must reprobate any dereliction of the strict principles of subordination, which some *discontented and evil-disposed* individuals may have originated in the 1st battalion of the 3d Guards, it is still a satisfaction to reflect (and it is with pride his Royal Highness indulges the feeling) that the disposition of the other regiments of Guards remains firm in a becoming sense of what is due to discipline and authority; and that they are incapable of bartering their high character for a participation in discontents which were equally frivolous as they were groundless.

This order to be read at the head of every regiment and corps in the army, and entered in the orderly-books.

By command of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief,

HENRY TORRENS,
Adjutant-General

N. B. In order to counteract the atrocious endeavours of the *Morning Post* and *Courier*; and in order to explain clearly the mode which has been pursued in bringing charges against her Majesty, under the form of a *Bill of Pains and Penalties*; two PLACARDS have been printed and stuck up. And, what will Englishmen say, when they are told, that there are strong, ill-looking fellows, stationed all over the town, to *pull these Placards down*; and to threaten and frighten the persons employed to paste them up! This species of violence, monstrous as it is, cannot be resisted by the friends of the Queen! But, in order to defeat its object, notice is hereby given, that any persons who may wish to put such Placards *in their windows*, may be supplied with them, *cost-free*, at No. 269, Strand; where may also be had SMALL BILLS for circulation *by hand*.—Gentlemen going to any part of *the country* may be supplied in the same way, at the same place. Any Gentleman (*known to, or having an introduction to the Publisher*) who will write (postage paid) for Placards, or Hand-Bills, will have them sent to him immediately, *free of all expense*. Such Gentlemen will please to point out the particular way, in which they wish the parcels to be sent. —Any Gentleman, living in town, will be thanked for pointing out how Placards and small Bills may be judiciously distributed in the country.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 36.—No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDAY, July 15, 1820. [Price, 6d.

"Her Majesty has resolved to bring her condi-
"tion to a crisis; and, rather than live *shunned and*
"*despised*, to make a last effort for fame, with the
"alternative before her of having that made certain
"which was surmise, and that *proved* which was
"*suspected*. After all, this is not so desperate a
"plunge as has been contended; nor is it a proof
"of innocence. The Queen's state was so *deplora-*
"*bly ignominious*, that reality could little aggra-
"vate its nature. *She was received no where*, visit-
"ed by no person of respectability, a wanderer
"without honoured reception, and the centre of *de-*
"*graded association*. . . . . England ought not
"to be involved in misery from an ALIEN and
"UNWORTHY OBJECT; we mean for a cause
"not essential to our National Interest, and not of
"sufficient importance to call for a domestic divi-
"sion upon it, to the ruin of our happiness and
"repose; and as *the Queen alone stands in the way*
"of arrangement, we say she ought to yield to the
"Universal Good, *we care not* whether as a MAR-
"TYR or a CRIMINAL!"—*Morning Post.*

TO THE

LORD CHANCELLOR.

On the Public Feeling with regard to the Proceedings against her Majesty, the Queen; and on the probable consequences of this struggle.

London, July 12, 1820.

MY LORD,

Amongst all the persons, to whom I have addressed myself at various times, your Lordship has not until now found a place. But, the report of a speech of your lordship, in the House of Lords, on the 10th inst. calls upon me to address myself, at last, to you. In that speech your lordship is made to use the following words relating to the case of her Majesty, the Queen. "I look at this case with a feel-
"ing of the most perfect impar-
"tiality, and I wish *to God* that
"it was attended to with the

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"same calmness in this House "and out of it. In this House "I am persuaded it will be so "regarded; but out of this "House it is quite *shocking* to "mark the feeling that exists."

Now, my Lord, when we call upon the name of God we ought to be very seriously impressed with the truth of the assertions that we are making, as well as with the importance of the matter to which those assertions refer. I am not disposed to call the sincerity of your Lordship in question. I shall leave the public to form their opinion with regard to that. But, as your Lordship appeared *shocked* at the feeling, which, with regard to this case, existed out of the house, I shall take the liberty to offer you some remarks upon the subject of that feeling, and to tell you why I think it a feeling, natural, laudable, and singularly honourable to the nation.

But, first of all, it is not a little surprising, that a feeling in favour of a Royal personage; in favour of the King's wife, should be looked upon by you as *shocking*. It would be easy enough to account for your displeasure if you saw the people agitated as they now are from one end of the Kingdom to the other, in some question involving a desire, on the part of the agitators, to diminish the power or prerogatives of the crown; but it does appear extremely strange that your Lordship should be shocked at the universal prevalence of a desire to prevent the degradation of the crown in the person of the consort of the King.

It is notorious, that with the exception of persons in a state of immediate dependence on the Ministry, and persons having a deep interest in the perpetuation of ill-gotten and worse exercised influence; it is notorious that, with these exceptions, this whole nation is most deeply and ardently possessed with a desire that her Majesty, the Queen, should trimuph over all her enemies; should see an end to her unmerited sufferings; and should enjoy all her rights and privileges in peace and security. This desire is most honourable to the nation; it wipes out many a stain on it's character, imprinted by those whose acts it has not been able to controul. It will, in the eyes of posterity, atone for a multitude of transgressions, which have been committed in the name of the nation.

The people do not trouble themselves with the subtleties of the *law*, they do not embarrass the question by a reference to technical niceties. They keep their eye steadily fixed on what justice demands. And what do they behold? They behold a bill of *pains and penalties*, as it is called, brought in by the prime minister to dissolve the marriage of the Queen; to strip her of all her rights, privileges, and immunities; to degrade her for ever; and stating as the ground of this sentence, that she is a licentious woman and an adulteress! And this they see done before any trial has taken place; before her Majesty has been made acquainted with the nature of the charge against her; before she has been made acquainted with the names of

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the witnesses; and before the smallest opportunity has been given her of tendering any thing in order to rebut so foul and shocking an accusation.

This is something so contrary to all our ideas of justice, that the existence of this Bill alone in the absence of all possibility of defence, would be quite enough to rouse every heart that beats in the bosom of the people of this country. But, what must their feelings be, when, with this bill before their eyes, they know, that the same ministry who have brought in this bill, have, with a full knowledge of all the facts on which the Bill is founded, tendered to her Majesty *fifty thousand pounds a-year*, a yacht, or ship of war, to convey her out of the country, and an official introduction of her as Queen of England at some Foreign Court! What must the people think of those who would have suffered her to remain legally possessed of all her rights, privileges, and immunities as Queen, though they knew her to be a profligate and licentious woman, and an adulteress!

The Bill not only prefers an accusation of the foulest kind against her Majesty, but it marks out what is to be the sentence. That sentence is infinitely worse than a sentence of death against her Majesty; and yet, if she would have compounded, if she would have suffered herself to be driven from this land, she might not only have escaped that sentence, but might have enjoyed the title of Queen and an income suitable to that title. The people see this clearly. The people see that she might have escaped all by quitting the country. The people see that the Bill has been brought in only because she would not quit the country; and seeing this, is it any wonder, my lord, that they should feel the strongest desire to see her Majesty protected, and that they should, at the same time, entertain towards her accusers, feelings which appear shocking to those accusers?

The people have seen her accusers, that is to say, the Ministers, carry, with their usual majority, a proposition in the House of Commons, the object of which was to induce her Majesty to accept of conditions, the basis of which was, *her Majesty's residing abroad*. That proposition was carried to her Majesty by men appointed by that same majority. The people see these men kneel and kiss her Majesty's hand. And the people now see that these same ministers, who carried that resolution by their usual majority, which sent this hand-kissing deputation to her Majesty: the people now see these same ministers bringing in a Bill, by the means of which it is proclaimed to the whole world, that that very same person, before whom this deputation kneeled, and whose hand they kissed, is not only an impure woman, but a profligate, abandoned, and prostituted adulteress!

Is it wonderful, my lord, that the people's feelings are strong upon such an occasion? Would not the character of the nation be blasted for ever if it were to

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confine its feelings in such a case within ordinary bounds? Must the people not be the most foolish or the most base wretches that ever disgraced the human form, if they did not strongly feel and loudly remonstrate upon such an occasion?

The nation has grown old in the entertaining of certain principles with regard to the administration of justice. Next to feelings of common humanity are those of a desire that every accused person should have fair play. The people recollected the *former* treatment of her Majesty. They recollected the hopes they had indulged of seeing her enjoy numerous years of conjugal happiness. They recollected how soon, and from what cause, those hopes had been blasted. They recollected the transactions of 1806, when a *secret* tribunal was held to examine into her conduct. They recollected that it had been positively sworn to that she had been *pregnant;* that she had been *delivered of a son;* that she had *given him suck;* and that she still had with her *that identical son.* The people recollected that *all this* was, even upon evidence taken before a *secret* tribunal, proved to be *wholly false.* They recollected, that this charge was made by persons, who, in the first instance, gave information to the Prince; that he laid their declarations before the tribunal; and that never, from first to last, was the accused person permitted to be heard by that tribunal. And, the people recollected, moreover, that those who advised and organized that tribunal, *forgot* (until after the evidence had been taken), that, though this tribunal could administer oaths, persons who swore falsely before it *could not be legally punished as perjurers!* The people recollected all these things; and, recollecting them, they could not help suspecting that what her Majesty now had to encounter, was not the fairest play that ever was heard of in the world.

We had had our eye upon the whole of the proceedings. We had seen that, in the proposition made to Mr. Brougham in April; in the proposition and threat at St. Omers; in the protocol negociation, and which word, protocol, by the bye, was such as to make the mass of the people believe, that even it meant mischief; in the curious proceeding, the resolving, hand-kissing, and coaxing proceeding of the honourable House: in all these we had seen that the main object was to induce her Majesty to live out of this country. We clearly saw that, if she *would but live abroad*, every thing else would have been given unto her. During all the time that this hand-kissing affair was going on, we heard of nothing more than "*family differences.*" The tone of accusation was dropt. No more was said about *crimes* committed by her Majesty. There were merely family differences; and a very respectful language was adopted with regard to the Queen. Family differences happen so often, and amongst very good people too, my lord;

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amongst very godly people that are always talking about their consciences; these differences are such common things that the parties are scarcely ever blamed, much less thought to be criminal. And, therefore, after this talk had been going on for above a fortnight, after her Majesty had received the hand-kissing deputation, after the Royal Yacht, or the Ship of War, had been so *kindly* offered to her Majesty, the people thought, of course, that the fillers of the Green Bags had relented, had found themselves in error, and were disposed to go no further in the way of accusation. But, no sooner had the Queen committed the offence of not following the advice of the House of Commons; no sooner had she determined not to yield to their resolution, as if it were a law; no sooner was it discovered, in short, that she would not quit the country, than it was resolved to open the Green Bags, to reassume the tone of bitter accusation, and to bring out and promulgate to the world that she was a licentious and prostituted woman.

The very day, the very morning after her MAJESTY refused obedience to the wish of the House of Commons, she was assailed by the corrupt part of the press; by corruption's own press; by that vilest of all engines that the world ever knew; she was assailed with the bitterest reproaches; with the most audacious calumnies that hatred and malice could invent, and that baseness and cowardice could execute. The Morning Post of that day ought to be republished, and circulated all over this kingdom. I have done as much as I have been able hitherto in this way. I take an extract from that superlatively infamous publication, and place it at the head of this present Register. Have you, my lord, or any of your colleagues, expressed your abhorrence of this publication? Have you been "*shocked*" at this? Here, indeed, was something to shock an impartial, a just, a *really conscientious* man. If I had heard your lordship express your horror at this, I should have felt very differently from the manner that I and the public now feel. The atrocious publication was mentioned in the House of Commons; but no minister thought proper to express his disapprobation of it. This has been well observed, I assure you, by the people; and from this conclusions have been drawn which were natural and just, and an impression has been made by it on the minds of the people, which a thousand times and ten thousand times *calling of God to witness*, will never be able to remove.

After this there was, in fact, no *doubt* left in the mind of any rational man. When it was seen that the Morning Post, after having reproached the QUEEN for not consenting to *go and live out of the country*; after having represented her as a person shunned and despised, deplorably ignominious, the centre of degraded association; when the Morning Post, after having used language like this,

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concluded with saying, that "she ought to yield to the uni-"versal good, we care not whe-"ther as a *martyr* or a *crimi-"nal*;" after this, and after the Ministers had kept silence in the House of Commons when the atrocious paragraph was pointed out to them: after these things, if the people had remained passive; if their bosoms had not glowed with resentment; if they had not sworn to lose their lives to the last man rather than see her made a *martyr of*, they themselves would have deserved the heaviest punishments that God in his wrath can pour out upon a people. Not to feel indignant; not to feel enraged at the publication of a sentiment like this, would have argued the nation to be the meanest, the most unmanly, the most cowardly, that ever existed in the world.

"Blest Isle! with matchless beauties crown'd,
"And manly hearts to guard the fair."

This boast, in a very celebrated English song, is by no means an exaggeration; but, if we were not to resent the conduct of such men as the Editor of this Morning Post, we should very little deserve the character which we here give of ourselves. When such attacks as this could be made upon the QUEEN, it surely became necessary to rebut them; and in what way was this effectually to be done, except by those *cheap publications* that every one could get at? Now, however, a hue and cry is set up by the real enemies, and the sham friends of the QUEEN, against the PLACARDS, which have been printed and circulated in the way of commentary upon this brutal attack on her MAJESTY. These have been called atrocious, inflammatory, infamous; and the Lord Mayor, who could suffer the Morning Post to circulate in the city, is reported to have ordered one of these Placards to be taken from the walls. His lordship may have his reasons for this conduct; but it would be hard to discover any good reason. However, the Courier has made an attack in form, and so has this same Morning Post, against this issuing of Placards. It is very *atrocious*, indeed; extremely atrocious, for any one who has the means of doing it, to endeavour to excite the public indignation against those who inculcate the propriety of making the QUEEN a martyr! This is a very atrocious act, indeed. Another wicked act is the having described in the same manner the course of proceeding adopted against the QUEEN; the having placed before the public the Bill of Pains and Penalties in its true light. To do this is a *shocking* offence. To counteract, and especially to counteract with effect, the endeavours to blacken, to prejudge, and to destroy her Majesty, is a monstrously wicked thing!

As to the origin of the Placards, it has been founded in honesty, ability, and *disinterestedness* as perfect as ever existed in the breast of man. The Times newspaper, which has

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laboured with so much effect in her Majesty's cause, has in this case, lent it's hand to the enemy, and on the 13th inst. has published a communication, which I am very *nearly sure* is the work of a base and baffled lawyer, calumniating me, the *supposed* author of the Placards, and aiming a blow at the publisher of them. This communication is *all falsehood* except as far as relates to the mere act of publication; and certainly it is as base and malignant, and as brutal and as cowardly, as any thing that ever came from the lips of the lawyer or the press of Walter; and that is saying as much for it as language can say.

To charge me with having espoused the cause of her Majesty for the sake of *gain*, and especially for the sake of gain from the cause assigned, is stupid as well as wicked. Just as if the cause of the Queen was a new cause with me! I never had any communication with her Majesty. Never any message from her directly or indirectly. Never directly or indirectly received any of her money, nor of the money of any one appertaining to her Majesty. But, if I would have written against her Majesty, I have a little more than bare surmise to induce me to believe, that I might at this day have been in a state to have had the base lawyer and the still if possible baser Walter, the selfish, greedy, sneaking, cowardly Walter, crawling at my feet. For, be it known to these wretchedly degraded men, that in 1812, a *thousand pounds were offered me*, not, to write *against* the Queen, then Princess of Wales, but *to write no more on the side of her Royal Highness*; and to this fact I am ready to swear if produced as a witness at the Bar of the House of Lords. When I will name the person who made the offer, who was a clergyman of the church of England.

I rejected the offer, though I was then in a prison; and is it likely that I should now for no possible benefit to myself barter away my independence and my honour? However, my lord, it is easy to perceive the origin, the real grounds, of this calumnious imputation; and also to perceive it's object. It was very manifest to me, for it was also manifest to the public, that there existed an intention of sacrificing her Majesty to views of selfish ambition. I need not tell your lordship whom I suppose to have entertained such views, nor need I tell you what savage revenge must exist in the breast of him who had entertained them; what savage revenge against the person, to whom the public gave a part of the credit of having exposed, baffled and destroyed those views. To this savage revenge I ascribe the false and malicious communication above alluded to. Revenge like that of the negro, who, when seeing himself thwarted in consummating his vicious desires, cut the throat of the object of those desires.

But, I am not to be turned aside from my duty; I am not to be silenced or checked; I

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am not to be made desist for one single moment by any attempts of this sort. I shall pursue the path in which I am. I shall openly, publicly, and with all the means in my power, espouse the cause of the injured and oppressed. I see in this attack upon myself one of those tricks, which corrupt men always have ready at hand wherewith to effect their purposes, and to these tricks I very plainly alluded, or rather, I very fully described them, in my second letter to Mr. Alderman Wood; where I observed that the conspirators against a victim, when they perceive talent drawn forth on his side, set themselves to work to blacken the talent; as the wolves, before they attacked the sheep, first set themselves to work to draw off the dogs. No such attempt at blackening will, however, have any effect upon me. I shall steadily persevere, wholly regardless of every thing but the object of my labours; that is to say, giving the victory to innocence and truth; and seeking no reward but that of my own conscience and the preservation of my own character in the world.

In pursuance of this object I shall continue to protest against any compromise on the part of her Majesty; against the giving up of any particle of her rights; against her listening to any proposition not consistent with her character as Queen. I shall protest against her Majesty's yielding the point of the Coronation, of the Liturgy, of the keeping a court, of the living in a palace; and as to her going out of the country, if she were to do that, never would there drop from my pen one single word with regard to her case, except for the purpose of causing her pecuniary allowance to be taken from her. This, too, is the language made use of at the Common Hall by her honest and *able* adviser Mr. Alderman Wood, who, with all the gibes cast at him in the honourable House, has proved himself to be a man truly worthy of the trust that has been reposed in him by the Queen, and which, indeed, the public had conferred on him beforehand.

Having touched upon this subject, I cannot refrain from making a remark, which seems not to have been made by those who have taunted the Alderman with *officiousness* upon this occasion. It seems, indeed, to be no very amiable thing to reproach a man for having done a meritorious act, and to reproach him the more merely because the act was voluntary and disinterested. But, though the act was perfectly disinterested in this case, it was not altogether voluntary; for, when his present Majesty was proclaimed in the City, the people there, as was noticed in the public prints at the time, called upon Mr. Alderman Wood, even at the moment of the proclamation, to promise to *protect the Queen*. The call was made in the most earnest manner. It seemed to be a matter much nearer the hearts of the people than the ceremony which was then performing. The Alderman answered their call by promising

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that he would protect the Queen to the utmost of his power; and that promise he has faithfully kept; he has performed his duty with zeal, fidelity, and ability; and the proof that he has done so is, that he has excited the bitter enmity of her Majesty's enemies, secret as well as open. He has not, which I certainly should have done, attacked any of those enemies. He has not thought it worth his while, probably, to enter the lists with those who so well managed the matter as to defeat themselves; but still this was a species of forbearance which I could not have exercised. Still, however, the end being answered, the enemies of her Majesty being defeated, it signifies little whether it have been done by speech or by silence.

And, now, my Lord, let us come to matters much more interesting than those on which I have already touched; namely, the *consequences* which are likely to result from these unparalleled proceedings. You must have learnt by this time, that there is, in fact, no division as to the sentiment existing in the nation with regard to her Majesty; for unwilling as some persons may have been to believe this fact, the *postponement of the Coronation* speaks the truth in a manner not to be misunderstood by any human being. The reasons given for that postponement are really no reasons at all. Lord Castlereagh tells us that the postponement is in no wise connected with the question as to her Majesty, the Queen. Now, to believe this would require a great deal more faith than is required to make men believe that the moon is made of green cheese, which has hitherto been thought to be the utmost stretch of human credulity. In short, nobody does believe it, and what is more, the assertion has confirmed the public in a belief of precisely the contrary.

Well, then, what can have been the real reason of the postponement of this Coronation? Are we to believe that it has been postponed in the hope that her Majesty, after having been acquitted, may be crowned with the King? I should be very glad to believe this; but I cannot, because Lord Castlereagh also tells us (if we can understand what he says,) that no circumstance can arise to make any alteration in the intentions before entertained with regard to her Majesty's exclusion from that splendid and solemn ceremony. What, then, can have occasioned this postponement? Only three nights before the postponement was announced by the Ministers, those same Ministers contended, and in long speeches, too, that the Coronation *could not be postponed*. They contended, that it was *absolutely necessary* to have the Coronation, notwithstanding the Green Bags had then actually been opened. They stated divers weighty arguments to prove this necessity; and, they concluded at last, that to postpone it, must, of necessity, produce infinite mischief. What, then, again I ask, could have produced this postponement?

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it may be impertinent to ask this question, but, the temptation is too strong to be resisted.

Come, come, my Lord! *You* know the reason for postponing the Coronation; and what is more, you know, that *I know it too!* You know that the reason gives me pleasure; and you know, moreover, that I know it has given you many a restless and sleepless hour! You know that I have often told you and your colleagues, that you ought not to bring things to this pass; and you now know that I know that you know that I know precisely the pass to which things have been brought, and precisely the situation in which you now stand: and being thus knowing we will, if your Lordship please, veer away from this point a little, lest we should get into troubled waters. Has your Lordship ever been to sea, or steering about the mouths of great rivers or rocky beaches? If you have, you must have observed what a sharp look-out the old sailors keep for the breakers! That which appears to be nothing but a little froth to a fresh water gentleman, fixes the attention of the old sailor; and he begins to cry out, "luff, luff! I say!" while all the rest are laughing; not perceiving the most distant danger. Taught "by experience," as the Doctor said, in 1817, I luff, and bear away here [illegible]

Say, my Lord, as you do well know the reasons, or rather the reason, for postponing the Coronation to some time after the first of August, may I venture to ask you the reason for your believing, that the same reason for postponement will not continue to exist for a *long while!* I am no believer in Mother Shipton nor in Old Moore; but, I am really anxious to know, what reason there is for supposing that the reason, which now prevents the Coronation, may not prevent it at a future time. I am no lawyer, and if it were possible, still less of a conjuror, but, being able to put two and two together, and to ascertain that they make four; being able to arrive at this conclusion, with mathematical certainty, I have applied my mathematics to the question just stated; and, twist them and turn them how I will; whether I add, subtract, multiply, or divide; whether I work by the rule of three, or by extraction of the square root; whether I proceed by vulgars or by decimals, I am wholly unable to discover any reason for believing that the same reason which exists against having the Coronation now will not exist at any future period; unless, your Lordship will be pleased to observe; *unless, I say, her Majesty the Queen participate in the Coronation.* And, I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion, as well as my hope, that it never will take place without such participation.

Yet, this sudden stoppage is *something!* There stands a proclamation ordering and commanding the Coronation. Is this proclamation to be disobeyed, or is it to be revoked by another proclamation? The Court of Claims has assembled and made it's decision. Is the

Lord Mayor to lose his fee and be disappointed, probably of a Baronetcy, or some other reward of his exemplary loyalty? Are the whiskers of the Champion of England, which have been growing away for these six weeks past, to descend again to a mere barrister's beard? Are all the splendid robes, and new gilded Coronets to be laid aside? There stands the proclamation. There stand, not indeed those trees which *shaded* (as they say in the honourable House) that Westminster Abbey Church, which is, at least, thirty feet higher than the trees themselves ever were, and for the cutting down of which trees; for which rabbinic act of spoliation, threats have been uttered against the Dean and Chapter, from which nothing but a double portion of penitence seems calculated to save them. There stand, not the trees; but there stand some as pretty wooden buildings; and pitheatrical lodges, and other temporary constructions, as ever formed the subject of a May morning's merriment. There they stand; and if they stand there, till the King be crowned without the Queen, I very much suspect, that, if laughter will make the world fat, we must soon add width and strength to our carriages, chairs, and beds; for nothing but a total absence of the breath necessary to existence will prevent us from being the most corpulent people that ever waddled about upon the face of the earth. We need trouble ourselves no more about food for the body. Here's food for the nation in abundance greater than it ever before enjoyed.

Of all the laughers, however, her Majesty the Queen will surely be the greatest; though, I should be extremely sorry if it were to change her present elegant form into that of a great, bloated, unwieldy, lethargic, puddeny, lump, inconvenient to itself, and disgusting and loathsome to all its beholders. I should think that Old Louis, the beloved and desired, will scarcely be able to hold his sides. Ferdinand, whose soldiers have taught him moderation, will laugh to think that the English have found, even at Westminster, something more ridiculous than embroidering petticoats for the Virgin Mary, one of which he may, perhaps, send over to Buckingham House. The Holy Alliance, and even the Pope himself, will scarcely forbear giving way to a smile. And when the cause comes to be considered, let the Bourbons reflect, with what satisfaction they may, on the arrogance, insolence, and ingratitude with which they treated her Majesty, the Queen, who can now exhibit herself surrounded by gallant millions, while they, with the aid of a censorship and other means which I will not describe, make a shift to keep themselves where they are.

Mr. VANSITTART said, that a Coronation was a season for mirth and glee; and though the coronation do not take place, the mirth and glee certainly will. The songs, odes, sonnets, poems dramatical, didactic, pastoral, heroic, serious, comic,

maudling and mungrel, which are in preparation, and many of which are actually *already printed*, would make a dozen of very pretty volumes, which certainly ought to be preserved, that our grandchildren may laugh as well as we ourselves. As to the wailings of the tailors, mantuamakers, haberdashers, and all the race of men and women decorators, they would, if carefully collected and judiciously arranged, form a book of Lamentations, that would soften the heart of any one but *eight* or *nine*, to whom I do not choose to approach nearer, for fear of the breakers. There is nothing, it appears to me, that can adequately represent the surprise that must have been experienced by this disconsolate brotherhood and sisterhood; there is nothing, it appears to me, that could adequately represent this surprise, except the gaping and woe-begone countenance of the once-gabling but now silent Doctor.

So that, whether this postponement arose from blue bags or green bags, from new bags or *Old Bags*, no matter as to the cause, the effects will be and are, all difficulty and defeat on the one side, and all tranquillity and triumph on the other.

My lord (and I am now coming a little closer to you), do you think that the *same reason:* you know that I know what the reason is: but do you think, that the same reason that rendered it wise; for wise I not only suppose it, but know it to have been: do you think that the same reason which rendered it wise to postpone the Coronation; do you think that that same reason may not possibly induce you to *postpone the trial?* It is my opinion that it will. Now, what does your Lordship think of that? My opinions have not often been contradicted by events; and my decided opinion is, that, when you and your colleagues have carefully put two and two together; and then put a one to the four, and by the total have multiplied twenty, the result will show you that it would be much better not to proceed with the trial any more than with the Coronation.

I cannot say, however, that my wishes correspond exactly with my opinion in this respect. For, the Bill is in print; the QUEEN is proclaimed to the world as an adulteress; and there must be acquittal or conviction. Neither can very well be had without a trial; and to obtain the latter there must be a trial: so that I cannot say that I *wish* that there should be no trial; unless, indeed, the Bill were withdrawn; the charge declared to be false, and the QUEEN placed in full possession of her rights.

Yet there is a difficulty here, too; for, if the charge be declared to be false, and that, too, without trial, it is not very easy to conceive *how the accusers themselves are to escape accusation*; and your Lordship will readily imagine how painful such an accusation must be to the people at large, and especially to men like me! This,

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difficulty it is not, however, easy to get over; and, therefore, I shall in this respect follow the example of my betters; that is to say, leave the difficulty to the "*healing hand of time*," as the Speaker, Mr. ABBOTT, said by the finances; or, in the saying of the Yankees, leap over the ditch when we come to it: and, really and sincerely I do believe, that it will be a jumping sort of a thing.

The main circumstance to be considered is, *her Majesty's fixed residence in this country*. It is a farce, my Lord, to talk of any other object in any of the propositions or negociations. This was the object and the only object; and from this object the people should never take their eyes. Now, then, my LORD CHANCELLOR; you, who, with the greatest sincerity I am sure, so frequently call God to witness; will you answer me one plain question? Will you tell me *for what reason* it is wished that her MAJESTY the QUEEN should not live in this country? No; you will not. Well, then, let me try to make it out myself. It is pretty clear, I think, that the people *do not wish that she should leave the country*. It is also clear that they ought not to wish it, seeing that fifty thousand pounds a-year spent out of the country, would be a great deal worse to them than fifty thousand pounds a-year spent in the country. As to their morals, they cannot suffer from her MAJESTY's evil example; for they all believe her to be innocent. Therefore, I safely conclude that the people do not wish it.

Nor do I believe that his MAJESTY the KING cares a great deal about the matter. It is said; or, at least, there is a talk in the newspapers respecting it; that the KING wishes to marry again, and upon that ground a silly attempt has been made to alarm his brothers. I do not believe in this wish; because it is manifestly in direct contradiction with all the strenuous endeavours of his Ministers, first to prevent the QUEEN from returning, and next, to send her away without trial, the success of which endeavours must have prevented a divorce, and, of course, prevented a new marriage. For this reason, if for no other, I conclude that his Majesty had, and has, no desire to contract a new matrimonial obligation; a sort of obligation, by the bye, which, as you well know, my Lord, we most of us find to have something real and substantial about it. It is not a form of words merely, like the fictions in law proceedings. The parties do not get rid of it so quickly and quietly as John Doe and Richard Roe get rid of theirs. This engagement, like love and death, makes no distinctions; it visits the Palace as well as the cottage. It is very easy to say *Yes*; but when it is once said, it is better never to think of saying *No*. All other engagements there is some way or other of getting rid of without any great turmoil; but this engagement is a real binder. There is no earthly mode of

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getting rid of it without more torment than a sensible man will ever encounter, except in cases of the last necessity. It is very certain that it ought to be thus; but ought or ought not, it is so; and as his MAJESTY now knows it, I cannot believe that he has any relish for a new contract of the same kind.

But it is *possible*, and barely possible, that the King may wish the QUEEN to live out of the country. Why should he? His MAJESTY lived in a state of separation, with the QUEEN in the country, for about *eighteen years*. He did not appear to find much inconvenience in that. Besides, separation is separation; and it is quite monstrous to suppose that a husband should prefer sending a wife back to an alleged paramour, rather than suffer her to remain in a state of separation from that alleged paramour. This supposition is out of nature, and therefore I will not entertain it.

The Queen, by remaining here, will be enabled to hold a Court here; and that Court she most certainly will hold; or else her character must undergo a great and speedy change. But what would that be to the King? It is not to be believed that the King is fond of the nonsense of a Drawing Room; that he can care any thing about hoop-petticoats, or flounces. The King will hold his Court; his Councils; his Parliaments; he will review his army, of which he is so excellent a judge; he will review his fleets, his arsenals, and will attend to the great matters of internal economy. He will consult with his judges upon matters affecting the lives of his people, when they have the misfortune to be brought before them for crimes; he will be continually absorbed in thought for the welfare of his subjects. He will set an example to the great, of gracious condescension, of justice, of equanimity, of mercy and compassion. He will vigilantly attend to all his high duties; devote his time and his very soul to the discharge of those duties. He will constantly bear in mind that the welfare of millions is committed to his care. He will imagine that the loss of a moment of his time may cause the breaking of the hearts of hundreds of his people. He will do all that mortal can do; and will still lament that he cannot do more.

Is it possible, my Lord Chancellor, to believe that his Majesty, our Sovereign, can ever bring himself to bestow a moment of his time, even in thinking about trifles, much less in talking about them! It is, therefore, not to be believed that his Majesty the King can wish for the Queen to leave the country; because it is manifest, that, by holding her Court she would relieve him from all the trifling part of the ceremonial of kingly government; and this part of the duties would most advantageously devolve upon her present Majesty, who is a heroine as well as a Queen, and whose example would not be that of howdy dowdy humdrum and cant, but of elegance of manners, and elevation of sentiment.

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We should have a rivalship in female understanding; and, what is of full as much consequence, a striking example of patience, fortitude, and magnanimity, under circumstances which, in common cases, would have subdued and destroyed the sufferer.

These, my lord, are my reasons for believing that neither the people nor the King, wish, or ought to wish, the Queen to leave the country. Her Majesty herself does not wish it. So far from it she is resolved to remain, as she has very plainly, and I am sure very truly, told the people. *Who is it*, then, that are so anxious to get her Majesty out of the country, and to accomplish whose wishes Mr. Brougham seems to have laboured so assiduously? Why, my lord, it is that profound, enlightened, just, merciful and compassionate set of men, who have discovered that every thing *virtual* is *good*, and that every thing *real* is *bad*; who have discovered that representation means a something performed by a person wholly unknown to, and wholly unconnected with, the person represented; who have discovered, that the best way to secure the enjoyment of liberty is, to take it away; and who have discovered a great number of other things too tedious to mention.

This set of men it is, my lord, and this set of men *only*, who wish her Majesty to quit the country. *I wish this to be clearly understood by the people.* I wish the people to see who it really is, to whom the Queen's presence is hateful. It seems to be impossible that any body, but these men can wish her to go abroad. These men imagine, that, some how or other, the Queen's residence here would work injuriously towards them. They imagine, that the popularity of the Queen would not tend to their advantage. They think they can perceive, that she would be greatly beloved; and they are pretty sure that any attachment of that kind must be injurious to their interests. It is very unnatural to entertain these thoughts, to be sure; that is to say, it would be very unnatural for any body else to entertain them; but it is quite natural in the present case; and to me it is as clear as daylight, that here, and here alone, is the *root of all the mischief*; that from this accursed cause springs all the contentions, all the strife, all the turmoil, and all the danger in which from this Royal misunderstanding, the country is involved.

Amidst all the causes, no man, that opens his lips, alludes to, or seems to perceive, this great and only true cause. Many perceive it; but none seem to perceive it. First it is the Queen, next it is the King, then it is Lord Hutchinson, then it is Baron Bergami, then it is little Austin. But, the right nail

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is never hit upon the head. That always stands intact, while all around it is battered to pieces. The Queen is a woman of experience, of high spirit, great courage, of fascinating manners, calculated to gain hearts and to keep them. "Oh!" say these men, "take any shape but that!" They are a far-seeing race with regard to their own interests. They see that such a person, in such a country, at such a time, might give a shock to the notions of a considerable portion of the people. In short, though they see double upon this occasion, though like gentry, in a different line but of similar dispositions, they "see a constable in every bush;" still, their apprehensions are not wholly groundless; for, it would be a thing impossible for her Majesty to remain in England, without doing some injury to this set of men.

They must, however, console themselves as well as they can; for the Queen is not to be sacrificed for the purpose of ridding them of their fears. They must endeavour to accommodate themselves to the commands of events; and not endeavour to thwart those events. They must make their minds up to such changes as times and circumstances call for, and not try in vain (for in vain it will be) to prevent the arrival of those circumstances. This is a view of the question which I have not before taken; but it is a view of it very well worthy the attention of your lordship.

The wise course would be to suffer the Queen quietly and honourably to remain, and to make the changes required by the situation of the country and the feelings of the people. However, with the result I have nothing to do any more than any other man. I wish for tranquillity, good order, liberty, law, and good morals. But, let what will happen, no portion of the mischief will be attributable to any of those persons, who have been contending for their political rights. They have had nothing to do in the adopting of any of the measures, which have led to the present crisis. And they will always be entitled to say: if we had been listened to, this crisis would never have arrived.

They will be peculiarly entitled to say that if they had been listened to, the *unanswerable reason*, which has postponed the Coronation, never would

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have existed. They can take no share of blame to themselves here; on the contrary, when they perceive *this reason;* when they contemplate it's magnitude; when they regard it as the premises which point to a most momentous conclusion, it is not in human nature that their breasts should not glow with exultation.

Before I conclude, my Lord, I must make a remark or two upon the strenuous attempts that are making to prevent her Majesty from *shewing herself to the people.* She is represented as going through Hyde Park on Sunday, at a time when it "*was "most crowded.*" Why not? Her Majesty is not afraid of being hissed or hooted. This good-natured kind of advice, which comes from her enemies, it is a very good rule to judge of by contraries. Whatever they advise her to do she ought to leave undone, and whatever they advise her not to do, she ought to do. They one minute defend the Bill of Pains and Penalties; and the next minute, they advise her not to appear in public. They call all her supporters rabble; and the next minute they say, that she ought to be made a Martyr; nay there are some that go still further; that say that she ought to be made a Martyr; and they, with unparalleled impudence advise her to *beware* of those who disinterestedly and generously expose to shame those who would take from her her Princely Crown, and give her in exchange a Crown of Martyrdom. The false friends of her Majesty run in couples with these open enemies. They do not, indeed, openly attack, but they are very busy in endeavouring to prevent a defence. They do not join in striking the Queen; but they heartily join in the perfidious office of tying her hands.

I would ask these advisers to caution and decorum, what indecorum there is in receiving the plaudits of the people. We see what infinite pains are taken to circulate a belief that other members of the Royal Family are applauded by the people. Why not the Queen then? What hypocrisy is it to pretend, that her Majesty alone ought to avoid being applauded? Nothing but a real desire to see the Queen driven from the country could possibly give rise to such endeavours as these.

Her Majesty does not appear to listen to these advisers; and

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unfortunate indeed would it be for her if she did. *Public opinion* is the rock on which she stands. Nothing but public opinion will do any thing for her; and it would be to suppose her void of common understanding, not to be convinced of this fact. And how is public opinion to demonstrate itself? By the press? No; for that may be bought; and that, in great part, is bought, and no part of it by her. By *public meetings*? No; for there is now a law effectually to prevent public meetings, except under the authority of those, who are, nearly all, appointed by the Crown, and the far greater part of whom are removeable at your lordship's pleasure, by means of a paper, such as that which was the other day addressed to Sir Charles Wolseley. How, then, is the Queen to ascertain public opinion, except from a few corporate bodies, or in a few singular instances, like those of Westminster and the borough of Southwark?

This should be fully explained to her Majesty by some one who is faithful to her interests: she should be told what alterations have been made in the law within these few months. She should be told, that, with some trifling exceptions, the people cannot meet to address her, without the permission and superintendance of Magistrates; and that to meet at all is to run great risk of loss of liberty, if not of loss of life. And she should be told (as she truly may) that had it not been for this law, she would before this time, have received addresses from *millions of men*. However, her Majesty may be assured, that that which she sees in the metropolis, is a fair specimen of what she would see in every part of the kingdom. There is no difference of opinion any where. All differences as to other matters are sunk with regard to this question; and it may be truly said, without any qualification, that the Queen's cause is the cause of the country, and the country's cause is that of the Queen.

And, my lord, can any thing be more *honourable* to the country than this? Is it not a thing to be proud of? It seems to me that a man must be lost to the common feelings of nature to disapprove of this generous spirit. It has nothing selfish, nothing malignant, nothing vindictive, nothing petulant or factious belonging to it. It re-

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aults directly from the heart. When examined it is found consonant with reason and with justice; and, it is so general and so strong that it gives a warning to all those who would attempt to resist it.

However, be the consequences the harvest of those who do not take this warning. They will receive the fruit of nothing which is not the work of their own hands. Nobody else has intermeddled in the matter. The work is entirely their own. They sent over the Milan Commission; they made all the propositions; they filled the green bags; they have opened the green bags; they have caused a report to be made; and they have brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties. They have been instigated by nobody; they have received advice from nobody; they have suffered themselves to be checked by nothing which the people have done. They have had, in short, no controul of any description. The work is wholly and exclusively their own; and to them will belong, wholly and exclusively, all the consequences.

Precisely what those consequences may be, no man can tell; but that the consequences will be great and lasting, I, for my part, have not the smallest doubt; that is to say, *if the trial be persevered in.* As to whether the consequences will, in the end, be good or bad, I shall not attempt to express an opinion. What I am anxious about, is, that, let those consequences be what they may, they may be remembered to have been the sole and exclusive work of the Ministers and their supporters; and that they have *not been produced by* REFORMERS; to which I will add an expression of my conviction, that, if we had had a *reformed parliament, none of these troubles and dangers would ever have existed*; and, though it is now *too late* to resort to *preventions*, I hope that this will remain in your Lordship's mind, and in the minds of all those who have, by means fresh in all our recollections, opposed our endeavours to obtain a *Reform*.

I am your Lordship's
most obedient and
most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I forgot to notice the outcry that has been set up in favour of the "*poor Italians*,"

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who were *cuffed*, it seems, by the women at Dover; whom the landlady chased out of her house in London; and who, it is said, have been shipped off for Holland. It is curious enough to hear this cry set up by the very men, who applauded the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry *at Manchester*; the very men who applauded the *seizing of the Blanketteers* in 1817; the very men who applauded the proceedings in the case of the *Oldham Inquest*; the very men who applauded Lord AYLESFORD's *threat to the landlord at Meriden*; the very men, who coolly tell us, that men are taken up *on suspicion* of *radicalism*. It is curious enough to hear this "*breach of hospitality*" represented as *disgraceful*, by the very men, who applauded the driving of the *Countess of Montholon* and her *sick baby*, back from our shores under the Alien Act. Yes, this *outing* of Italians was a *breach of hospitality*; but these very men applauded the shutting of a man up for *ten weeks in jail*, for going round the town where he resided, with a bell, to announce that "*William Cobbett was arrived at Liverpool in good health.*" This was a fine specimen of *hospitality*! And so was that offered by the Manchester authorities, when they announced to me, that, if I attempted to *pass through* that town, they would INTERFERE! This was pretty *hospitality*; this was *impartiality*, *freedom* and *law*, was it! Verily, these sticklers for hospitality towards *the Italians*, who are coming to give evidence against the QUEEN, have a singular taste. We are now told, that the *famous and renowned* CAPPER, so well known for other things, is sent off to take the remainder of the *corps* by another route. Those who came to Dover were, it seems, the *advanced guard*; or, rather, the *enfans perdus*. They are gone. England was *too hot to hold them*, it seems. However, they are to *come again*, are they? *Nous verrons!*

The ALIEN BILL is, it would seem, to pass. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH deserves great praise, and so does Mr. SCARLETT, for the opposition that they gave it. But I have not time now to detail the manner *in which it may affect the Queen*.

There is, it seems, a PRIEST amongst *the Italians* that came to Dover! *I foretold this!* We may easily guess at the part he is to act!

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MILAN COMMISSION.

The following is a Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, on the 5th of July, on the subject of this famous Commission.

Sir RONALD FERGUSON rose to bring forward his motion respecting the commission at Milan. It was with unfeigned regret that he felt himself bound in public duty, and as a debt of public justice, conscious as he was of his own inadequacy for the task, to bring this question under consideration. Undoubtedly the subject was of a most delicate and painful nature, and, in its result, of the utmost importance to the peace and safety of the country. If his Majesty's ministers had pursued a proper course, either by not erasing her Majesty's name from the Liturgy, or by retracing their steps when they saw the mischievous consequences of their conduct, the ferment and uneasiness which now agitated the public mind would have been avoided. The noble lord had on a former occasion observed, that if her Majesty had not come to this country, no proceeding would have been instituted against her; and indeed it appeared that her crime was nothing more than daring to set her foot on English ground. (*Hear.*) The consequence of that action was, that two green bags were laid on their table, of the contents of which, however, he thanked God that House was totally ignorant. Gentlemen turned their backs on those bags, and, a few evenings afterwards, to use the phrase of the noble lord, he "turned his back on himself," and abandoned the proceeding which he had instituted, by voting that the measure would lead to discussions "derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire." (*Hear.*) The public and that House had a right to know (for, though they had not opened this green bag, they had learned that a report had been elsewhere founded on its contents) where the facts contained in it had been collected. He would therefore state what, perhaps, would be denominated rumours, in explanation of this question. If he were wrong, the noble lord would contradict him, and he should feel obliged to him for that contradiction, because persons were said to be connected with this transaction who had heretofore held some rank and character in this country; therefore, he should be rejoiced at their exculpation. It was generally understood that the contents of the green bag were obtained through the means of certain persons, whether sent out in a public or a private capacity he cared not. They were, it seemed, commissioned to go to Milan, and to obtain all the information they could on the subject of the Queen's conduct. Common rumour did not point at ministers as the inventors of this plan;—that honour was given to another person—to one who held a high judicial situation in this country—he meant the Vice Chancellor of England. (*Hear.*) If wrong,

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he should be happy to hear his statements contradicted; but it was certainly understood that this gentleman took great pains in the proceeding. He indeed was supposed to be the head or inventor of this Milan commission. In order to get at the facts, he recommended to notice a person who had practised in the same court with him long and successfully. One of his qualifications for the situation was rather extraordinary, for it appeared that he understood no language beyond his native tongue. A second, and, he believed, a third individual, were added to the commission. He did not himself know any of the parties employed on this occasion, and God forbid he ever should! (*A laugh.*) To prove that the Vice Chancellor was at the head of this army of *espionage*, it was only necessary to observe, that he himself went to Milan in 1818, and remained there till September 19, in that year. The expense attending this commission (he cared not by what name it was called—whether a secret court of judicature, or a combination of spies) had been very great indeed. It must have been well known to ministers that those persons had been employed, because he knew that no commission would be suffered in Milan without a regular correspondence having taken place with the Austrian Court. From the date he had mentioned, the statements contained in the green bag must have been received by his Majesty's ministers a year ago; and yet not one step had been taken on the subject until the Queen landed, and set her calumniators at defiance. (*Hear, hear.*) Let not ministers think, that the dissatisfaction out of doors on this subject was a mere idle clamour. It was, on the contrary, deep-rooted: and, from the Land's-end to the Orkneys, pervaded persons of every station and description. The question was not whether her Majesty was guilty of the high crimes alleged against her, but whether she, the Queen of these realms, and the first subject of England, should not experience that justice which ought not to be refused to the lowest. In the first place, gross injustice had been done to her by introducing this green bag; and, in the 2d place, they had acted still more unjustly by her when they brought in a bill, the most palpably disgraceful that was ever known in England. He should be glad if the noble lord would set him right as to the expense of this commission; but he understood that it had cost the country 23,000*l.* In the first five months of its existence a sum of no less than 11,000*l.* was drawn by these commissioners. Now he would engage for half that money to procure such witnesses in Italy as would blast the character of every man and every woman there, however respectable. (*Hear.*) Let the House consider the creatures by whom the affidavits were sworn: they were procured from the meanest, the most rascally of mankind. (*Hear.*) And was the Queen of England, on such evidence as this, to be degraded

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at once, and without trial? (*Hear.*) He said she was degraded, because ministers had brought in a bill which now hung over her Majesty's head, accusing her with such gross crimes as could not be separated from the idea of degradation. They talked of granting her justice—of giving her the best means of defending herself; but how was such an intention proved? He was sorry, even thus shortly, to have occupied the attention of the House, since he knew that others better qualified than he was would take up the subject; but a sense of what was due to public justice and to the character of the country induced him to come forward. (*Hear, hear.*) The gallant general concluded by moving—"that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, an account of any commission or commissions, instruction or instructions, issued by his Majesty's commands since the departure of her Majesty the Queen from this country, in the year 1814, for taking depositions, or making any other inquiries relating to her Majesty, during her residence abroad; together with an account of all sums of money expended in the execution of such commission or instruction, and by whom such sums were respectively issued."

Lord CASTLEREAGH felt it to be his duty, under the circumstances in which the House was at present placed, to oppose the motion. It would, he conceived, be a waste of their time, if he were led, in consequence of what had fallen from the gallant general, to enter into an explanation of the course of conduct that his Majesty's ministers had been induced to take in consequence of the important subject which had recently occupied their consideration. Had the gallant general, he would ask, seen any thing in the general conduct of ministers that rendered it necessary to bring this question under discussion? Or had he perceived any part of their proceedings that appeared to justify the casting the least imputation on them, as the authors of this painful investigation? He conceived that the gallant general had not; and therefore he would simply apply himself to the motion now before the House. The objection he took to it did not arise from any indisposition on the part of ministers to give the fullest information on the subject when the proper time arrived; for, whatever might be the gallant general's opinion of ministers, whatever cause might have induced him to imagine that they threw an improper shade of mystery over this transaction, with respect to the mode in which it was conducted, or the manner in which the charges were to be provided for, he could assure the gallant general that there was no portion of the painful investigation with which it was connected that he would more readily, if the occasion suited, place him and the House in possession of. He believed,

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most sincerely, that the whole transaction, from the first to the last, would bear the light, at least as far as he had any knowledge of it. (*Hear.*) But he might be allowed to say, that the present was a very curious mode of proceeding, if it were introduced with a view to assist or elucidate the inquiry now pending before Parliament. It was most extraordinary, in the very first outset, before the House had adopted any measure of inquiry of their own, and without waiting for that which it was quite clear they would arrive at by another process—while they were ignorant of the whole course of evidence—that the gallant general should call on one of the parties to put the House in possession of all the means that had been adopted to gain information, and to state facts which would not in any degree render other parts of the case intelligible. It certainly was not very common in judicial proceedings to give up the means by which information had been procured. Indeed nothing could be more subversive of the course of justice, nor was any thing ever known more contrary to the order of proceeding within the walls of Parliament. (*Hear, hear.*) It was such a line of conduct as he thought the gallant general would not, on reflection, persevere in. Feeling this, it was not his intention to negative the motion, but to meet it with the previous question. As he had formerly stated, with respect to the conduct of foreign ministers abroad, he did not wish to wrap up the government in mystery. When the proper time came, ministers were ready to give every information, but they would be guilty of a dereliction of duty if they did so prematurely. The House could not decide whether they acted with a view to the ends of justice, or for the purpose of oppression, until all the facts were before them; then only could they judge correctly of their conduct, or of the conduct of their agents. Those facts were not before them, and therefore he contended that the motion of the gallant general was wholly premature. In this stage of the proceeding he must entreat the House to enter fully into the reasons why, in his opinion, information on this part of the subject should not be laid before them. He had no hesitation in stating, broadly and distinctly, what was the fact. The outline of the fact, unconnected with the Bill before the other House, was simply this:—The statements concerning the conduct of her Majesty reached ministers from so many quarters, and had become so notorious here (statements, let it be observed, that were not procured by any system of fishing, but which came voluntarily from various quarters, many of them of the most grave and official character), that it was deemed necessary to inquire into their truth; and, unless the gallant general laid it down as a maxim that the servants of the Crown were obliged to shut their eyes and ears against every offence that threatened the welfare of the state—unless he conceived,

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because they must experience the most painful feelings, when charges were made against a person of such illustrious rank as was borne by the individual now before the House, that, therefore, they ought not to take the plain course of justice on such occasions, and ought not to institute any inquiry into reports of this nature, unless the gallant general reasoned thus, there was nothing in the conduct of ministers that deserved censure. He would hereafter argue with the gallant general why the course of inquiry to which he objected was, at the time, the most proper. He admitted that that course of inquiry was not strictly official—it was not sanctioned by any proceeding that could give it the name of a commission—it was not distinguished by any of those formal instruments which were usually known to the constitution. He would state, in due time, why he considered this demi-official proceeding—a proceeding not strictly according to the forms of the constitution—was, under the view then taken, the fit and proper one to be adopted; and he would also consider the question, whether the commission had acted with severity or injustice: or had hunted for that sort of information, which, according to the gallant general, Italy was famous for—which a sum of money could buy, and by means of which the fairest character might be blackened. If the gallant general had waited for the facts of the case, instead of applying his reasoning to certain rumours, he, perhaps, would not have made the motion. The information alluded to was not drawn from Italy alone; and although he called the persons who were sent out "the Milan commission," their inquiries were not restricted to conduct pursued in that place. Their orders were to look to every thing that could be devised, in reason, to detect and separate falsehood from truth. That was the system adopted in this case: but certainly the inquiries of the commissioners were applied to a much more extensive portion of Europe than the gallant general seemed to suppose. With respect to the characters of the persons employed, he was sure the gallant general could not mean to insinuate any thing against them. There was nothing in the character of those individuals that could lead the House to suppose that they would take any step inconsistent, not merely with the general principles of justice, but of British justice. At a proper moment he should be prepared to defend all their proceedings. When the facts alleged against her Majesty flowed in on government with so strong a tide, when the number of charges hourly increased, and when they assumed a most grave and serious aspect, ministers felt that they had no right, intrusted as they were with a responsible authority, to let those accusations rest on the ground of rumour. They thought it was their duty, even with reference to the character and dignity of the Queen herself, to take the best means to

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discover what degree of weight they deserved. Under the circumstances, they did not deem it a case, in the examination of which it would be wise or prudent to employ that formal commission which would place on record the statements that were to be inquired into, even though they turned out to be unfounded. They conceived it would answer the ends of justice if they were inquired into by persons of such character in their profession as would enable ministers to place confidence in their proceedings, and to give credit to their report. Certainly it did not fall within the province of the Vice-Chancellor to lend himself voluntarily to such a proceeding; but he must at the same time observe, that there was nothing in the conduct of the Vice-Chancellor on that occasion that could in any way reflect discredit on his character. He held a high judicial situation; but, when he was called on to inquire into the matter at issue, he (Lord Castlereagh) knew of no just ground which could be alleged to prevent him from informing himself of the truth or falsehood of the reports that had been circulated against the character of the illustrious individual who was then residing abroad, and afterwards stating the conviction of his mind. He was yet to learn that there was any thing in the Vice-Chancellor's situation that ought to preclude him from entering on an inquiry of this nature—always provided that it was pursued with truth and honour. The character of the Vice-Chancellor, so far from militating against the impartiality of the inquiry, afforded an additional pledge that it was a just one. He would now briefly notice the course that was taken. In the first instance, application was made to a gentleman at the bar of the Chancery-court, a Mr. Cooke, for his assistance. There was no man in the country, he believed, who had the honour of his acquaintance, that did not respect him. He (Lord Castlereagh) had seen him only once; but, if a person might judge from the propriety of his appearance, and the gravity of his manner.—(*A laugh.*) For his own part, he thought it would have been wrong to send a young gentleman on such a mission (*a laugh*); although the gallant general might suppose that he would get much sooner into all the secrets of the matter than a person of more mature age. (*A laugh.*) When the business was of so delicate a nature, it was, in his opinion, most proper to employ an individual of grave and thinking habits. The gallant general said, an individual was selected who knew nothing of foreign language. This, he conceived, was a pledge that nothing more was intended, but that the individual should go to the appointed place, merely to hear the evidence as a professional man. It showed that he was not sent out to insinuate himself as a spy into those transactions, but that he was specifically sent out as a person who, when the witnesses that were to substantiate the facts came before him, was ready to take

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their depositions, and to take them in that form which was suitable to the practice of our jurisprudence, and surrounded with all those safeguards by which our law was characterized. It was necessary, therefore, to delay any motion of the nature of that now before the House, because, to understand the question well, the gallant general ought to see the depositions, examine their forms, and observe the safeguards by which they were surrounded. If he had seen them, he would probably feel that no censure attached to those who superintended them. Every thing was done to guard those who were examined from stating any matter on hearsay—every thing was done to guard them against speaking unadvisedly—every thing was done that could make them dismiss from their minds the hope of receiving any emolument in consequence of their testimony; and they were informed that their characters would be examined in some competent court of law. (*Hear.*) He was convinced that no individual could be selected better adapted to fulfil the duties that were intrusted to him than this gentleman; and he was quite sure, that with respect to the necessary safeguards, no depositions had ever been more strictly drawn up. He believed that those who had seen the proceedings in this case, had viewed them with no other feeling but that of the greatest respect for those who conducted them. He hoped he had repelled the idea that any servant of his Majesty had been disgraced in the discharge of his duty, because he had looked into facts, which materially affected the honour and dignity of the Crown; and he had also, he trusted, repelled any insinuation that had been thrown out against Mr. Cooke, or against the eminent solicitor who accompanied him, and who had assisted in taking those depositions. As to the expences of the commission, no deposition existed to withhold from the House all the information that was necessary, when the proper moment arrived. There would be a want of delicacy in obtruding it on the House at present; but when the proper time arrived it would not be concealed. The expences incidental to the parties who were sent abroad must be brought before the House on the same ground that the House would be called on to defray the sum necessary for her Majesty in entering on her defence. The expence attending the allegations on the one side, and the preparations for meeting them on the other, would be laid before Parliament in due time. As he had before said, ministers wished for no mystery with respect to any part of this transaction. But he did protest solemnly against this mode of introducing partial motions, for it exhibited the air of a mere party proceeding much more than it did that of a real desire to forward the ends of justice. (*Hear, hear.*) Individuals would not wait for the proper moment to argue those questions; they ran unprepared

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into the midst of a most important subject, and dragged it into view, not at once, but piecemeal. (*Hear, hear.*) They did not take a plain and intelligible course, but came forward in a way the most invidious, both with respect to the proceeding itself, and with reference to private character. (*Hear, hear.*) Would it not be better for gentlemen to restrain their feelings until they saw the whole proceeding—what regulation had been adopted, and what proceedings ministers had omitted? If, when that was done, ministers could not explain themselves to the satisfaction of the House, then would come the time to encounter the animadversions of gentlemen. But, at that moment, he protested against investigating a transaction of this nature. He would not consent, when a charge was brought against the Queen, that it should be set aside, and that ministers should be placed on their trial, with reference to some collateral circumstances. (*Hear.*) He would not wrap himself up in mystery as to this transaction; but, at the fair and proper moment, he would give all the information in his power. In the mean time, he thought he did not ask too much of the House, when they had suspended their opinion with respect to the proceeding itself, also to suspend their opinion with respect to the conduct of ministers. (*Hear.*) He felt it necessary to make this appeal, because he was dragged into partial explanations on this subject, in consequence of the course adopted, which, he must say, was rather dictated by political feeling than by a strong regard for the principles of justice. (*Hear.*) Owing to this system, he was compelled to give a garbled and broken explanation to the House, and to defend the character of individuals less fully and less forcibly than he would be enabled to do if he had an opportunity of discussing the whole question. He would not negative this motion, but he would meet it with the previous question, to shew that the information should not have been called for; and he hoped it would be a sort of warning to gentlemen on the other side, (*hear, hear,*) not to let their zeal get the better of their understanding, in submitting motions to the House under circumstances like the present. (*Hear, hear.*) Let the subject rest until the whole case was brought forward; and let not the House and the country be lowered in the eyes of Europe, which they would be if it were seen that, when a great question, important to the Crown and the empire, was agitated, they could not deal with it fairly, but must meet it by little motions of this kind, (*hear, hear,*) in order to get some unfair advantage over ministers, as if they were on their trial. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) He asked for no favour—he shrank from no responsibility. All he claimed was, that the conduct of ministers should be fairly and strictly examined, when the circumstances were before the House, when they would have an opportunity to

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explain themselves fully; he only protested against these repeated anticipations of explanation. (*Hear.*) His lordship concluded by moving the previous question—"That this question be now put."

Mr. CANNING, notwithstanding he might incur the displeasure of the noble lord; and notwithstanding the protest and the warning the noble lord had given to the House; would maintain that the proposition of his gallant friend was a perfectly just one; and the time precisely that in which the motion ought to have been made. His gallant friend had not precipitated his motion; he had delayed it till a certain proceeding took place in the other House of Parliament. So anomalous a course was, perhaps, never pursued upon any former occasion. The Queen of this country was criminally proceeded against; and how? By the introduction of a bill, in which she was called by the most infamous and scandalous names. Neither her Majesty nor that House had any information on the subject; and, under these circumstances, his gallant friend said, what he conceived to be most proper, "Let me see the foundation of this measure; if you make a charge of this nature, let me see your infernal Milan commission, or whatever commission it may be, on whose statement it is founded." It was quite a novelty, a thing hitherto unknown to the constitution of this country, for the King to authorize a commission to hunt a subject with lawyers, attornies, and spies, assisted by the Emperor of Austria, through every part of Europe. This indeed was quite a novel system. It was dangerous when any responsible servant of the Crown was placed at the head of such a proceeding; it was much more dangerous when a person like Mr. Leach—he begged his pardon, he should have said Sir John Leach—who was not a responsible servant of the Crown, organized a system of *espionage* against any individual of this country; but it was still worse when a person, placed in the situation of that gentleman, inflamed the feelings of particular persons by stating to them things of a doubtful nature, but which were calculated strongly to excite their passions. (*Hear, hear.*) They had a right, he contended, to have this Vice-Chancellor before them. (*A laugh.*) He would maintain that he was a disturber of the public peace of this country. (*Hear, hear, and order.*) He would shew how he was a disturber of the public peace. In 1814, all the unhappy differences between his Majesty and the Queen were supposed to be settled: an arrangement with respect to money matters took place; and his Majesty's ministers negociated with her for leaving the country. It was quite impossible that the noble lord opposite, or the right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Canning), considering the feelings he had expressed towards the Queen, could have again awakened those differences which

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were thought to have expired. Who then had done it? It was the Vice-Chancellor who had kept alive the vindictive feelings of his Majesty towards the Queen. (*Order, order.*) He was not out of order: he would contend that it was the Vice-Chancellor who had kept alive the vindictive passions of the King against the Queen. (*Order, order.*) If the feeling were not vindictive, he did not know what the word "vindictive" meant. Several years ago the Queen was prosecuted; she left the country: after a long absence she came back, and now she was prosecuted again. If this were not vindictive, he did not know what was. But now for the result of this commission. By the aid of his confederates—the Emperor of Austria, Italian spies, English lawyers, and English money—he contrived to have this bag filled and brought over. It was clear, however, that it was not wanted: it had been in the possession of ministers of the Crown for these twelve months, and they had never made any use of it. This showed that they considered its contents as of a private nature, and not as state evidence against the Queen. If they thought otherwise, why did they not persecute her at once? Instead of doing that, they negociated with her at St. Omers, and in this country; and it appeared on the journals of the House that the business was in fact a family difference. But the Queen, it appeared, would not consent to the propositions made to her. That was her crime at present. Her first crime was having placed her foot on the English shore, and her next, a determination not to leave it. This Vice-Chancellor was again answerable to the House for his conduct on this point, because they were called on to assist in the utter subversion of the law of this country, and to adopt a completely anomalous proceeding in consequence of his conduct. Secret evidence had been taken by a secret commission; and, after a period of twelve months had elapsed, it was laid before the Lords, who, without any examination of witnesses, had finally adopted certain charges against the Queen. A bill was then brought in for the purpose of degrading her. If this were allowed, if a bill of this nature were suffered to pass into a law, he contended that the laws of this country would be totally subverted, and no man in the kingdom would be safe. They had a right to know who the author of this measure was. That individual was answerable to the House in another point of view, perhaps as important as those he had mentioned:—he was answerable as the enemy of the Sovereign; for no man could tell what situation the King might be placed in before that bill passed. Whatever ministers might state, this was a mere private charge: it was the King wanting to get rid of the Queen. Ministers knew there was no crime cognizable by law, and therefore they sought to relieve him by bill. He must then appear as a private individual when he came

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to Parliament for relief; and when he came before that House to be released from his wife, he must come like all persons applying for relief to a court of equity—with clean hands. (*Order, order.*) He owed all this to Sir John Leach. (*Order, order.*) When a case of that nature came before them, they must use the words of Jesus Christ when the woman was taken in adultery—"Let him that hath no sin cast the first stone." It was, as he before observed, the Vice-Chancellor who had placed the King in this situation. They were told that there must be no recrimination in this case. He knew that no such word was allowed in a court of justice; but, as he had before stated, when his Majesty applied to that House, he must come with clean hands. The bill declared her Majesty to be guilty of adultery; and when that measure came before the House, it would be their duty to inquire whether, when the Princess of Brunswick, the cousin of his Majesty, came to this country to espouse him, he was not himself then living in adultery. (*Order, order.*) Of this he was sure, that the King had been placed in his present situation by the officious adviser to whom he had alluded. He saw the proceeding with pain and regret from the beginning; and when the message came down he warned the House of the situation in which it would place the country, because he was certain that the course adopted on this occasion, that of proceeding by bill, would not only overturn the laws of the land, but would shake the steady, sober, moral habits of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) Looking to the case in every point of view, there was, in his opinion, an absolute necessity for the production of this Milan commission, in order that they might properly know the author of these unfortunate circumstances.

The previous question was carried, so that, the account which General Ferguson moved for was refused.

HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose, pursuant to notice, to postpone the order of the day for taking his Majesty's message into consideration. Before he proceeded to that question, he wished to make a few observations on what had fallen from an honourable gentleman who had recently addressed the House. He knew not how far the order of the House would suffer an individual to go when (as we understood) he was determined to transgress the bounds of decency. (*Hear, hear.*) But certainly, in this case, the hon. member had uttered sentiments which would not be suffered where the feeling of private individuals were concerned, and which never should have been used in speaking of the character of the Sovereign. (*Hear.*) He protested solemnly, in the face of the House and of the country, against the speech which the honourable member had made that night. No individual was warranted in making such assertions—no indivi-

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dual at all acquainted with the fact would have applied such epithets to the feelings and the mind of the Sovereign. (*Hear, hear.*) Though placed under the most trying circumstances in which a monarch ever was or ever could be placed, his Majesty had never betrayed the slightest symptom of a vindictive spirit. (*Hear, hear.*) In every part of this unfortunate transaction he had evinced a feeling completely the reverse. Whatever his sense of injury might be, or whatever personal feeling might have been elicited by these transactions, his Majesty had shown the most perfect forbearance with respect to every measure that ministers had adopted for the peace and safety of the country. (*Hear, hear.*) If they had gone on with this inquiry, it was from a sense of the justice of the cause, and in consequence of the manner in which the Queen had conducted herself. A vindictive or passionate feeling had never been manifested by his Majesty; and, instead of censuring his conduct, the honourable member and the country ought to offer him their heartfelt thanks for the efforts he had allowed ministers to make for the safety and protection of the empire. (*Hear.*) He would say nothing more on this unpleasant subject. The House had marked their sense of the honourable member's conduct: and, if he possessed the feelings which a Member of Parliament ought to possess, the reproof which he had received on this occasion would convey a much stronger comment to his mind, on the course he had pursued, than any thing which he (Lord Castlereagh) could utter. (*Hear.*) His lordship then called the attention of the House to the ulterior proceedings respecting the King's message. He detailed the different circumstances which had taken place since the message was brought down, namely, the address to her Majesty—the rejection of the advice which it contained—the report of the Lords—and, finally, the introduction of a bill of pains and penalties. When he before postponed the order for considering his Majesty's message, he had stated that, if a proceeding took place in the other House, it was his intention to move a farther postponement. Such a proceeding had occurred, and he now wished, in consequence, to put off the order to a future day. It was necessary, he thought, that their proceedings should rather be of a suspensive than of an abandoning nature. There were several reasons for adopting this course. If, for instance, the bill did not pass the Lords, in consequence of some technical informality, the subject would again come back to this House; and it was proper that inquiry should be open to them. Again, if the evidence before the Lords led them to reject the measure, this House would, of course, wish to examine the information laid on their table, in order to see how far ministers could justify themselves by the evidence for bringing the measure before Parliament. In either event a postponement

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was necessary. His lordship then moved, That the order for taking the King's message into consideration be read, for the purpose of postponing it, he would say till the 15th August. By that time the other House would have proceeded so far, that any steps on the part of this House, with respect to the question now before them, would be unnecessary, if the House should be sitting at that time. If Parliament should not be sitting, then it would become only a lapsed order.

Mr. H. G. BENNETT began by expressing his surprise, that none of his Majesty's ministers had attempted to answer his honourable friend (we believe Mr. Creevey); for though some unguarded expressions might have fallen from him, yet many of his observations had been much to the purpose, and would have a stinging effect out of doors. Ministers were bound to stand up and to justify their master. The noble lord had said, in express terms, that the King of England had lent himself to an accommodation respecting indecency and adultery. No Sovereign had ever been so publicly degraded. He did not believe that ministers themselves had ever believed the charges in the green bag; because, if they had ever believed them, they could not have given such advice as had been given. The Queen of England, charged with adultery, was not only to be addressed by both Houses of Parliament, but also was to be acknowledged in certain courts near which she chose to reside. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), after seeing all the charges in the green bag, had, in a most manly speech, a speech which did him the greatest credit in his (Mr. Bennett's) estimation, professed his respect and affection for her Majesty. The right honourable gentleman, after having seen the charge, had used the remarkable expression that his attention, affection, and respect, remained the same as they had been. He could therefore produce the right honourable gentleman as an authority opposed to his colleagues, for he at least dissented. If, in the opinion of the other ministers, she was black with guilt, in the right honourable gentleman's opinion she was white as snow. He admitted that he had always been against the agitation of this subject, and against plunging the country into such a state as it now was doomed to experience. What was the feeling of the country upon this subject at the present moment? From every part of the country one sentiment (whether just or not, he knew not) of respect for her Majesty, and of conviction that she was innocent, was heard. This was the natural result of the mode of proceeding adopted against her Majesty. The noble lord had come down to that House and proposed the most hateful of measures—a green bag, to be investigated by a secret committee; and

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had, in some degree, explained how it was to be composed. The Queen's legal advisers were to be excluded; of course the attorney and solicitor-general must also have been excluded. The committee, then, must have been formed (yet ministers talked of avoiding all party distinctions on this occasion!) out of the adherents and friends of the noble lord, out of what he would call a sort of country gentlemen of the court. Some might have been from his side of the House, but they would have been those whom the noble lord had known on former occasions to lend a willing ear to the stories of his Majesty's government. But even they, he believed, would rather have followed the right hon. gentleman's example; they would have refused to have become her Majesty's accusers. But ministers were determined to have a verdict against her, if not in one way, in some other way. They had therefore got a jury to try her, who would have found her guilty, if she had been, as Cesar's wife ought to be, even above suspicion. A committee was formed of which four cabinet ministers were members, and one of them the Nestor of the administration and the keeper of the King's conscience. The keeper of the King's conscience had been member of this committee, as the vice-keeper of the King's conscience had been member of the Milan commission. Did it require any second sight to know what the result of such an inquiry would be? Did not every man in the streets foresee the result? The Queen of England was now charged as another Queen of England had formerly been charged. The just and pathetic language of Queen Anne Boleyn was—"Try me, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame." The same language was now used by her Majesty. "Try me (she said), but let not my accusers and enemies be my judges: let me have an open trial, and I shall prove my innocence; let not the Lord Chancellor, the keeper of the King's conscience, and three other cabinet ministers, sit in secret judgment upon me." If they were not her Majesty's accusers, who were her accusers? Who were the advisers of the measures adopted against her? The secret committee had been compared to a grand jury. But it was a strange anomaly to find the accusers forming part of the grand jury; and stranger still to find them afterwards form part of the petty jury who were to sit in judgment and pronounce a verdict upon the charges. It was a course of proceedings like this that affected the people of England; this it was that caused the cry that was universally raised for the Queen, and against her persecutors, who had put her under the ban of excommunication throughout Europe. This course of persecution it was that raised an angry feeling throughout the country. The people never would have inter-

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fered when the administration of justice was fair and equal; but a foul administration of justice roused the deepest indignation. He cautioned ministers, because no man could see the end; the boldest might shudder at the consequences. It was not against a fair trial that any feelings were entertained, but against proceedings to get a verdict. The noble lord had thought proper to talk of the tone in which he had expressed his indignation at the terms offered to her Majesty in St. Omer's. In the persuasion that the steps taken were a departure from public justice, he had expressed his indignation, and every honest man in the country had felt the same indignation. He indeed was probably disqualified from taking a fair view of the subject, because he had not been an accuser. But whenever the question came before that House, if unhappily it should ever come, no man would bring less of party feeling into its consideration. Justice in favour of a helpless and desolate woman was called party. Ample illustration of the feelings of party had been given on the other side. Every man in the country was satisfied whether party feelings operated on this question, and where party feelings prevailed. He at least would do his duty as stoutly as any member, in order to right the injured, and to defeat persecution. The illustrious person who was now Queen of England had been persecuted ever since she first landed on their shore. She had not been a week in England, (he was old enough to remember that period) when she began to be persecuted. Her person, her manners, her gaiety, were misrepresented and slandered. He would remind the noble lord, the right honourable gentleman, and an equity lawyer elsewhere, of the part they took in former parts of her history. She had been seduced---seduced, he believed, against her better judgment, certainly against the strongest advice of Mr. Whitbread, the most honest man then in England---to go out of this country. The authors of that step might have been rewarded; he would not look into the black and dark intrigues. A manuscript was in the hands of his hon. friend, the member for Winchelsea (Mr. Brougham), containing, in the strongest terms, the advice of Mr. Whitbread and the member for Winchelsea, not to quit the shelter of her home, or leave the society and security to be found only among her friends. They had anticipated the consequences of her going abroad; they had anticipated the spies, the attornies, and the vice-chancellors that would pursue her (*Cheers*); they had anticipated the plots by which she would be assailed; they had anticipated the consequences that would arise from her frankness and gaiety of temper; for, like Anne Boleyn, her lively and gay manners afforded food for calumny. (*Cheers.*) They had known and stated this before her Majesty had left this country; but unhappily the advice given by the right hon. gentleman, the very worst that

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could be given, prevailed, though he did not accuse the right hon. gent. indeed he believed him incapable of giving advice with so base an intention. And who was the opponent of this illustrious and much injured lady? The king was her opponent; he who was, not absolute master of their lives and property, but the grand source of distinction and honour, and often of property; who had a direct positive influence where her Majesty was to be tried; who held the means of reward, titles, orders, and ribands.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose to order. He really must submit to the House whether it was decent or parliamentary to impute to the king (*cheers*) acts which could only be considered as done by his servants. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. BENNETT said he had certainly wished to allude to the King *bona fide*, but only in a Parliamentary manner. There was obviously, on this occasion, great difficulty in separating the personal character of the King from his political character, when he was prosecutor in this country. But it was the odds of a question, where the King with all his power and influence was on one side, against a destitute and forlorn woman on the other, which roused the public to stand by her. Although other classes abstained from those respects towards her Majesty which it might be found inconvenient for the courtly adherents of power and fashion to bestow, that was made up to her by her reception with the people, who, viewing her forsaken state, the manner in which she was treated, the proceedings, and the green bags, resorted to against her, conceived that the odds were indeed against her, and therefore they threw themselves into the opposite scale. In this situation he cautioned ministers how they proceeded. He did not say that the people entertained any feelings against a fair trial. But proceedings of this nature brought the names of the royal family into unfavourable and dangerous discussion. All knew well that if her Majesty's daughter were now alive—(*hear, hear, hear*)—if the King were alive, and in the strength and vigour of his faculties, proceedings like the present could not have been attempted. (*Hear, hear.*) The King, though dead, had left the testimony of his opinion how she had been treated. He stated, on an authority which he could not doubt, that the late King had left a document containing his opinion of the manner in which she had been treated, and the provocations she had received. Although provocation could be no justification of foul conduct, yet he could not see why the Crown should be exempted from the general law which required that the party who applied for divorce should come into court with clean hands.

Lord CASTLEREAGH's motion was carried.

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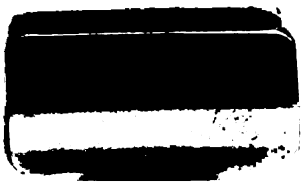

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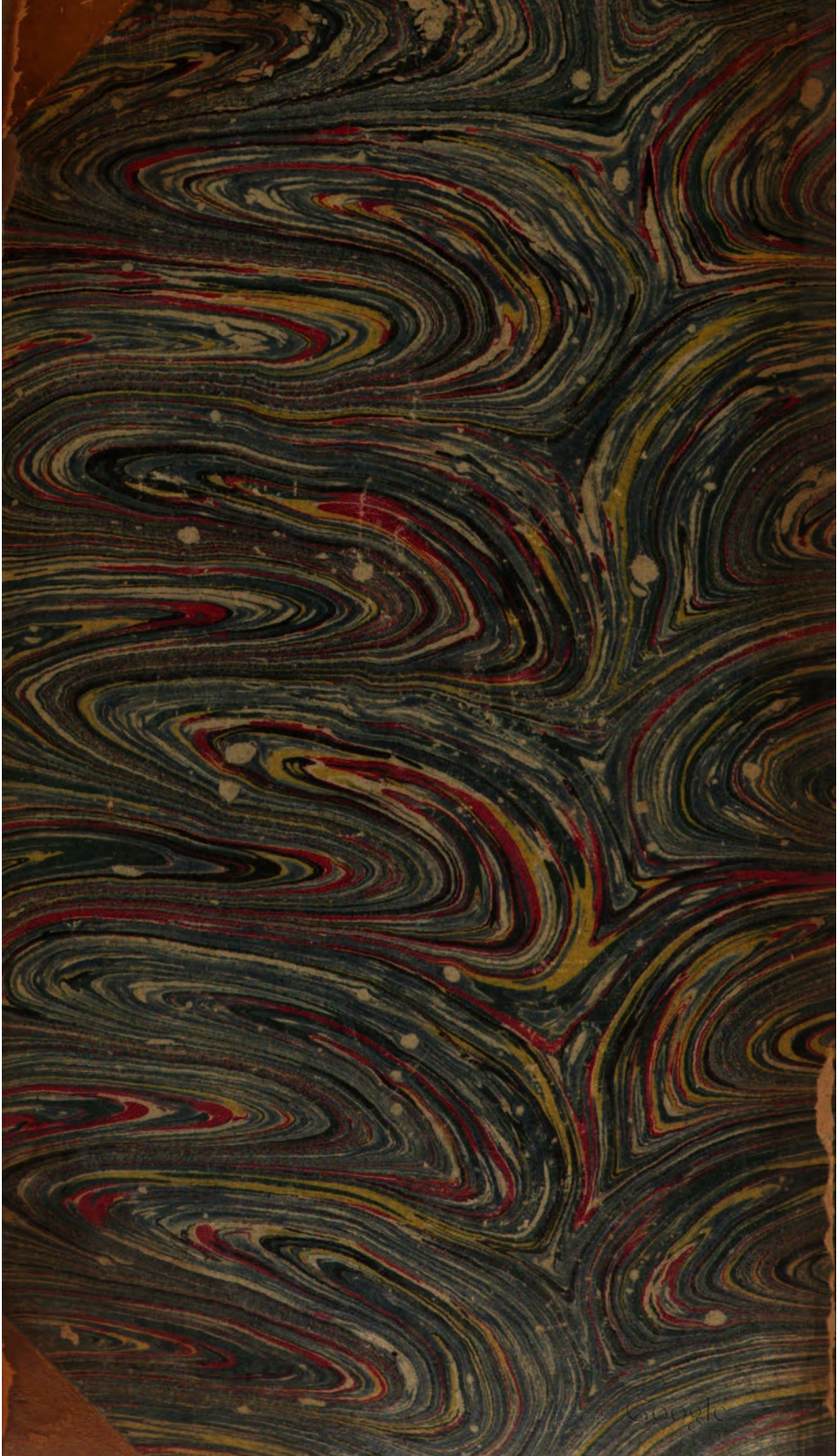
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